

Philol.

199 ^{af}
(1)

<36635083380016



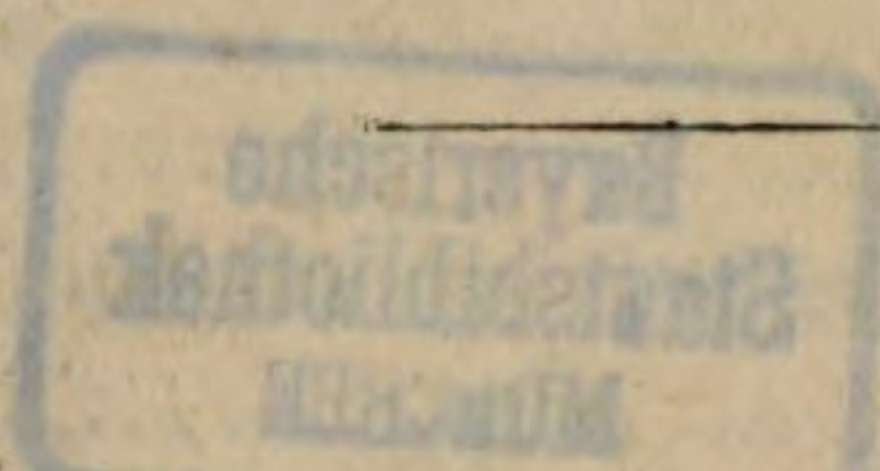
<36635083380016

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

Philol. 199 ²⁴ (1)

C
THE

PHILOLOGICAL MUSEUM.


FIRST VOLUME.

*Philological
Museum*

1

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY J. SMITH, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY;

FOR DEIGHTONS, CAMBRIDGE;

RIVINGTONS, LONDON;

AND PARKER, OXFORD.

M.DCCC.XXXII.

47 g

W67/63/3

THE
PHILOSOPHICAL
MUSEUM.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
MÜNCHEN

FIRST VOLUME

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY J. SMITH, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY;

FOR DEIGHTONS, CAMBRIDGE;

RIVINGTONS, LONDON;

AND PARKER, OXFORD.

MDCCLXXII

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

	PAGE
ON the Names of the Days of the Week.....	1
ON the Number of Dramas ascribed to Sophocles.....	74
ON the early Ionic Philosophers.....	86
ON certain Constructions of the Subjunctive Mood.....	96
Ancæus.....	106
Notice of Payne Knight's Nummi Veteres.....	122
Notice of Aristotle's Œconomics, by Goettling.....	126
ON the Messapians.....	142
Poemata Latina.....	144
ON the Jus Latii, and the Jus Italicum, from the German of Savigny.....	150
ON the Sicelians in the Odyssey, from the German of Niebuhr.....	174
Iliadis Codex Aegyptiacus.....	177
MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.	
ON a Passage of Thucydides, III. 91.....	188
Savigny and the Edinburgh Review.....	196
Hermann's Opuscula.....	203
Dobree's Adversaria.....	204
Professor Scholefield's Æschylus	209
ON the Age of the Coast-describer, Scylax of Caryanda, from the German of Niebuhr	245
ON the Fables of Babrius	280
Kruse's Hellas	305
ON English Adjectives.....	359
Philip of Theangela	373
Translation of Part of the First Book of the Æneid.....	382
ON the Accession of Darius Son of Hystaspes	387
ON some Passages in the Civil and Literary Chronology of Greece	394



PREFACE.

A CONSIDERABLE period has now elapsed during which, among the multitude of journals published in England, there has been none wholly, or even mainly, devoted to classical literature. The Museum Criticum came to a close some years ago, owing to the removal of the distinguished persons, by whom it had been set on foot and mainly supported, to higher stations and more important cares: and its cessation was followed before long by that of the Classical Journal. Our principal reviews too have for some time altogether abandoned the discussion of philological questions, which in their earlier numbers were occasionally handled with much learning and ingenuity; and when they leave the topics of the day to touch upon subjects connected with Greece or Rome, they are wont to regard them in a literary rather than in a philological point of view: in which course no doubt they are perfectly right; for it is only by such a mode of treatment that they can hope to interest the great body of their readers. Nor have philological pursuits been carried on much more vigorously in the other departments of our literature. With the exception of one great work on ancient chronology, of which, as its author is one of our fellow-labourers, we may not speak more distinctly, the mite which England has contributed during the five years from 1825 to 1830 toward the increase of our knowledge concerning classical antiquity, is in truth little more than a mite. A number of books indeed have come out designed to facilitate

the study of Greek; several grammars, several lexicons, most of them translated or abridged from the German: some of the most important German works on ancient history and the constitutions of the ancient states have been laid before the English reader. But this is pretty nearly all that has been done. Yet surely it is not well that this should be all: it is not well that we should import all our knowledge from abroad, and let our own intellects lie waste. Grammars and dictionaries effect very little, if they produce nothing more than grammars and dictionaries: and if Niebuhr and Müller and Boeckh do not excite some of their readers to think and look about them, they might as well have been allowed to remain in the obscurity of their native language.

But we will not deem despondingly of the prospects of classical literature in England. True, it has much to contend against: the cares and anxieties of political life,—the imperious calls of business,—the pursuit of mammon, from which, when once engaged therein, it is almost impossible to fly, and in which we are borne along every moment more rapidly and more irresistibly,—the ever encroaching intrusions of frivolous society,—the palsyng fascination of a frivolous literature,—the vanity that debases us into the slaves of these and so many other tyrants,—all these and a number of other causes are in full action to withdraw us from the calm and quiet groves where we might repose under the shade of antiquity. Yet strong as these agents are, it is not quite impossible to withstand them. Our ancestors have taken such good care to lay deep and stable foundations for sound learning, and to make classical studies the main element in our system of education, that they still retain their place in the first rank at our schools and universities; and not a few persons leave those universities every year, richly furnished with the knowledge and qualifications requisite to prepare

them for becoming accomplished scholars. A large portion of these no doubt soon change their course, and pass away on the other side: they enter into some house of greater business, and lay out their talents in some more profitable fund. But we cherish a hope that there are many who through life retain an affection for the studies of their boyhood; many who will not be unwilling to lend their aid in forwarding the knowledge and the love of ancient literature; still more who will take some degree of interest in whatever tends to throw light on that literature, and to make us better acquainted and more familiar with the ancient Greeks and Romans. Indeed the present year has produced some satisfactory proofs that the spirit of philological criticism, if it has been dormant, is reawakening amongst us, in Mr Keightley's *Mythology*, and the *History of Rome* published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

It is with a view to foster that spirit, and to supply it with the means of expressing itself, that the *Philological Museum* has been undertaken. Many valuable observations have been lost, from the want of any mode of communicating them to the world: many persons have been deterred by the same reason from following out thoughts such as in the course of our studies are perpetually suggesting themselves; or, what amounts to the same thing, they have wanted sufficient inducement to do so. The editors of the *Philological Museum* hope that no small number of such persons will avail themselves of it, and will be excited by it to prosecute and work out their speculations in the various regions of philology. Contributions from such as are willing to assist them they will thankfully receive: the only qualities they think themselves bound to require, are temperance in the style, and soundness in the matter.

With regard to the range of subjects that they purpose, if their undertaking prospers, to embrace, it is not easy to lay down any precise line of demarcation. No inquiry that comes under the head of philology, no topic connected with it, will be altogether excluded. Their main attention will however be directed toward the two colossal edifices that stand forth amid the ruins of the ancient world: their main object will be, so far as in them lies, and as the kind help of their friends will enable them, to illustrate the language, the literature, the philosophy, the history, the manners, the institutions, the mythology, and the religion of Greece and Rome. Biblical criticism will now and then be introduced; and so will dissertations on Oriental literature, when they are not, as such things mostly are, either too heavy or too light. Occasionally too they hope to give biographical accounts of eminent scholars, and of some of those remarkable persons, who, about the time of the revival of letters, made use of the Latin language as the vehicle for conveying their thoughts, and who lived as much in a by-gone and imaginary world, as in the every-day world about them. Nor will the philology of modern languages be regarded as forbidden ground. In a word, every subject that concerns antiquity, and can be treated philologically, comes within the compass of the plan which has been laid down for the Philological Museum.

The editors hope to publish three numbers, forming a volume, in the course of a year, and are desirous, if possible, to bring them out on the first of November, of February, and of May.

J. C. H.

ON THE NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

WHAT is the origin and meaning of the names we are in the habit of giving to the days of the week? There are very few words we so frequently make use of: one or other of them is perpetually on our lips: and yet, were such a question put to us, we should be at a loss for a clear and satisfactory answer. Sunday and Monday, we should say, are called after the Sun and Moon; Tuesday after some northern god or other; Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday after Woden, Thor, and Freya; Saturday after Saturn. If the principle which regulated this arrangement, and led to the assigning of each day to its particular deity, were demanded, we should probably reply, that our ancestors lookt about among the personages of the northern mythology for such as nearest corresponded to those gods whose names were given to the days of the week in the later Roman calendar. Still two questions remain, both of considerable curiosity: how came the Romans to arrange those names, which we immediately perceive to be the names of what the ancients held to be the seven planets, in the particular order adopted? and by what analogy were our ancestors guided in the substitution of their national gods for the Roman? Both these questions involve sundry others, several of which are of no little importance and obscurity; and it may perhaps be impossible to answer them with anything like absolute certainty. Still in every province of inquiry it is of great use clearly to mark out the boundary between knowledge and ignorance, setting forth how much has actually been made out, and how much yet remains indeterminate calling for future researches. In the physical sciences this is ascertained with a good deal of accuracy; and hence they are continually progressive, and far less of the labour employed on them is thrown away. But in the various

departments of philology there is mostly a lamentable uncertainty as to what has already been done, and what is still left to be done; and owing to this many scholars waste much of their time in trying to find out a path over ground that has long since been explored and opened. So that no slight good would be effected by any one who should carefully collect and critically digest the amount of information at present posset in any one wide field of philological investigation, thereby paving the way for such as come after him to get more rapidly to the limits of our present knowledge, and pointing out the quarters in which they are to push forward in order to enlarge it. If the present article does no more than bring together the scattered remarks that may be found in divers books concerning its subject, it may still not be utterly useless.

With regard to the former of the two questions proposed above we are fortunately enabled to speak with a tolerable degree of certainty, by an author whose diligence and sound sense raise him far above most of his contemporaries, and to a level with many of the good writers of earlier times: and though we have but one passage of value treating of the point, it is pretty nearly as full as can be wisht. "The practice of referring the days of the week to the seven stars, called planets (says Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 18), arose among the Egyptians, and has already spread through every people, though it is not long, so to say, since it began. The ancient Greeks, so far as I know, were totally ignorant of it: but inasmuch as it is now adopted not only by all other nations, but even by the Romans, with whom it is already in a manner become a national custom, I shall say a few words on the arrangement of the names, and on the principles that determined it. Now I have heard two explanations, neither of them difficult to be understood, except so far as they involve certain speculative notions. For if any one were to apply that proportion which is termed *διὰ τεσσάρων*—which proportion is moreover held to constitute the groundwork of all musical harmony—to those stars among which the whole sphere of the heavens is divided, according to the order of their revolution, and beginning with the outermost circle, the one allotted to Saturn, were to pass over the next two and

take the lord of the fourth circle, and then passing over two more to go to the seventh,—if, I say, going round in this manner he were to assign the names of the gods presiding over the several circles to the days of the week in succession, he would find that there is a sort of musical agreement between those days and the distribution of the heavens. This is one of the accounts that is given: the other is as follows. Go through the hours of the day and night, beginning with the first, and assigning that to Saturn, the next to Jupiter, the third to Mars, the fourth to the Sun, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, the seventh to the Moon, according to what the Egyptians regard as the order of their orbits, (where Reimar would perhaps have done better in retaining *τοιαύτην*, omitting *καθ'*, and reading *κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν κύκλων ἣν οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι τοιαύτην νομίζουσι*); and having done this again and again till you come to the end of the twenty-four hours, you will find that the first hour of the following day falls to the Sun. When you have gone through the twenty-four hours of that day in the same manner, the first hour of the third day will be assigned to the Moon: and if you proceed on this plan through the remaining days, each will receive its appropriate deity."

I have quoted this passage at length, because, added to the light it throws on the origin of the names given to the days of the week, and on the time of their general reception, at least in Europe, it is likewise interesting as containing so early a record of that belief in planetary influences which formed such a prominent article in the superstitious creed of afterages. In Chaucer's *Knichtes Tale*, to take a single instance, we find a passage in understanding which we may be materially aided by the foregoing extract; and which moreover shews that the practice in his time was still to begin the day, at least the astrological day, at sunrise. Just before the combat, on "the Sunday night or day began to spring, although it n'ere not day by houres two, Palamon rose to wenden on his pilgrimage to Venus, *in hire houre*," (2211–2219): that is, according to the calculation explained above, the twenty-second hour on the Sunday belonged to the Sun, the twenty-third, or the second before sunrise to Venus. On the third hour after, that is, the first of the following day, "Up

rose the sonne, and up rose Emelie," and, this being the Moon's hour, went to the temple of Diana. Thus the extract from Dion presents us with a striking instance of the manner in which the relics of forgotten opinions and extinct systems are preserved and embalmed in language: so strange indeed are the combinations which sometimes take place in it, that we here find the mythology of Scandinavia and the astrology of Egypt, or of Chaldea, meeting together in giving names to the days of our week, while the link of union between them is formed by the mythology of Rome.

For of the two explanations given by Dion, the second seems to carry a greater air of truth with it; and accordingly it is adopted by the best and soundest modern scholars, for instance by Ideler in his *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I. 179, II. 177, and by Lobeck in his *Aglaophamus*, p. 942: though Politian, after quoting Dion's remarks (*Miscell. c. 8*), calls them *festiva nimis et arguta*; and though Scaliger and Selden were not satisfied with them. Yet this explanation is grounded on an opinion which we know from other sources to have been prevalent in early times; and when the notion of planetary ascendancy had once been adopted, it was natural enough that each day should be named after the lord of its first hour. Whereas the arithmetical proportion introduced in Dion's other solution is something totally arbitrary and extraneous. It is true, the idea that the motions of the planets were regulated by the laws of musical harmony, was a favorite tenet with some of the Greek schools of philosophy; and it was probably by one of the Alexandrian Platonists that this solution was devised: but the coarser nature of astrology rendered it much fitter for begetting a set of words for popular use. Besides the coincidence between the order of the planetary hours and that of the planetary days, is at least a sort of presumption that one of the two was constructed after the other; which can hardly have been the case with the former, depending, as it did, on the order of the planets.

The same objections apply with much greater force to the explanation, founded upon certain cabbalistical properties of numbers and fantastic mystical analogies, with which Baptista Egnatius closed his *Racemationes*, after traversing, as

he boasts, the whole field of literature, to the great benefit of his readers, in a couple of score of pages. He professes to have derived it mainly from a Greek treatise of Maximus Planudes; as does Parrhasius, who gives it more briefly, Epist. LXIII. But on comparing these two statements with the treatise of Lydus de Mensibus, II. 3–11, it appears that Planudes himself must have taken it from that work; from which we know that, after the fashion of the Byzantines in literature as well as in policy and religion to mistake the caput mortuum for the essence, he made a collection of extracts; though in the present instance he did not do much harm, having little else than what was already a caput mortuum to deal with. According to this trifling the first day was assigned to the Sun, because he stands alone in the heavens, and is called *Sol*, as Cicero says (de Nat. Deor. II. 27), *quia obscuratis omnibus stellis solus luceat*; the second *Lunae*, *ut materiei totius auctori, quam materiem Pythagoras δνάδα vocavit*; the sixth *Veneri*, *quod numerus senarius ad procreationem accommodatus est, veluti par impar, quorum hic efficax ad agendum quasi mas est, ille materiae vicem praestat, ut foemina*. This is a mere sample of absurdities which in Lydus fill twenty pages; and the main part of which he must have drawn from the new Platonists: for several of the tenets brought forward he expressly ascribes to the Pythagoreans; and the one just cited belonged to the same school, as we are told by Proclus on the Parmenides (Vol. IV. p. 203. ed. Cousin): ἡ ἐξὰς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὰ, φασὶ Πυθαγορείων παῖδες. There is nothing in the world that may not be explained in this way, if confounding a question can be called explaining it; and such an explanation has the happy elastic property that it would have fitted any other arrangement every bit as well as the present: not making the slightest attempt to account for, what it is scarcely possible should be matter of accident, the symmetrical order in which the planetary names occur.

The last charge cannot be brought against the solution suggested by Bede (De Temporum Ratione c. 6, Opp. II. 65): which, supposing, as was probably the case, that he was unacquainted with Dion's, is ingenious and plausible enough. The first day, he says, was consecrated to the Sun, as the

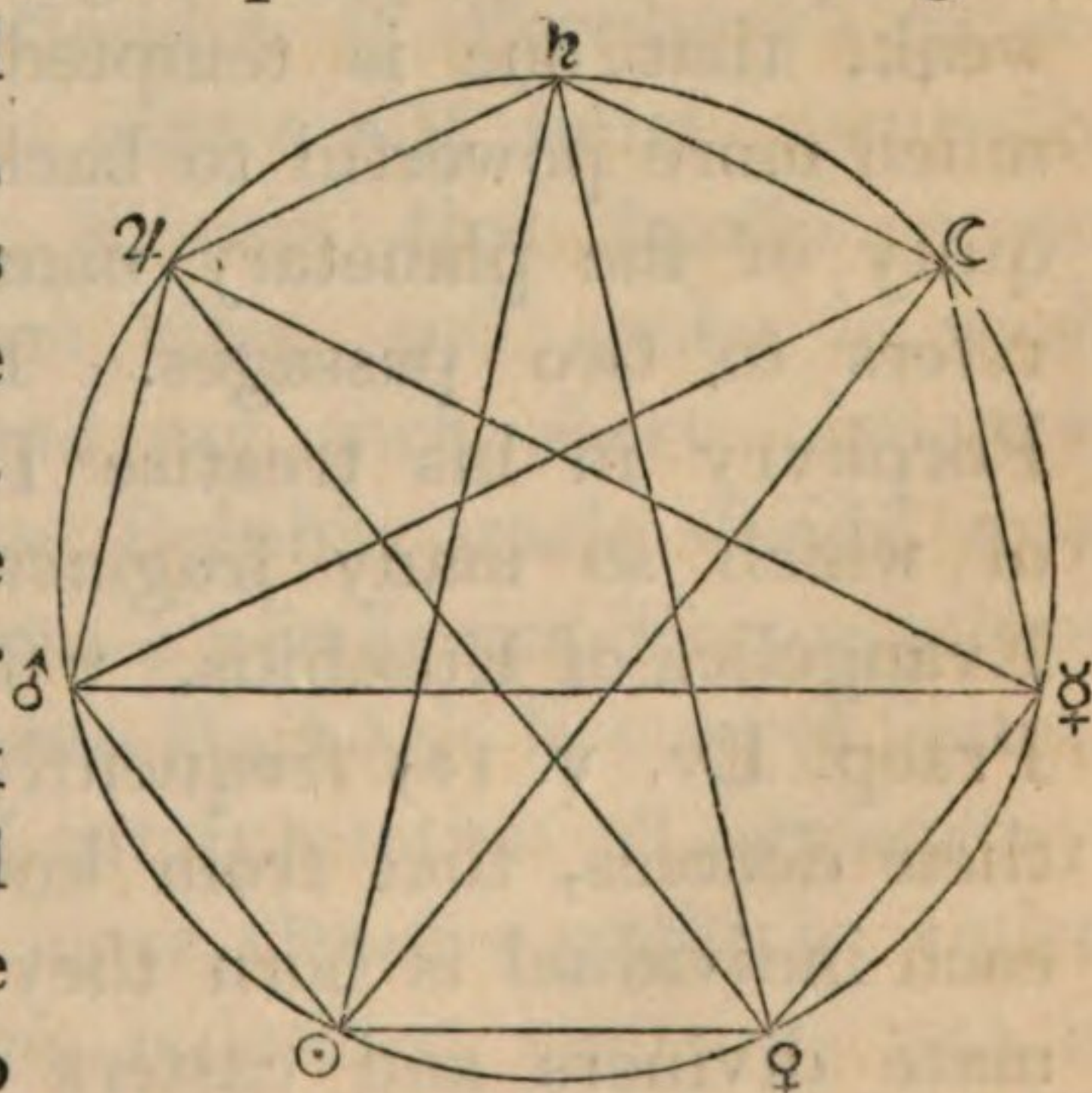
greatest luminary; the second to the Moon, as the next in size; the third to the planet next in order to the Sun; the fourth to that next the Moon; the fifth to that next but one to the Sun, and so on. Yet here again the procedure seems to be totally arbitrary, with still less that could have led to it, than to that under Dion's first method: to which it is also inferior from its want of unity, the first two names being bestowed on quite a different principle from the others.

To obviate this last objection Selden, who discusses the whole subject at great length and with his wonted learning and ability, so as very nearly to exhaust all that can be said upon it, and who brings forward a modification of Bede's hypothesis, supposes that the Sun and Moon were selected to head the week from their manifest superiority to the other five stars, and that the interval between the Sun and Moon as they stood in the *heptaxonomum* was taken as the type for the arrangement of the rest: *De Jure Nat.* III. 21. Of all the modern solutions this seems to be the most satisfactory, and, if we were compelled to abandon Dion's second, might lay claim to be generally received. After all however the belief in planetary hours furnishes so natural an occasion for the assignment of planetary names to days, that, unless there be some strong objection to this explanation, one feels loth to exchange it for any other: more especially as, if astrology be left out of the question, one can hardly see why the days of the week should have been thus associated with the planets, except because there were seven of each: and in that case the regular order would probably have been followed.

A different method of accounting for the deviation from this order is suggested by Des-Vignoles, *Chronologie de l' Histoire Sainte*, Vol. II. p. 692. The ancient Egyptian year, according to his notion, consisted of 360 days, that is, of 51 weeks and three days: so that, if we suppose that in the original weeks the planets stood in what was held to be their natural order, the same day of the year in seven successive years would belong to the planets following each other at the interval of a fourth, that is, in the exact order of the planetary week. Hence an immovable festival, celebrated

in one year on the day of Saturn, would fall the next year on the day of the Sun, the next on that of the Moon, and so on. Now when the Egyptians reformed their calendar, and adopted a year of 365 days, he further supposes that they retained the planetary cycle by which they had been accustomed to denote the succession of their festivals: but as the year now consisted of only one day above the 52 weeks, the planetary cycle which had previously corresponded exactly with the hebdomadal, now only corresponded with it at the regular interval of a fourth. Of all the explanations I have met with, this with all its ingenuity, is the most artificial and complicated, and rests on the greatest number of indemonstrable assumptions. It has a look too about it which leads one to suspect that it was suggested by a recollection of the methods adopted by chronologers, to determine the time of Easter. Wherever symmetry of this kind prevails, a number of ways may be devised to account for it; and every way that enables us to take the first step, will probably carry us through all the rest: so that though in many cases of complicated problems the aptness of a hypothesis to solve them may afford some degree of presumption in favour of its truth, it is not so here; and in order to guide our judgement concerning such a hypothesis, when we have no authentic information, we are bound to consider the likelihood of the train of thought which it involves.

If we look at Scaliger's geometrical explanation in this light, we can hardly hesitate to reject it. He supposes (*De Emendat. Temp.* i. p. 8) that the seven planets were arranged in order at equal intervals round a circle, as in the adjoining figure, and that seven isoskeles triangles were erected on the chords of the arcs intercepted between every two. In these triangles the star at the right basal angle is the first star of each triangle, that at the vertex the second, that at the left basal angle the third; and this is the order in which they are opposite to one another. Thus if we begin with the Sun, the Moon is



opposite to him, Mars to her; the opposite to Mars in the next triangle is Mercury; the opposite to Mercury, Jupiter; then passing to the third triangle, Venus stands opposite to Jupiter, Saturn to Venus: so that, if we take the planets in the order of their opposition, we get the exact order in which they stand among the days of the week. Now this solution is extremely simple and neat; but it leaves us totally at a loss to imagine how any people came to hit on such an odd method of giving names to the days of the week. In a subsequent passage (p. 135) Scaliger in support of this explanation, and with a tacit reference to Dion, states his belief that the planetary names of the days are older than the division of the day into twenty-four hours: and in his *Prolegomena*, p. XLVI, he repeats: *Ea appellatio longe antiquior horis. Quare non ab horis planetariis nomina diebus septimanae imposita, sed potius superstitio appellationis dierum in horas derivata.*

Now there is always a good deal of risk in controverting an assertion made by Scaliger: for he deviates from the practice of ordinary scholars, whose wont is to display all their forces in front, and who often care little about the strength of their line, if they can but make it long enough, filling it up not seldom with men of straw, or with such as are sure to desert at the first attack: Scaliger frequently keeps his main arguments in the background; and many of his conclusions rest not immediately on any express authorities, but on profound and subtile combinations of the materials with which his boundless learning supplied him. In the present instance however the arguments he has put forward are so weak, that one is tempted to doubt whether he had any much more powerful to back them with. To prove the antiquity of the planetary names for the days of the week, he refers to two passages. The first is an oracle given by Porphyry in his treatise *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγιων φιλοσοφίας*, of which so many fragments are found in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius. "The gods (says Porphyry in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* v. 14) frequently make it manifest by foreshewing their decrees, that from knowing the conditions under which each individual is born they are, if one may so say, consummate diviners and casters of nativities. Apollo too in an oracle has specially enjoined

Κληΐζειν Ἑρμῆν, ἡδ' ἡέλιον κατὰ ταῦτα
 Ἡμέρη ἡελίου· μήνην δ', ὅτε τῆσδε παρείη
 Ἡμέρη, ἡδὲ Κρόνον, ἡδ' ἐξείης Ἀφροδίτην,
 Κλησέσιν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἃς εὔρε μάγων ὅχ' ἄριστος,
 Τῆς ἐπταφθόγγου βασιλεὺς, ὃν πάντες ἴσασιν·

and when the hearers said, *you mean Ostanēs*, he added:

Καὶ σφόδρα καὶ καθ' ἑκάστον ἀεὶ θεὸν ἐπτακιφώνην.”
 Now the meaning of this passage is so obscure, and its age so indeterminate, that it is utterly impossible to found any historical conclusions upon it. If the days spoken of in the first three lines are, as they rather seem to be, and as Porphyry, from connecting them with the casting of nati- vities, must have understood them to be, those of the week, and not those of the month,—of which the fourth was consecrated to Hermes, the first and seventh to Apollo, the fourth or, according to others, the sixth to Aphrodite (see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* pp. 430—433)—one may boldly pro- nounce that the oracle is a fabrication of a very recent date. The negative evidence against the prevalence of a division of time into weeks in ancient Greece is so ample and strong, that it may safely be deemed absolutely conclusive: at least it would require the most explicit and incontrovertible positive evidence to outweigh it. No allusion to anything of the sort is to be found in the comic writers, none in the antiquarians: though the days of the month consecrated to particular gods are often spoken of, no days of the week are ever mentioned as in like manner sacred. And we may rely upon it that Apollo never ordained what was at variance with all the institutions of his worshipers. Besides, if Porphyry's inter- pretation of the latter lines be correct, it must assuredly have been in a very late age, if ever, that Apollo recom- mended the adoption of Magian rites, and spoke in such terms of a Magian: the gods had not such short memories, that the attack of Xerxes on the Delphic oracle should soon be forgotten. Scaliger says, βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐπταφθόγγου means Ostanēs, king of Babylon; because Βαβυλῶν has seven letters in it. But this is a very forced interpretation of ἐπτάφθογ- γος: nor is it apparent in what sense Ostanēs could be called *the king of Babylon*. His name indeed at one time was in great renown; but our information concerning him is singularly

vague. According to Pliny (xxx. 2) "the oldest treatise on magic extant in his time was written by Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes on his expedition into Greece, spreading as it were the seeds of divination, and inoculating the world with it wherever he went. There is no doubt that he inflamed the nations of Greece not merely with a desire but a rage for that knowledge.—The same sect acquired no slight increase of influence in the time of Alexander the Great from a second Osthanes, who was admitted among his companions, and unquestionably traversed the whole surface of the earth." Shortly after (xxx. 5) he adds: "according to the account of Osthanes there are several kinds of magic: for he promises to divine by means of water, and of globes, and of air, and of the stars, and of lanterns, and of vessels, and of axes, and in many other ways, and moreover to procure answers from ghosts and demons." In other places (xxviii. 19, 87, 90) Pliny speaks of certain charms recommended by Osthanes, doubtless in the magical treatise just mentioned: which may perhaps have been the *Ὀκτάτευχος* cited by Eusebius at the end of the first book of the *Praeparatio Evangelica*. The same *Ὀκτάτευχος* was probably the work on the strength of which Cyprian (*De Idolorum Vanitate* p. 226. ed. Baluz.) stated that the chief of the Magians, Hostanes, had asserted the invisibility of the true God, and that the angels stand around his throne; a statement copied from Cyprian by Augustin at the end of his sixth book on Baptism against the Donatists: perhaps too Cyprian himself merely took his account from Minucius Felix, who gives a similar view of the doctrines inculcated by Osthanes: Octavius p. 246. ed. Ouzel. Doubtless too it was from the same work that Lutatius (on the *Thebais* of Statius, i. 710) learnt that *Mytra* was the Persian name for the sun. As the *Ὀκτάτευχος* seems to have been in Greek, it must not be carried back beyond the age of Alexander: but it is not absolutely impossible that it should have been by the person whom Pliny calls the second Osthanes; for the instances of Manetho and Berosus prove that soon after the establishment of the Greek empire over Asia members of the Eastern and Egyptian priesthood took to writing in the universal language.

The other Osthane from a variety of passages seems to have been connected with Democritus. Tatian (*Orat. cont. Graec.* 17) speaks of him as one of the teachers of Democritus, against whom he exclaims in no very christian language: "With regard to his sympathies and antipathies what shall I say? unless that, according to the old saw, the native of Abdera talks like an Abderite, and that, as the friend of Hercules who gave name to that city is reported to have been devoured by Diomedes's mares, so he, with all his boasting of his friend, the Magian Osthane, will be delivered up at the day of judgement to be devoured by eternal fire." From this passage taken along with that of Pliny, it might be supposed that Osthane staid behind at Abdera when Xerxes past through it on his flight: for Diogenes Laertius says (*ix.* 34) that Democritus studied under some Magians and Chaldeans whom king Xerxes, having been sumptuously entertained by his father, left with him, and from whom, while yet a boy, he learnt theology and astrology. Or Democritus may have studied under him during his travels: for Clemens (*Stromat.* i. 15. p. 357. ed. Potter), who is copied by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* x. 4), tells us that Democritus visited Babylon, and Persia, and Egypt, and that he wrote a book on the customs of the Babylonians: Diogenes Laertius too in the list of his works mentions a *Λόγος Χαλδαικός*, and a treatise *περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων*, that is, probably on the arrowheaded character. Syncellus indeed (p. 248) positively states that Democritus was initiated by Osthane, the Mede, in Egypt,—where Diodorus (*i.* 98) says he spent five years,—Osthane having been sent thither by the Persian king to superintend the religious worship; and that he there wrote in very obscure language concerning gold, and silver, and minerals, and purple, whereupon he was commended by Osthane, for having set forth his art, veiled under a number of ingenious enigmas. If the work referred to by Tatian was genuine, the question with regard to the age of Osthane would be settled: but Suidas, no doubt on the authority of some ancient grammarian, says that only two of the works ascribed to Democritus were his; and Tatian assuredly was not very scrupulous in ascertaining whether the passage alluded to, which moreover after the fashion of his time, he

may probably have taken at second or third hand, came from a spurious treatise or not. Indeed it may fairly be questioned whether he had any better authority than the treatise entitled *Δημοκρίτου φυσικά καὶ μυστικά*, of which a very curious extract is publisht by Lambecius in his *Commentarii de Bibliotheca Vindobonensi*, Vol. vi. p. 386. In that passage Democritus is made to give an account of his calling up his master Osthane from the shades, the latter having died before his pupil was fully initiated in all the mysteries of his wisdom. The ghost, after declaring it was very difficult for him to speak on the matters Democritus wisht to be informed of, namely the mode of producing chemical combinations, said: *My books are in the temple*. Much fruitless search was made for them; till at length on a great festival, a vast multitude being assembled in the temple, one of the pillars burst open, and within it was found a volume containing these mystical words: *ἡ φύσις τῇ φύσει τέρπεται, καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν φύσιν νικᾷ, καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν φύσιν κρατεῖ*. This fragment in the Vienna library seems to be an extract from the treatise *Περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν*, which is spoken of as the work of Bolus of Mendes, by Suidas in the article on his name, and by the scholiast of Nicander, *Theriac.* v. 764: and that this is the work alluded to by Tatian is pretty clear from his words, *περὶ τῶν κατὰ Δημοκρίτον συμπαθειῶν τε καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν*: for the writings of this Bolus, who is sometimes called *ὁ Δημοκρίτειος*, sometimes *ὁ Πυθαγόρειος*, were occasionally ascribed to Democritus, as appears from Columella, III. 5. 17, who says that the treatise of Bolus the Mendesian, entitled *χειρόκμητα*, was circulated under the false name of Democritus: indeed this very work is selected by Vitruvius (IX. 3) as the one among the works of Democritus especially deserving of admiration; which leads one to suspect that the mechanical inventions described in it belonged to an age when the arts were more advanced than in that of Democritus: and Pliny, who wrote too hastily to exercise much critical sagacity, asserts (H. N. xxiv. 102) that the *Chirocmeta* (for this must probably be the true reading) was certainly written by Democritus. Hence there is great plausibility in the conjecture that the work *περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν*, quoted as a work of Democritus by Columella, xi. 3. 64, came also from the

pen of Bolus, and was no other than the treatise *περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν* just spoken of. The same work was probably the source from which Syncellus derived his above-cited account of Democritus; as also of the similar account in the scholia of Synesius on the *φυσικὰ καὶ μυστικὰ*, where Democritus is in like manner said to have been initiated by Ostanēs at Memphis, and to have diffused his doctrines in four books *περὶ ἡλίου, καὶ σελήνης, καὶ λίθων, καὶ πορφύρας*: these books are evidently the same with the four spoken of by Syncellus, *περὶ χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἀργύρου, καὶ λίθων, καὶ πορφύρας*: only Synesius uses *the Sun and Moon* as the astrological names for the metals, gold and silver. Bolus, as an Egyptian, might be easily led to make his own country the scene where Democritus was initiated by Ostanēs. Is it by a slip of memory that Pliny (xxx. 2) says that Democritus *Dardanum e Phoenice illustravit, voluminibus Dardani in sepulcrum ejus petitis, suis vero ex disciplina ejus editis?* or is this story a duplicate of the other, with different names?

Laertius in another place, Proœm. 2, says that the Magians were founded by Zoroaster, after whom came a numerous series of them, the *Ostanæ*, the Astrapsychi, the Gobryæ, the Pazatæ, down to the overthrow of Persia by Alexander. These words no more imply that there were a number of *Ostanæ*, than that there were several Magians called Astrapsychus: the use of the plural is merely an idiom, as in the passage explained by Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. II. note 11. As to the article in Suidas on *Ὀστανᾶι*, which seems to assert that the name was a generic one given to the Magians, it is evidently founded, as Kuster remarks, on a misunderstanding of the last-cited passage of Laertius. Else it might be conjectured that the *Ostanæ* were one of the houses or *γένη* of the Magians, such as Strabo, xvi. i. 6, tells us there were among the Chaldean astronomers. Under *Ἀστρονομία* Suidas again speaks of Ostanēs, saying that astronomy was first invented among the Babylonians, by Zoroaster, after whom came Ostanēs. Apuleius likewise, in two places of his Apology, pp. 449, 544, mentions Ostanēs; in the one along with Epimenides, Orpheus, and Pythagoras; in the other along with Zoroaster: and Tertullian (De Anima c. 57) classes him with

Typhon, Dardanus, Damigeron, Nectabis, and Berenice. From all these passages it appears probable, notwithstanding the confusion that was perpetually made between the Magians, properly so called, and the Chaldeans, that Ostanès belonged to the former body. At all events there is no trace of anything that could have led Apollo to call him *king of Babylon*: though it is true the political power of both classes was very great; as is proved for instance by the Magian usurpation at the end of the reign of Cambyses, and by the extract from Berosus in Josephus (against Apion, i. 19) stating that Nebuchadnezzar, who was in Egypt at his father's death, on his return to Babylon took the management of affairs, which had been administered in the interval by the Chaldeans, and that he received the kingdom which had been preserved for him by the chief of their body.

Selden (De Jur. Nat. iii. 19) would render τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου either, understanding συμφωνίας, *the seven-toned concert* with reference to the music of the spheres, or, understanding αὐδῆς, or λέξεως, or τελετῆς, *the seven-voiced prayer or ritual*, the prayer or ritual repeated seven times, in going through the cycle of the planets. Of these two meanings the former seems the most likely to have been intended by the persons who applied this expression to Ostanès. In ancient Greece however τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου βασιλεὺς would no doubt have been Apollo himself, *the king of the seven-stringed lyre*. Thus Creusa in the Ion, 881, addresses him: ὦ τᾷς ἑπταφθόγγου μέλπων Κιθάρας ἐνοπᾶν. And thus the chorus in the Iphigenia at Tauri, 1128, describe him: Ὁ Φοῖβός θ' ὁ μάντις ἔχων Κέλαδον ἑπτατόνου λύρας. In the Homeric hymn to Mercury too the lyre with which Apollo is appeased, is described as having seven strings: v. 51. So that if the words, τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου βασιλεὺς, were ever used in an oracle delivered by Apollo, there can be little question that the god would thereby have designated himself; and in early times they would have been understood of the lyre, in later of the planetary music; just as the seven-stringed lyre was interpreted into a symbol of the seven planets: see the scholiast on the Phænomena of Aratus, v. 259; Philo, Vol. i. p. 29; Macrobius Saturn. i. 19. Assuredly one of the last thoughts such a description would have suggested to a Greek, would have been that the god was speaking of Ostanès.

If there were any truth in the story, and the oracle was ever uttered, the last line, supposing the common text right, would merely have enforced the meaning of the preceding one: *the king of the seven-toned lyre, he whom all men know to be powerfully and always on all occasions a god, having a sevenfold voice.* But the compound *ἑπτακιφώνην* is contrary to all the analogy of the language: the adverbs *τετράκις*, *πεντάκις*, *ἑξάκις*, *ἑπτάκις*, *ὀκτάκις*, never appear in composition except along with *χίλιοι* and *μύριοι*. Accordingly the right reading must probably be the one adopted by Selden, *ἑπτάκι φωνεῖν*,—not *ἑπτακιφωνεῖν*, as it is inserted in the London edition of Stevens;—and so *φωνεῖν* would be connected with *κληΐζειν*, and the object of the verse would seem to be to urge the invoking each god seven times, perhaps in the cycle of the week. At all events however the meaning and the age of this oracle, and even its authenticity, are far too uncertain for any warrantable conclusion to be grounded upon it.

Scaliger's second authority for the antiquity of the planetary days is a passage quoted by Tzetzes on Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* 763, and ascribed by him to Orpheus: this passage Scaliger writes:

Πρῶτα μὲν εἰ πρώτῳ ἐνὶ ἡματι φαίνεται Ἄρης,

Μήνη δ' ἐς τ' Ἄρην ἐπιτέλλεται, ἴσχεο δ' ἔργων.

adding that it was a vulgar belief that each of the planets became visible on its own day, Mars for instance on every Tuesday; and that the poet's advice is, *if the new moon fall on the day of Mars, abstain from work.* Now as not a week could pass without abundantly refuting such a superstition, one can hardly believe that it ever prevailed; nor has Scaliger adduced any evidence of it. In the next place the age of these lines is not much better determined than that of the others. Scaliger indeed (*de Emend. Temp.* p. 10) ascribes them to Onomacritus, on the authority of Suidas, who says that Onomacritus wrote the Orphic *Τελεταί*, a poem however of a totally different kind; and probably on that of Tatian, who in his oration against the Greeks, near the end, says that the poems attributed to Orpheus were reported to have been composed by Onomacritus; of Clemens Alexandrinus, who tells us (*Strom.* i. p. 397) that Onomacritus was reported to

be the author of the poems ascribed to Orpheus, and of the oracles ascribed to Musæus; and of Sextus Empiricus, who quotes Onomacritus ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς: Pyrrh. Hyp. III. 30, Cont. Math. IX. 361. On the strength of these passages it used to be assumed that all the poems handed down to us under the name of Orpheus were the work of Onomacritus: but this conclusion was somewhat premature. Sextus Empiricus may perhaps be right with regard to the particular passage he was alluding to; though Lobeck (*Aglaophamus*, p. 386) refers it to the *Τριαγμοὶ*, said to be by Ion Chius: but Tatian was not a man of learning or critical discrimination; and was speaking vaguely, with no other object than that of denying the genuineness and great antiquity of the Orphic poems: provided they were brought down to the literary age of Greece, he did not care who was the author. Nor is it conceivable that with such a number of literary impostors, and such strong temptations to foist poems on Orpheus, Onomacritus should have been the only person who ever bethought himself of doing so. Besides from the more explicit passage in Clemens which follows the one quoted above, and from Suidas, we learn a number of names of persons who had forged Orphic poems; and Clemens imputes nothing to Onomacritus but the *Χρησμοὶ*, Suidas only the *Χρησμοὶ* and the *Τελευταί*. At present it is pretty well agreed upon by scholars, that among our Orphic poems there is nothing, unless possibly at the utmost a fragment or two, that can have come from Onomacritus. The *Argonautics* Hermann maintains on very strong grounds, though the point is still controverted, cannot have been earlier than the fourth century of our era: and Niebuhr, who never expresses an opinion without having well weighed it, brings them down to the fifth or sixth century: *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. note 50. The *Λιθικά* are referred by Tyrwhitt to the age of Constantine, by Ruhnken and Hermann to that of Domitian. With regard to the poem quoted by Tzetzes, containing the verses in question, Wesseling in his *Probabilia*, c. 17, on discovering that most of the extracts made from it by Tzetzes were to be found in a poem *Περὶ καταρχῶν* by Maximus, the tutor of Julian, and on observing that neither Varro nor Columella, neither Pliny nor any other ancient writer, with the single exception of this

late and blundering grammarian, ever speaks of any Orphic poem on agriculture, started a very plausible conjecture, that the only ground for supposing that such a poem ever existed was a mistake of Tzetzes in fathering the work of Maximus on Orpheus. Tyrwhitt, who, as well as Hermann, embraces this opinion, has suggested an ingenious method of accounting for Tzetzes falling into such an error in the preface to the *Λιθικά*, note 7. Else if we suppose that the whole poem was addrest either to a real or a fictitious Musæus, as we see the Orphic *Ἡμέραι* were from the first lines of them quoted by Tzetzes in the introduction to his commentary on Hesiod, this would have been amply enough to mislead Tzetzes, and more than he had to induce him to ascribe the *Λιθικά* to Orpheus: the origin of which misnomer Tyrwhitt, apparently with reason, imputes to the same grammarian. The beginning of the poem *περὶ καταρχῶν* is wanting in our copy of it, so that we know not to whom it was inscribed; but there are several passages in which the poet addresses some real or imaginary friend. Lobeck indeed in the *Aglaophamus*, pp. 421–424, brings forward some very subtile arguments against Tyrwhitt: but he is forced to assume that Maximus incorporated large passages of the Orphic poem without altering a word; and there is not the slightest apparent difference of style between such parts and the rest to warrant so improbable a supposition: so that in fact there would be less hazard in supposing with Ruhnken that the poem *περὶ καταρχῶν* is erroneously attributed to Maximus, and belongs to the Alexandrian age. Nor does Lobeck succeed in getting over the difficulty that no such work is mentioned either in the lists of the Orphic poems—which, if it stood alone, would not be of much weight—or by any of the ancient writers on agriculture; though if Varro or Pliny had ever heard of such an Orphic poem, which was not a notorious forgery, he would assuredly have named it by the side of Hesiod.

But whatever may be the age of these lines—and even Lobeck, p. 426, calls the *Ἔργα* and *Ἡμέραι* *omnium recentissima*,—in no case can any legitimate inference be drawn from them as to the antiquity of the planetary days. Scaliger, in order to put his meaning into the words, is forced not only to coax the text a little, but to fabricate an unheard

of and almost unimaginable superstition: and besides, as Selden remarks, III. 19, there is not a syllable in the words about *the day of Mars*: it is not a saying like our proverb, *A Saturday's moon, If it come once in seven years, comes once too soon*: even as Scaliger writes the words, they only mean, *if Mars appear on the first day of the month, and the Moon rise in conjunction with Mars, abstain from work*. But on looking closely at the whole passage one may pretty nearly satisfy oneself that Mars is a mere intruder into it, and has no sort of business there. The note of Tzetzes is on the line where Hesiod charges the husbandman to observe the days of the lunar month, several of which were supposed to have peculiar qualities attacht to them: he says nothing about any conjunction of the Moon with particular planets: nor does Tzetzes in the remarks with which he introduces his quotation: and the four lines that follow the two adduced by Scaliger, shew that the poet in this place was not thinking of any such conjunction, but merely describing the gradual growth of the Moon day by day. This is still more certain if Scaliger be right, as he appears to be, in placing these lines (de Emend. Temp. p. 10) at the beginning of the *Ἡμέραι*, immediately after the invocation. In other places indeed Tzetzes, on vv. 568 and 778, commends Orpheus for not talking barely of the phases of the Moon, but, in a more scientific and profitable manner, of her conjunction with the planets and with the signs of the zodiac; a description agreeing exactly with the poem *περὶ καταρχῶν*: it was natural however that the whole should be preceded by some general lines about the appearances of the Moon. And such is the case, if the lines in question be written as I believe they should be:

Πρῶτον μὲν πρώτῳ ἐνὶ ἡματι φαίνεται ἀραίη
 Μήνη, ὅτ' ἐσπερίη (or ἐσπερίην) ἐπιτέλλεται ἰσχεο δ' ἔργων.
 Τήνδε δ' ἄρ' ἐξανύσασα φύσιν δικέρων ἀναφαίνει.
 Ἀυτὰρ ἐπὴν τρίτον ἡμαρ ἀποπρόθεν ἡελίοιο,
 Πᾶσιν ἐπιχθονίοισι φυτοσπόρου αἰτὶν ἀλκῆς.
 Τετράδι δ' αὖξομένη πολυφεγγέα λαμπάδα τείνει.

Πρῶτον in the first line is the common reading. *Εἰ*, which is here left out, was an insertion made by Scaliger. At the end of the first line one manuscript reads *φαίνεται ἄρσης*, and at the beginning of the next line two manuscripts have *μήνη ὥστ'*

ἄρρην: Trincavelli gives φαίνεται ἄρως Μήνη ὥστ' ἄρειν. Hence Lobeck suggests that the true reading is φαίνεται ἀραίη Μήνη, ὅτ' εἰς Ἄρην ἐπιτέλλεται. But perhaps the second mention of Mars should be got rid of as well as the first: and the various readings incline one to conjecture that ἐσπερίη or ἐσπερίην is the right word. If the grammarians were correct, at least in the sense usually assigned to them, ἐπιτέλλεται ought to be ἀνατέλλεται. *E grammaticorum canone*, says Schæfer on Apollonius Rhodius, Vol. II. p. 286, *de sole et luna dicitur ἀνατέλλειν, de ceteris sideribus ἐπιτέλλειν*. But here, as in numberless other instances when trying to draw distinctions between homonymous words, people have been misled by fixing their attention on something that was merely accidental: everybody likes to have a rule, to save himself the trouble of thinking; but few like taking the trouble of thinking, in order to get at the rule. Yet, though in course of time distinctions seemingly arbitrary establish themselves in language, when we can trace them to their source we always find there was some ground for them. This ground in the present instance seems to have been, that ἀνατολή meant *the coming up, the rising*, ἐπιτολή *the coming upon, or coming forth*. Phrynichus, to whom Schæfer refers, seems to mean the same thing, though he does not express it quite clearly: ἀνατέλλειν (he says) is applied to the Sun, ἐπιτέλλειν to Sirius or Orion, or any other stars that do not revolve in like manner with the Sun and Moon. Thus Sophocles, to take a single instance, speaks of the misfortunes which come, αἱ μὲν ἀπ' αἰλίου δυσμᾶν, αἱ δ' ἀνατέλλοντος. Oed. Col. 1246. In the Philoctetes too, v. 1138, I can hardly help thinking that he used the word in the same sense, and that Gedike is right in his very slight alteration of μυρί' ἀπ' αἰσχροῶν into μυρία τ' αἰσχροῶν ἀνατέλλονθ', ὅσ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν κάκ' ἔμήσατ' Ὀδυσσεύς, or whatever the last word ought to be: though I would not interpret ἀνατέλλονθ' actively, but pretty nearly as Gernhard does, *and a thousand disgraceful things arising from the evils which Ulysses has devised against me*. From this sense of ἀνατέλλειν, ἀνατολή came to be used by itself for *sunrise*, and then for *the East*: whence *Anatolia* became the name of a country, analogous to the *Levant* and *Hesperia*. Ἐπιτολή

on the other hand may be exemplified by the description of Hippomedon's shield in the *Phœnissæ*, 1130—1134.

ἔχων σημεῖον ἐν μέσῳ σάκει
 στικτοῖς πανόπτην ὄμμασιν δεδορκότα,
 τὰ μὲν σὺν ἄστρον ἐπιτολαῖσιν ὄμματα
 βλέποντα, τὰ δὲ κρύπτοντα δυνόντων μέτα,
 ὥς ὕστερον θανόντος εἰσορᾶν παρῆν.

The last of these lines, Valckenær says, is so silly that it must be spurious. Yet a little after he reprehends Euripides for making the messenger describe what he could not possibly have seen. This is the very reason why the poet added the last line: and such was probably Porson's feeling, who pronounces it to be perfectly genuine. The preceding lines however have some little difficulty; not indeed on account of the construction, at which Matthiæ halts, and which he thinks tends to shew that they are spurious: for there is no reason why βλέποντα and κρύπτοντα should not agree with πανόπτην, Argus being represented as seeing with half his eyes, and closing the other half. But it is not equally clear why he should have his eyes open on one side, as the words seem to imply, in the eastern region, where all the stars are shining, and should close them on the other side, in the western region, where they are fading away. Unless the poet intended Argus to be a symbol, as he was often taken to be, of the heavens—and such a symbolical meaning would not only be out of keeping with the rest of the passage, in which there is great spirit, but would introduce the symbol very awkwardly by the side of the thing symbolized—it would seem as if he had been guilty of a logical inaccuracy, and forgot that it was not at different times, but at the same time, that Argus according to the legend had half his eyes open and the other half closed. If so, this is only another instance of the way in which even great poets have often tript in describing imaginary works of art: for very few men have an imagination sufficiently vivid to embrace all the nice details and conditions belonging to such things. Be this however as it may, the ἐπιτολαὶ ἄστρον in this passage is *the coming forth of the stars*, the poet describing that as taking place, which the artist must portray

in its fulfilment: for the one represents the action, the other the act. In another line of the same play, 514, all the recent editors follow Valckenær in reading ἄστρον ἂν ἔλθοιμ' αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀντολὰς, on the sole authority of Stobæus; though all the manuscripts of Euripides, and all those of Plutarch with a doubtful exception, give ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς, or ἀνατολὰς. Yet *I would go to the place where the Sun (or the star of the Sun) rises*, has a clear definite meaning. But what is the meaning of *I would go to the place where the stars of heaven rise*? Does it mean *I would go up to the heavens*? if so, it is very awkwardly exprest, and the word ought then to be ἐπιτολὰς. Yet nobody would say, *I would go to the place where the stars rise*, merely meaning the same thing as *where the Sun rises*. Besides αἰθέρος is a totally idle word: but ἄστρον ἡλίου is not an idle pleonasm; for ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς, if it stood alone, would merely mean *toward the east*, as in the Prometheus 709. Not however that ἀνατολή could not be applied to a star: we find it so used by Eschylus, where Prometheus says, 456, that men had no certain marks whereby to anticipate the return of the seasons, until he taught them ἀντολὰς ἄστρον—τάς τε δυσκρίτους δύσεις· that is, not the nightly appearance and disappearance of the stars, but their heliacal rising and setting: a branch of knowledge the importance of which to the ancients may be seen from all their books upon agriculture, whether in prose or verse; for the husbandman's calendar in those times was not written on paper but on the sky. The same phrase is also used in the Agamemnon, v. 7: for that line is most assuredly genuine; though Valckenær is followed by Porson and many of the subsequent editors in rejecting it as spurious; because forsooth it does not occur in Achilles Tatius: but neither does all the rest of the play. That line is almost indispensable to make sense of the passage in which it stands, though the words will construe very well without it; and critics seldom look beyond this. Schutzes interpretation, at which Butler exclaims *quam splendide*, makes Eschylus talk nonsense: for it is little better, to bring in the guard saying that by watching for a whole year he had become acquainted with the Sun and Moon, to which he can hardly have been quite a stranger before. Nor is there a word about his having

become familiar with the various aspects of the Sun and Moon at different seasons of the year: such a thought would put meaning into the passage, but would have the minute features of modern, rather than the grand ones of ancient poetry, least of all those of the simple Hebraic sublimity of Eschylus. Nor again do these lines contain any allusion to the astral influences on events or on diseases: it is singular that, though Stanley compares this passage with that in the Prometheus, so many of our modern commentators should have missed its obvious meaning. The seventh line contains no repetition of the fourth: the guard says that by his long watch he has become acquainted with the host of the nightly heavens, and with those bright powers that bring summer and winter to mortals, those stars that shine forth in the sky, with the seasons of their setting and of their rising. Even Humboldt, who renders the last words by *andrer neu Entstehn*, does not seem to have understood them quite clearly: Wellauer, who, though he retains the seventh line, puts a colon after the sixth, evidently did not: but they are rightly rendered by Hermann, Opusc. II. 78. For the husbandman and mariner were not the only persons to whom these stars were objects of interest: those who had a nightly watch determined the hour of the night by observing them: as may be seen, not to go beyond the sphere of Greek tragedy, from the Rhesus, 527–536:

Χορευτ. α. β'. Τίνος ἀ φυλακά; τίς ἀμείβει
τὰν ἐμάν; πρῶτα
δύεται σημεῖα· καὶ ἐπτάποροι
Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι· μέσα δ' αἰετὸς οὐρανὸν πο-
τᾶται.

Χορευτ. γ'. δ'. ἔγρεσθε, τί μελλετε; κοιτᾶν
ἔγρεσθε πρὸς φυλακάν.

Χορευτ. ε. ς'. οὐ λεύσσετε μηνάδος αἴγλαν;
ἀὼς δὴ πέλας ἀὼς

γίγνεται· καὶ τίς πρὸ δόμων ὅδε γ' ἐστὶν ἀστήρ;

In dividing these lines between divers personages of the chorus, I have followed Hermann (Opusc. III. 305); who has infused new life into a number of passages in the Greek tragedies by a similar process. In the recent editions, by Matthiæ and the two Dindorfs, the stop after σημεῖα in the third line

is omitted, without even the substitution of a comma for it: hereby the sense of the whole passage is perverted, and the poet is made to say that the Pleiads are setting when the Eagle is in the middle of the heavens. Now this is directly contrary to the truth, and to the real meaning of the poet; who describes the Moon as just rising, the dawn as coming on, the first constellations as setting or fading away, the Eagle as soaring in mid heaven, and the sevenfold Pleiads as having just mounted above the horizon. *Αιθέριαι* is not an epithet, but the predicate, and is rightly rendered by Musgrave: the Pleiads are *in the sky*. The position of the constellations is clearly explained by Scaliger in his preface to Manilius, p. 4, and by Milton in Barneses note. Scaliger has also shewn how well this description corresponds with the period of the taking of Troy as assigned by the Greek chronologers: which affords a strong confirmation of Hermann's opinion that the Rhesus was written by an Alexandrian poet. The meaning of this passage having been so fully pointed out, it is surprising that such excellent scholars as Matthiæ and the Dindorfs should have overlookt it: but this is only a fresh instance of the gross errors into which such as take hold of philology by a single branch are perpetually liable to fall. In the latter lines of the foregoing passage *ἀὼς* must mean the morningstar: *the morningstar is already at hand: nay, what is this star here (or is not this he) before the house?* There is not the slightest need of Hermann's alteration—*καί τις προμολῶν ὁδὲ γ' ἐστὶν ἀστήρ*. In *προμολῶν* indeed there is no harm: but his other change destroys the spirit of the passage. In another passage of a similar purport at the beginning of the Iphigenia in Aulis difficulties have been raised by modern critics, though the chief part of it is clear enough. When the old servant comes out at Agamemnon's summons, the following dialogue takes place:

Αγ. Τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστήρ ὁδὲ πορθμεύει;

Πρεσβ. Σείριος, ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐπταπόρου
Πλειάδος ἄσσω, ἔτι μεσσήρης.

Αγ. Οὐκ οὐν φθόγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνίθων
οὔτε θαλάσσης· σιγαὶ δ' ἀνέμων
τόνδε κατ' Εὐριπον ἔχουσιν.

Here Bremi (Philologische Beyträge aus der Schweiz, p. 212)

says the poet, as the common text runs, is guilty of a gross absurdity, in making Agamemnon ask the old man what star such a one is, as if the lord could be ignorant of what the servant knew: this absurdity however is not a whit greater than for a prince to ask his gardener the name of a plant. The old man, who, we are to suppose, had kept watch in his time, had thereby become acquainted with the face of the heavens, and knew ἀστέρας ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν. But Agamemnon had never had occasion to study astronomy in this way: perhaps however Bremi supposed that his tutor or his schoolmaster must of course have taken care to see him duly grounded in all the elements of science. He further complains that, after Agamemnon has promised the old man to tell him some matter of importance, he begins with asking the simple question, *What star is that?* This however only proves that Bremi must quite misunderstand the whole passage, the beauty of which consists in the representation of Agamemnon's wavering purpose, of his inability to make up his mind and reluctance to take a decisive step, distracted as he is by the conflicting calls of his duty as a general and his affection as a father. Nothing can be truer to nature than an idle question of this sort, when there is a great load on the heart which it longs but fears to cast off. Besides this question answers the purpose of letting us know the season of the night at which the unhappy father is wandering about disturbed by sleepless cares: for the word μεσσήρης, as Matthiæ remarks, indicates that it is midnight. Agamemnon's answer too, to which Bremi likewise objects, is perfectly appropriate, as marking the contrast between the quiet of all without and the disquietude of all within, at the same time that he naturally follows the train of thought by which he is trying for the moment to escape from his distress. Οὐκ οὐν means *therefore, accordingly, there is no sound*, and is better suited to the context than οὐ μήν: for there is no contrast, but a correspondence, between the stillness of the night and the midnight hour. Nor is Bremi much more fortunate in his conjecture that all the lines quoted above are a continuous soliloquy, and that Agamemnon, being alone, lifts up his eyes to heaven, as everybody does when alone beneath the starry sky, and after asking himself *What star can that be?* indulges in reflexions, very

much as Werther might have done, about the stillness and calmness of the night. Such sentimental soliloquies are totally alien from the whole spirit of ancient poetry, as Hermann and Matthiæ have also remarkt: though the latter seems to fancy there is force in some of Bremi's objections. Bremi however makes one suggestion in which there is a good deal of plausibility. Scaliger, in his preface to Manilius (p. 5), after quoting the second and third lines asks, how came Euripides not to consult his own eyes, *ut posset videre quantum intervallum sit inter Sirium et Ursam majorem?* The last two words must apparently be a slip of the pen: the difficulty however which Scaliger felt, how Euripides could speak of Sirius as near the Pleiads, has also been felt by others: and Musgrave tries to get over it by his usual resource of a rash and unwarrantable conjecture, substituting Πτωκάδος, that is, the *Hare*, for Πλειάδος. Bremi produces authority to shew that the Dogstar was not the only star to which the ancient Greeks gave the name of Σείριος, and he thinks it probable the star here meant may be Aldebaran. This supposition is a little confirmed by one of the Arabic names of Aldebaran, *Hhâdi el-nedschm, the driver of the Pleiads*: see Ideler Untersuchungen über die Sternnamen, p 137. Perhaps however one is hardly justified in expecting accuracy in such matters from a poet in the age of Euripides, when scarcely more than half a dozen constellations seem to have had popular names: and as both the Pleiads and Sirius were usually mentioned along with Orion (see Hesiod Op. et Di. 607, 617), it is not very surprising that they should here be brought into immediate juxtaposition.

In a fragment of the Melanippe of Euripides (III. Matth.) quoted by Clemens and Cyril, the ἀντολαὶ or ἐπαντολαὶ ἀστέρων are again spoken of, in an account of Hippo,

ἡ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῖα προυμαντεύσατο
 χρησμοῖσι σαφέσιν ἀστέρων ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς.

This passage is so mutilate that one cannot make out what the θεῖα were which she foretold: the word χρησμός might seem to imply that they were something more than the mere phenomena of nature; but both Cyril and Clemens refer the lines to natural philosophy; so that they probably only relate to the art of foretelling the weather from the heliacal rising

of the stars. Such, so well-defined and well-grounded, being the usage of the tragedians with regard to the ἀνατολαὶ ἄστρον, it is rather singular that a different distinction should have become the prevalent one. Yet Geminus (c. 11) says that the ἀνατολή of a star was its daily rising, the ἐπιτολή its annual or heliacal rising. The reason was probably, that when the daily revolution of the stars became a matter of consideration, which it is not to poetry, not being sufficiently palpable and immediate, but requiring continuous observation to perceive it, ἀνατέλλειν came into use, and properly so, for the daily rising of the stars above the horizon: see for instance Aratus, Phænom. 534, 540, 556, 560, 564, 569. But it was of great importance for scientific accuracy to have distinct words for the two phenomena; and the ἐπιτολή in the sense before spoken of being a thing about which science did not concern itself, that word was appropriated to the heliacal rising. That it bore this sense very early, appears from Thucydides, II. 78; and in the treatise of Hippocrates on diet, III. 4, it occurs a number of times; though this usage was not fixed till late: in the Platonic Epinomis, p. 990, we find δυσμάς τε καὶ ἀνατολάς. Nay in early times ἐπιτέλλομαι seems to have been the general word for the rising of all the heavenly bodies: not only does Hesiod (Op. et Di. 381, 565) apply it to the heliacal rising of the Pleiads and Arcturus; but in the Homeric hymn to Mercury, 371, we find ἡελίοιο νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο: unless this is to be rendered, *the sun being newly above the horizon*. To return after this long digression, which however is not altogether alien from the subject of this inquiry, ἐπιτέλλεται in the Orphic line, as applied to the new moon, is used with perfect propriety: for she does not rise above the horizon, but comes out of the sky in the west, ἐσπερίη. In the third line the texts vary between Τήνδε γὰρ ἐξανύσασα, and Τήνδε παρεξανύσασα: but γὰρ seems to be quite out of place; the true reading might be either τήνδε δ' ἄρ' ἐξανύσασα, or τήν δὲ παρεξανύσασα. The word δικέρων evidently alludes to the expression μόσχος μονοκέρως, which Proclus on the Works and Days, 767, says was a name given by Orpheus to the month on the newmoon.

The examination of these two passages has taken up some time. But it is a mark of deference due to the prince of

critics, not to reject any opinion of his, more especially one delivered so repeatedly and with such confidence, and belonging to a subject which was his more immediate province, without patiently weighing the grounds of it. Every sciolist in these days may now and then detect Scaliger in error; but scholars will feel no pride in doing so: they will perceive that, when he went wrong, it was because he had to make a way through a thick interminable forest, hardly any part of which had yet been cleared: and they will turn from this subject to the vast stores of knowledge and thought treasured up in his various writings, above all in his great masterworks on chronology: they will be filled with admiration at finding how much he achieved with his scanty means; and their own experience will convince them that Scaliger's mistakes are often far more instructive than other men's correctnesses. With regard to the present point it is manifest that the natural and inevitable tendency of scholars on their first entrance into the field of ancient literature was to regard everything as that which it professed to be: children are always ready to take on trust, and scepticism is the slow growth of a late age. It is astonishing what Scaliger effected by comparing authorities and thus extracting truth from them: but the art of cross-examining witnesses was only in its infancy; indeed he himself is almost the first person who made any extensive application of it: and hardly anybody dreamt of questioning that the witnesses were really what they gave themselves out to be. It was not till Bentley put forth his masterly model of such inquiries, that this higher sort of criticism, as the Germans call it, was pursued with any degree of boldness: and it is only since Wolf employed it with such brilliant success in his analysis of the Homeric poems, that scholars have learnt to follow the same path unshrinkingly, to look not only at the letter but behind it, and from an author's words to elicit a meaning which he never meant to put into them.

As the passages quoted by Scaliger are inefficient to prove the great antiquity of the planetary days, let us return to Dion's opposite assertion, that the use of these names began not long before his time, and let us see how far it is borne out by such evidence as remains. If we restrict his words, as we justifiably may—indeed we are hardly warranted in

stretching them further—to the spread of those names through Europe, they agree perfectly with all that we find in other writers. The antiquity of the planetary days in Egypt and Assyria seems to lie beyond the reach of our inquiries: but the currency of their names in the Roman empire arose no doubt from the connexion of the Romans with Egypt, and was probably promoted by the influence which the Egyptians, or at least the Alexandrians, exercised on the reformation of a calendar under Julius Cæsar.

In the earliest passages in which we find mention of a planetary day, it is always in connexion with the Jewish sabbath; which seems to have been known by the name of Saturn's day some time before the others were by theirs: for though it is true, there might be more frequent occasion for books to speak of Saturn's day than any other, some passages seem to imply that the Romans were more familiar with it. The oldest unquestioned mention of a planetary day hitherto alledged is where Tibullus is speaking of the excuses he devised to defer his leaving his Delia: i. 3. 17:

Aut ego sum causatus aves, aut omina dira,
Saturni aut sacram me tenuisse *diem*.

From which passage, compared with Ovid, *Ars Amand.* i. 415, *Remed. Am.* 220, it appears that the Romans had already imbibed some of the Jewish notions touching the sabbath. Ideler (*Chronologie*, ii. 178) suggests that they may perhaps have been led to do so by fancying there was some analogy between the Jewish rest on the day of Saturn and their own Saturnalia. If the nundines were consecrated to Saturn, as Plutarch states (*Quæst. Rom.* c. 42), this would have had a similar tendency: but Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 16) says, on the authority of Granius Licinianus, that the nundines were the feast of Jupiter: so that Plutarch, who, as a foreigner, was likelier to be mistaken, perhaps confounded the nundines with the Saturday of the planetary week.

In the very singular passage in which Tacitus speaks of the Jewish religion (*Hist.* v. 4), he tells us that some persons imagined the sabbatical rest was in honour of Saturn, because, among other reasons of the seven stars by which mortals are governed, that of Saturn has the widest orbit and the highest power. One cannot determine positively from these words,

whether Tacitus was familiar with the rest of the planetary days or not: had they occurred in any other writer, one should have concluded, either that the writer himself was not so, or that his readers were so well acquainted with them that they could catch this indirect allusion: but Tacitus unfortunately did not make it his first object to write intelligibly. At all events the person from whom Tacitus drew his information was aware of the planetary week; and it must have been of such antiquity either in Egypt or in the East, that there was nothing outrageously absurd in connecting it with the institution of the Jewish sabbath.

Frontinus, who lived under Nerva, says (Strateg. II. 1. 17): Vespasian defeated the Jews by attacking them on Saturn's day, on which it is unlawful for them to do anything. This passage throws no fresh light on our question. But it is remarkable that Justin Martyr in his first Apology, 67, says that the Crucifixion took place τῇ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς, and the Resurrection τῇ μετὰ τὴν κρονικὴν, ἥτις ἔστιν ἡλίου ἡμέρα. One of the commentators observes that Justin purposely avoided saying τῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἡμέρα, from the infamy of that goddess: but it is rather likelier that the name of the day of Venus was not familiar to his readers; and besides, though he speaks of the Sun's day several times in the same section, the first time he says: ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Nor does there appear to be any earlier mention of the other planetary days, than that in Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VII. 12; where it is said that a true gnostic knows the symbolical meaning of the fasts on the fourth and sixth day of the week: for the one is entitled the day of Mercury, the other of Venus: so that he will fast during his whole life from covetousness and from lust.

That the sabbath was commonly observed by the Romans of his time, is asserted by Tertullian, Apologet. 16, and Ad Nation. 1. 13, in a very curious passage, where he says that they had admitted the Sun in *laterculum septem dierum*. That the planetary week was generally known through the Roman world shortly after, is sufficiently attested by Dion: and, when Constantine embraced Christianity, it was introduced into the national calendar. In an inscription publisht by Gruter, CLXIV. 2, it is said that *provisione pietatis suae*

nundinas die solis perpeti anno constituit. Thus Constantine was the author of the practice of holding markets on Sunday, which in many parts of Europe prevailed above a thousand years after, though Charlemagne issued a special law (cap. cxi) against it. To such a highth was this abuse carried, that in the year 1200, Matthew Paris tells us, "a letter descended from heaven at Jerusalem and fixt itself over the altar of St Simeon at Golgotha: whereupon the people who saw it hanging in the air, fell prostrate on the earth. At length on the third day the patriarch and the archbishop Zacharias arose from their knees, and took the letter, which, they found, was a threatening injunction from heaven to keep the Lord's day. It was despacht to the Pope, who straightway sent forth preachers to the various parts of the world, to enforce its commands by their teaching and by their miracles. Among others Eustace, abbot of Flay, came to England, wrought divers wonders, and went from place to place, from province to province, from city to city, persuading many to works of piety and to take up the cross; and he so strictly prohibited markets on the Lord's day, that in all parts of England they were removed to the Monday. Nevertheless (continues the historian) in process of time people returned in most places like the dog to his vomit." In later times they were generally transferred to the Saturday; in choosing which day one motive, as Hüllmann remarks (*Stædtewesen des Mittelalters*, i. 289), was the wish to be free from the competition of the Jews.

It seems fairly inferable from the foregoing passages that the general diffusion of the planetary week through the Roman empire cannot have been much anterior to the age of Dion. At the same time we are left in the dark as to the period at which these names of the days originated: only it must have been long before the time of Tibullus; for he uses the term *Saturn's day* as a wellknown equivalent for the sabbath: and the quotation from Tacitus seems to imply, that in some of the countries about Judea they were of very great antiquity. At the same time it is remarkable that Philo, though he repeatedly enters into discussions, some of them of great length, concerning the week, and the sanctity of the number seven, and mentions the seven planets

among the instances of its dominating through the whole of animate and inanimate nature (*De Mundi Opificio*, Vol. I. p. 27; *De Decem Oraculis*, Vol. II. p. 198; *De Septenario et Festis Diebus*, Vol. II. p. 281), never alludes to the names of the planets as being made use of to designate the days. Does this warrant our concluding that such a use of those names was not prevalent at Alexandria in his time? or is this only another example of the insecurity of conclusions drawn from merely negative arguments? Among the monuments at Herculaneum we meet with evidence that the whole planetary week was known, at least to artists, about the time of Augustus. In the *Pitture di Ercolano*, Vol. III. pl. 50, there is a series of seven heads, representing the planetary deities, in the order of the days of the week, Saturn, Apollo, Diana, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus. An ancient bronze too has been found, representing the same seven deities sitting in a boat, in the same order, and likewise beginning with Saturn; of which bronze an engraving and explanation are given by Montfaucon, *Antiq. Expl. Suppl.* I. pl. XVII. p. 37. The same learned antiquarian discovers a reference to the planetary days in a cameo containing Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury, surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac: and the interpretation by which he accounts for the selection of these three is ingenious and amusing enough. He conceives that there is a reference to an old line, found near the end of the editions of Ausonius,

Ungues Mercurio, barbam Jove, Cypride crines,
which enjoins the cutting ones nails on Mercury's day, ones beard on Jupiter's, ones hair on that of Venus. This line is usually followed by an epigram asserting that Mercury likes sharp nails as convenient for picking and stealing, and that Jupiter prides himself on his beard, Venus on her hair, so that neither can wish to have their favorite ornament cut off. It seems (adds the good Benedictine) that the artist here has wisht to represent Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus, protesting against this custom as if they themselves were subject to it. "*Mercure part et tend un doigt: seroit-ce pour montrer son ongle qu'il ne veut pas qu'on rogne? Jupiter tient des deux côtez la foudre flamboiante, et sa pique, prêt à défendre sa barbe. Venus, qui parle à Jupiter, a entortillé ses*

cheveux de maniere qu'elle parût bien éloignée de les donner à couper." There can be little doubt that the old explanation of this cameo is correct, and that it represents the scene described in the first book of the Eneid, Venus supplicating Jupiter in behalf of her son, and Mercury on the point of departing after receiving orders to prepare Dido for entertaining Eneas. But be this as it may, there being nothing to determine the date of these works, they cannot help us on in our inquiry. If we had the latter part of the fourth book of Plutarch's Symposiac Questions, more light would probably be thrown on the whole subject. It appears from the heading of this book, that the seventh question discust in it was, *Διὰ τί τὰς ὁμωνύμους τοῖς πλάνησιν ἡμέρας οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων τάξιν ἀλλ' ἐνηλλαγμένως ἀριθμοῦσιν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ ἡλίου τάξεως.* The last words refer to the position assigned to the sun in the system of the seven planets; on which more anon. These very words however seem to infer that Plutarch entered into the matter at some length; and it is to be regretted that his remarks have been lost. For though he is not a writer to whom one can look for profound or elaborate research, what he gave could not fail to be valuable in our lack of equally early information. As the two preceding questions are about the Jews, this must probably have been suggested by the Jewish sabbath: we should perhaps have learnt what nations in his days used the planetary names of the week; and though his love for Egypt would no doubt have led him to seek their original there, we might possibly have found a hint or two pointing to a more easterly source, and have made out something about the antiquity of the belief in the planetary hours.

But Scaliger in the passages quoted above asserts that the planetary days were much older than the division of the day into twentyfour hours: which division, he says, *et Graecorum est commentum, et longe post tempora Solonis in heliotropiis Graecorum notatum, et tandem sub Romanorum imperio ad Judaeos a Romanis translatum*: p. 135. Were this the case, Dion's second solution would fall to the ground, in spite of our having got rid of Scaliger's two authorities for the great antiquity of the planetary days. Now it is well known that *ῥα* at first did not mean an hour, but any period

of time, answering pretty nearly to our word *season*; that in Homer it is only a season of the year; that in the Hymn to Mercury it is first applied to a season of the day; and that it did not come into use in the definite sense of an hour, to denote the twentyfourth part of a day, till a very late age. On this subject Ideler speaks with his usual learning and judgement in his admirable Manual of Chronology: i. 238—9. The definite sense of the word, he concludes, was first introduced at Alexandria, where the improvements in the construction of sundials, their multiplication, and the invention of waterclocks, led to the general adoption of a more precise division of time: it arose, he plausibly conjectures, from the names, ὥρολόγιον and ὥροσκόπιον, given to these clocks as *telling* or *discovering* the *season* of the day; whence the determinate periods markt out by them grew to be called *hours*. Ὥρα in this sense hardly occurs in any writer before Hipparchus, B. C. 140. From Alexandria the names past along with the things to Rome. Pliny, vii. 60, and Censorinus, c. xxiii, tell us the first waterclock ever seen there was constructed by P. Cornelius Nasica; the former adds, in the year of the city 595. Since it is extremely improbable that any Roman, in the total absence of all scientific knowledge, should have hit on such an invention, he probably copied it from an Alexandrian one: and as inventions in those days did not travel with such speed as at present, we may assume that the first clocks were invented at Alexandria in the third century before Christ: and the division of the day into twentyfour *hours* would be almost contemporaneous.

But the division of the day into twentyfour parts was known several centuries before. On this subject we fortunately have half a dozen words from the writer who has supplied us with so large a portion of our most valuable information concerning the early ages of mankind: and half a dozen words from Herodotus are worth more than detailed statements from most other writers; for he had an admirable eye for truth, and never fails to speak it. In the same passage in which he tells us what he conceives to have been the origin of geometry, and that the Greeks derived it from Egypt (ii. 109), he subjoins somewhat abruptly: πόλον μὲν γὰρ, καὶ γνώμονα, καὶ τὰ δυνώδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρης

παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες. The association which led to this remark seems to have been that of contrast: as the Greeks derived their geometry or earthmeasuring from the Egyptians, so they derived their means of measuring the heavens from the Babylonians: and this in aftertimes became a common mode of expressing the origin of these two sciences. Eusebius for instance says (Praep. Evang. x. 4): γεωμετρίαν μὲν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἔσχον, ἀστρολογίαν δὲ παρὰ Χαλδαίων. The absence of all allusion to the division of the day into twelve parts among the Attic writers shews that it was not adopted as a civil institution: probably it was merely used for scientific purposes by the early Greek astronomers, as it was subsequently by the Alexandrian mathematicians, till it came at length to be generally received. Ideler remarks (p. 238) that the use of the word μέρεα in the preceding passage is an additional proof that ὥραι in the age of Herodotus did not mean *hours*: and he conjectures (p. 235) that Anaximander was the person who first introduced the gnomon into Greece, founding his conjecture on Pliny's statement (II. 6) that Anaximander first (that is, first of the Greeks) discovered the obliquity of the ecliptic, thereby opening the gates of astronomy: this discovery, says Ideler, he could only make by observing the shadow of the gnomon at noon. In the *horologium sciothericon*, which, Pliny says (II. 78), was exhibited at Lacedemon by Anaximenes, the division of the day into twelve parts was no doubt adopted. This latter invention also is ascribed by Laertius to Anaximander: but certainty on such points is of course unattainable, and may well be dispensed with. Be the inventor of the first sundial, or rather the introducer of the first sundial into Greece, Anaximander or Anaximenes, we can now see why Herodotus used the words τὰ δώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρας· which some persons have erroneously interpreted to mean, that the Greeks learnt from the Babylonians to divide the whole civil day, the whole νυχθήμερον, into twelve parts, inferring from thence that a Babylonian hour was equivalent to two common ones. Whereas the only instrument for measuring time introduced into Greece by the Ionic philosophers being a sundial, it was merely that portion of time when the sun is above the horizon that they had the means of dividing into parts: so

that the Greeks as then had not yet learnt τὰ δώδεκα μέρεα τῆς νυκτός.

With the Babylonians however it was otherwise. Their night as well as their day, that is, the period between sunset and sunrise as well as that between sunrise and sunset, was divided into twelve equal parts: for such, when the horary division was introduced, was the practice of all the ancient nations, not only of the Jews and Greeks, who began their civil day at sunset, and of the Babylonians, who began theirs at sunrise,—as we learn from Pliny, II. 79, from Censorinus, c. XXIII, and from the concurrent testimony of ancient writers,—but even of the Romans who began their civil day at midnight. That their practice corresponded with that of other ancient nations would be sufficiently proved by the fact, that Censorinus makes no mention of any other horary division than that of the day and night into twelve hours apiece (c. 23): and it is further established by the whole of the dissertation in which Gellius shews (III. 2) that the civil day began at midnight, a dissertation which Macrobius (Saturn. I. 3), by a somewhat audacious piece of plagiarism, has transcribed almost word for word. Besides there are few passages in Roman authors, where any specific hour is mentioned, from which the same conclusion might not be drawn. It is a striking example of the Roman indifference on such matters, that no attempt was made to bring the two institutions into harmony with each other. In common parlance and belief however the horary division seems to have led to a change: for both Censorinus and Gellius bring forward arguments, which would otherwise have been needless, to prove that the civil day began at midnight; and the latter states that even in Varro's time it was a mooted point, whether a person born during the first six hours of the night belonged to the preceding or the following day: so that the general opinion in his age must have been that the day began at sunset: of which we see the remains in the observance of the eves of saints-days; and indeed the same custom still prevails in many parts of Italy. The older Roman practice of beginning the day at midnight must have been connected with their mode of taking the auspices. Hence Cicero treated of it in *Auguralibus*, (Servius on *Æn.* v. 738). Gellius says: *Magistratus post mediam noctem*

auspicantur, et post meridiem sole magno. Now this branch of divination seems to have been derived from the Sabines; as is almost implied in the story of Attus Navius, and in Livy's account of Numa's inauguration (I. 18), taken no doubt from the *Libri Augurum*, and there introduced as an account of the first origin of the rite: for though the auguries of Romulus and Remus are prior, they merely belong to the poem. Hence the Roman method of determining the civil day was probably of Sabine origin: had the Etruscan custom been the same, Varro would have known it, and we should have found some notice of it. That this mode of commencing the day did not prevail in common usage, is likewise directly implied by the words in which Pliny gives the substance of Varro's remarks: *Sacerdotes Romani, et qui diem diffinire civilem—a media nocte in mediam.* Hence Gellius speaks particularly of the *sacra nocturna* with reference to this very point; in a sentence which Macrobius, though in some places he evidently made use of a better manuscript than those our text is taken from, appears to have misunderstood. Moreover, as midnight was a moment of great importance in the Roman religion, so was noon in their law: and this too was no doubt connected with their mode of beginning the day. *Duodecim tabulis* (says Pliny, VII. 60) *ortus tantum et occasus nominantur: post aliquot annos adjectus est et meridies, accenso Consulum id pronunciante, cum a curia inter rostra et graecostasin prospexisset solem.* The words *post aliquot annos adjectus est* are either corrupt; or else, what seems likelier, Pliny, when he was condensing his commonplacebook, misinterpreted his authority, as frequently happened to him: indeed it could hardly be otherwise, when he had such an incalculable number of particulars to digest. For the word *meridies* occurs twice in a fragment of the Twelve Tables preserved in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, II. 13, and in Gellius XVII. 2. Perhaps what Pliny found stated was merely, that shortly after the enactment of the Twelve Tables an *accensus* was appointed to cry the hour of noon: a very slight perversion would turn this into what he says. Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom. c. 84*), to prove that noon was the legal term when public business was to cease, says that no Roman magistrate ever made a treaty or agreement after it. Hence the words of Gellius, *et post meridiem sole magno*, must be corrupt.

For that the auspices should be taken at night was an essential point: thus much may at all events be collected from the mutilate passage of Festus after Silere, compared with Cicero de Divin. II. 34: and even when the ceremony became a mere form, and people grew loth to quit their beds at midnight, Dionysius (II. 6) tells us the candidates rose at dawn for the purpose of going through mock rites. The reading in Macrobius, *et post exortum solem agunt*, is much likelier to be correct.

The Alexandrian astronomers however, as the hours obtained by the abovementioned division of the natural day and night, though not liable to such great vicissitudes as in our higher latitudes, varied daily, and as those of the night were never, except at the equinox, of the same length with those of the day, felt a want of something more determinate for their observations, and adopted a division of the whole civil day, the *νυχθημέρον*, into twentyfour equal parts; which they called *ῥαι ἰσημεριναί*, or *equinoctial hours*, that is, hours such as those at the equinox, distinguishing them by this name from the *ῥαι καιρικαί* or common ones. A similar division is supposed by Ideler (I. 225) to have been already in use among the Babylonians; as he infers from Ptolemy's record of seven eclipses observed by the Chaldee astronomers in the years 721, 720, 621, 523, 502, 491 before our era. These observations, which are found in the *Almagest*, IV. pp. 95, 102, 125, he has examined in the *Berlin Transactions* for 1815, and finds that they agree very remarkably with Mayer's Tables. Now with regard to the earlier of these eclipses, as Ideler himself remarks, all that Ptolemy found recorded as to the time of their occurrence seems to have been, in the first case that the eclipse began a good hour after moonrise—*ἤρξατο δὲ ἐκλείπειν μετὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν μιᾶς ῥας ἱκανῶς παρελθούσης*,—in the second that *ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεσονυκτίου*—in the third that *ἤρξατο ἐκλείπειν μετὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν*,—in the fourth that *ἤρξατο ἐκλείπειν ῥας ιᾶ ληγούσης*—which he explains to be *μετὰ πέντε ῥας τοῦ μεσονυκτίου καιρικᾶς*. It is true that in three of these statements Ptolemy talks of equinoctial hours; but this is merely for the sake of reducing the variable Babylonian hours to those used by astronomers in his own time: the

Chaldee record spoke only of *ῥαι καιρικαί*: and this, as it was assuredly for astronomical purposes that the day was first divided into equinoctial hours, proves that such a division had not yet been adopted. In treating however of the eclipses in 523, 502, and 491, Ptolemy makes no such reduction, but appears to regard the hours which he found in his documents as equivalent to equinoctial hours: indeed the eclipse in 502 seems to have been registered as having taken place *τῆς νυκτὸς προελθούσης ἰσημερινὰς ὥρας 5 γ'*. Perhaps in these latter instances Ptolemy was merely copying from Hipparchus, who had previously reduced the Babylonian hours to equinoctial ones: else we should have to conclude that the division of the civil day into the latter was introduced at Babylon between the years 621 and 523 B. C; that is to say, about the time when Babylon became subject to the Persians. It is possible indeed that the Medes, to whom the Babylonians, as the very name of Magians given to their astronomers almost implies, seem to have been indebted at least for the first germs of their science, should also have been the introducers of this improvement? At all events however the earlier observations cited by Ptolemy supply us with ample proof that the division of the day and night into twelve hours apiece prevailed at Babylon as early as the eighth century before our era.

Moreover there is a very remarkable statement, resting upon good authority, and supported by some striking coincidences, which would seem to point to a far remoter antiquity. Simplicius in his commentary on Aristotle *De Coelo* says (p. 123), on the authority of Porphyry, that the observations sent by Callisthenes to Aristotle from Babylon went back 1903 years before the time of Alexander. Now Niebuhr in his dissertation on the Armenian translation of Eusebius remarks (*Hist. and Philol. Schriften*, p. 200), that the beginning of this period coincides almost exactly with the date assigned by Berosus to the taking of Babylon by the Medes, and the founding of the Median dynasty there. The great value and authority of Berosus, whose history was founded on the Assyrian state-records, are evident, he says (p. 190), from the exact agreement between his accounts of particular facts in Jewish history and those in

the Bible. He adds, that it is very probable that this series of observations went back to some great political epoch: for in like manner the era of Nabonassar was the commencement of a later more accurate series of observations, and was for that reason generally adopted by the Greek astronomers: see Syncellus, p. 207. Hence on the authority of Berossus, thus borne out, he concludes, that the taking of Babylon by the Medes about 1900 years before Alexander is a fact no less certain than that of Rome by the Gauls. Syncellus, as Niebuhr (p. 192) restores the text by an emendation about which no doubt can be entertained, calls the founder of their dynasty Zoroaster: this name is of course merely a personification of the Magians: but we can thus account for the perpetual confusion noticed above between the Magians and the Chaldeans, and can perceive how Zoroaster came to be called the father of their science, which they may probably have derived in the first instance from the Magians. An additional confirmation of the same passage in Simplicius has been ingeniously deduced by Bailly from that in which Pliny speaks of the antiquity of alphabetical writing, VII. 57: where, after beginning with *litteras semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse*, he proceeds to mention several traditionary inventors of them, and then rejoins: *E diverso Epigenes apud Babylonios DCCXX annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas docet, gravis auctor in primis: qui minimum, Berossus et Critodemus, CCCXC annorum. Ex quo apparet aeternum litterarum usum.* The utter inconsistency between the premises in this passage and the conclusion induced Perizonius to conjecture that an M had dropt out after each of the two numbers; or, as Des Vignoles remarks (II. 635), it is more probable that a line drawn over them, by which mark *thousands* are usually exprest in manuscripts, has been omitted. That one or other of these conjectures is well-founded, seems to be set beyond a doubt by the statement of Diodorus Siculus (II. 31), that the Chaldeans asserted they had begun to observe the stars 473000 years before the expedition of Alexander: which same assertion Cicero must have had in view, when he said in round numbers, without thinking it necessary to add the interval between Alexander's age and his own: *Condemnemus Babylonios aut stultitiae,*

aut vanitatis, aut impudentiae, qui CCCCLXX millia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis comprehensa continent (de Divinat. i. 19.); and again in the same work, II. 46: *Nam quod aiunt, quadringenta septuaginta millia annorum in periclitandis experiendisque pueris, quicumque essent nati,* (in casting nativities), *Babylonios posuisse, fallunt.* *Annus* here, as Bailly observes (Histoire de l' Astronomie Ancienne, 8, 12, 296, 373), must be taken for a day; the same word having at one time been used to designate the diurnal, at another the annual revolution of the sun: much as *ώρα* meant both a season of the year and an hour of the day. This remark, which affords a key to many of the difficulties occasioned by the enormous and otherwise inexplicable numbers found in the ancient chronographers, was made long ago by two Egyptian monks, Annianus and Panodorus, whose historical works are several times quoted by Syncellus (pp. 34. 35), and who, he says, p. 17, ταῦτα ἔτη ἡμέρας ἐλογίσαντο στοχαστικῶς. Syncellus himself indeed treats their hypothesis with contempt: but it is adopted by Des Vignoles and others; and the felicity with which it converts absurdities into rational and probable statements, and reduces the chaos of early chronology into an orderly system, is almost a proof of its truth. Proceeding on this assumption, Bailly shews (p. 374), that the 490000 days of Berossus, after the subtracting of between 40 and 50 years for the interval between his writing his history and the time of Alexander, coincide almost exactly with the 473000 days of Dionysius; and that both concur in carrying back the observations of the Babylonians to the year 1626 B. C. On the other hand if we deal according to the same principle with the 720000 years of Epigenes, they are reduced to 1971 years: and, supposing Epigenes to have lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, this statement would agree with the one found in Simplicius. To account for its discrepancy from that of Berossus, Bailly (p. 145) conjectures that some great improvement in astronomy took place about the middle of the seventeenth century before our era. But the latter of the two passages quoted from Cicero, who professes to have taken it from Panætius, implies that this series of observations were astrological ones: whereas those sent to Aristotle are merely said to have

been astronomical. According to Strabo (xvi. 1. 6) there was a schism between the mere astronomers and the astrologers; and those who pretended to cast nativities were rejected by the others: and from the passage immediately after, in which he speaks of the different γένη even of the astronomers, professing different tenets, as if they were different sects, and apparently inhabiting different towns, it may be inferred that the astrologers were a distinct body from the astronomers; and that, as it was almost an inviolate principle among the Eastern nations for the son to tread in the very footsteps of his father, the separation, when once made, was perpetuated, transmitted from generation to generation, and probably widened by time. Now if Berossus, the historian, be the same person as the Berossus of whom Vitruvius (ix. 6) speaks, and who, Pliny (vii. 37) says, had a statue with a gilt tongue set up to him by the Athenian people in the gymnasium on account of his predictions, this would account for his specifying the duration of the Chaldean astrological observations. Or at all events, as there is nothing to determine that the Berossus who talks of the 480000 years must needs have been the historian, we may fairly conclude that the Berossus of whom Pliny speaks in three several passages of the same seventh book, (cc. 37, 50, 57), was the Berossus mentioned by Vitruvius, who, it may be inferred from the context, must have been an author. Besides a traditionary connexion of the name of Berossus with divination is discoverable in the story that one of the Sibyls was his daughter: see Pausanias x. 12. 9; Justin Martyr Ad Graec. Cohort. c. 37: where however she is said to be the daughter of the historian, and yet, so careless is Justin about chronology, to have been quoted by Plato.

In the other passage of Cicero some obscurity is introduced by the preceding sentence: *Contemnamus Babylonios, eos, qui e Caucasos coeli signa servantes numeris et motibus stellarum cursus persequuntur*. The manuscripts give us no various reading for *Caucaso*: so that Cicero seems either to have adopted the notion, which has been maintained of late by Michælis and Heeren, that the Babylonian Chaldeans were a branch of the Chaldeans near the Caspian; in which case he used *Babylonios* erroneously instead of

Chaldaeos, and transferred the science of the conquered people to the savage conquerors: or he must have concurred with those who made Atropatene the original country of Zoroaster, that is, of the Magian religion, and of their astronomy. The correctness however of the foregoing chronological explanations is strongly supported by a passage in Syncellus (p. 28), where, giving an abstract of the beginning of Berossus history, he makes him say that he was born about the time of Alexander, and that the records of many events were preserved in Babylon with great care, embracing a period of above 150000 years. Now 150000 days, as Bailly says, following Gibert (p. 375), are 410 years, 8 months, and 3 days, the exact interval between the 26th of February of the year 747, the commencement of the era of Nabonassar, and the 1st of November 337, the year and month from which the Babylonians dated the beginning of Alexander's reign. This may be wiredrawing a little; but the coincidence is certainly surprising: and, as Niebuhr remarks (*Histor. und Philol. Schriften*, p. 195), the regular annals of Berossus opened with the beginning of the era of Nabonassar. Nay, Syncellus in another place (p. 207) quotes a statement from Alexander Polyhistor and from Berossus himself, that Nabonassar collected the acts of the kings before him and destroyed them, in order that the line of the Chaldean kings might begin with his reign. These confirmations had escaped Bailly's notice: it is scarcely possible to have a more complete one than the last. As to the 270000 years during which the Assyrians according to Iamblichus (quoted by Proclus on Plato's *Timæus*, p. 31) were said by Hipparchus to have observed the heavens, though we cannot discover any specific era from which these observations commenced, about 870 years B. C., yet there is no incongruity between this statement, and the observations which Ptolemy probably took from Hipparchus, and which go back to the latter half of the eighth century B. C. As the older observations are said by Pliny to have been written on *coctilibus laterculis*, it is not impossible that, if the Persepolitan character, should ever be satisfactorily deciphered, we should still find a record of some taken in very remote ages: and after what Grotefend appears to have effected already, after

what has been effected by others in deciphering the hieroglyphs, we need not despair of being hereafter able to read these ephemerisses of the ancient Chaldees. At present, as Simplicius himself tells us that the observations sent by Callisthenes never reached Greece, they afford us but slender ground for arguing on their contents. To our immediate purpose however it is immaterial: the antiquity of the division of the day into twentyfour hours has been shewn to go far beyond any date at which the planetary names of the days can be proved to have been in use, even if we were to throw in Onomacritus into the bargain.

Here the question naturally suggests itself: what were the means employed by the Babylonians in their measurement of time? Everybody nowadays, who can afford it, has a watch; every church, every house of the least respectability has a clock; and in thinking about past ages we always find it hard to divest ourselves of ourselves, and to conceive that what now is a matter of course can then have been totally unheard of. Perhaps this difficulty is greater when our thoughts turn on the civilized nations of antiquity, than when savages are the objects of them: it is easier to strip human nature all at once of everything with which we are in the habit of seeing it surrounded, than to conceive it with all the highest intellectual endowments, and yet destitute of those mechanical conveniencies that time and accumulated inventions have now supplied us with. Besides matters of this sort are seldom spoken of in books, unless incidentally and allusively: their precise nature is only to be deduced from the combination and comparison of a variety of passages; and after all there may be a good deal of uncertainty about it. Nay, words themselves conspire to delude us: for as the objects are altered, their names are transferred: and when we have once connected a word with a notion so definite and palpable as those excited by familiar objects of our senses, we are very slow to suppose that it can ever have meant anything else. From the abovesited passage of Herodotus we know that the Babylonians had a *γνώμων* and *πόλος*, which must have been a sort of sundial: that is, the *γνώμων* and *πόλος* together formed the dial; the gnomon corresponding on the whole to that which we

designate by the same name, except that, instead of being set parallel to the axis of the earth, it was vertical (Ideler i. 233); while the πόλος was a concave basin on which the shadow of the gnomon fell, and which was perhaps graven with representations of the heavenly bodies, and derived its name from thence, or else from its form, as being a kind of miniature of the heavenly vault. For this was in earlier times the meaning of πόλος: the vault of the heavens was so called on account of its revolution, as Aristophanes himself explains the word in the *Birds*, 182: Ὅτι δὲ πολεῖται τοῦτο καὶ διέρχεται Ἄπαντα, διὰ τοῦτό γε καλεῖται νῦν πόλος. On which passage the scholiast remarks that πόλος was not used by the ancients as in later times for a particular constellation and the end of the axis, but for the whole sphere. Thus for instance in the *Prometheus*, v. 437, Atlas is described as groaning under οὐράνιον πόλον. At the end of the *Orestes* Apollo says he will convey Helen to the palace of Jupiter, after traversing, or perhaps after reaching, λαμπρῶν ἄστρον πόλον. In the seventh fragment of the *Chrysippus* it is said that things sprung from an etherial race εἰς οὐράνιον πόλον ἦλθε πάλιν. In some passages of Euripides on the other hand we find πόλος used in its more restricted sense for the pole. In the *Ion*, 1169, the Bear is described as turning its tail round the χρυσήρει πόλῳ and in the third fragment of the *Pirithous* the two Bears Τοῖς ὠκυπλάνοισι πτερύγων ρίπαῖς Τὸν Ἀτλάντειον τηροῦσι πόλον. Such at least as has been stated above is the most probable explanation of this controverted word in the passage of Herodotus: the discussion of Salmasius about it (on Solinus pp. 446, foll.) is, after his usual manner, very prolix and unsatisfactory. That the γνώμων and πόλος were combined to form the sundial, appears from the *Lexiphanes* of Lucian, c. 4, where he introduces these among his string of antiquated and pedantic words: ὁ γνώμων σκιάζει μέσην τὴν πόλον. That the πόλος was concave is clear from Pollux, vi. 110, who describes one kind of κοτταβεῖον as a round hollow brass basin, like the πόλος which marks the hours: see Ideler i. 234. Hence in later times at all events the name of πόλος was given to that kind of dial which Vitruvius (ix. 8) calls a *scaphe* or *hemisphaerium*,

and the invention of which he ascribes to Aristarchus of Samos. From what he says just before it would seem as if the construction of the Babylonian *πόλος* had been different, though it is extremely difficult to make out the meaning of the words in which he describes it: *hemicyclium excavatum ex quadrato ad enclimaque succisum Berossus Chaldaeus dicitur invenisse*. The name of the inventor need not give us much trouble, as meaning nothing more than that this dial was introduced to the knowledge of the Greeks by the person, who, Vitruvius had before said, coming from Chaldea taught the science of the Chaldeans in Asia Minor (ix. 2), and established a school in the island of Cos (ix. 6). This is far likelier than that there should have been a positive record of any improvement made by this Berossus: and indeed Vitruvius, from his way of bringing it in, seems to have considered this as the original form of the sundial, though, if so, he must probably have been mistaken. From his description, according to the most plausible explanation, one may suppose that the surface of a stone or piece of metal was cut or placed parallel to the axis of the earth (*ad enclima succisum*), and that a semicircle or the fourth part of a sphere was scooped out of this surface: for this seems to be a more legitimate meaning for *hemicyclium*, than that of a cylinder by which Montucla renders it. Delambre (*Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, ii. 511) calls the dial of Berossus a concave hemisphere, having said just before: "on a souvent parlé de l'hemicycle ou plutôt de l'hémisphère de Berosé:" whereas in Vitruvius an express distinction is made between the *hemicyclium* of Berossus and the *hemisphaerium* of Ptolemy. That ingenious Frenchman however manifests throughout the whole of his work that he neither knows nor cares much more about philological learning than is usually the case with his countrymen, who have a singular talent for evading a difficulty with the help of a *plutôt*.

As the antiquity of the division of the day into hours at Babylon shews that the Babylonians must have possessed such an instrument in very early ages, there seems to be no strong reason against supposing that the dial of Ahaz, spoken of in the second book of Kings, xx. 11, and in Isaiah, xxxviii. 8, should have been an instrument of the

same kind. For in the 16th chapter of the second book of Kings Ahaz is represented as entering into an alliance with the king of Assyria, and sending him vast presents, and going to meet him at Damascus, and having an altar built at Jerusalem after the fashion of the altar that he saw at Damascus. So that it is no way incredible, one might almost say it is probable, that he should have imported a Babylonian sundial. Ideler indeed (i. 485) objects to this supposition, because no word for an hour occurs in any Jewish book anterior to the Babylonish captivity. But this argument goes too far: for with the exception of a doubtful passage in Daniel, iv. 16, there is no mention of hours in the books subsequent to the captivity; though during it the Jews must have become acquainted with the Babylonian division of time, and in fact adopted the Chaldee names of the months (Ideler i. 205): in Greece too, as we have seen already, though our books are so incomparably more copious, centuries pass away before we find any trace of a division of time introduced before the age of Herodotus. Indeed scientific terms rarely find way into any but scientific books, until they have been taken up into ordinary use and become part of the staple language of the people. The very adjunct *the dial of Ahaz* shews that it was an instrument to which no slight importance was attacht, and that it had been set up by him, either as an importation from abroad, or as a native invention. The reign of Ahaz was only a little before the earliest of the eclipses registered by Ptolemy, and was contemporaneous with that of Nabonassar. Besides the expression "the shadow went backward ten degrees" suits exceedingly well with the notion that they were degrees measured on a sundial. At all events the "ten degrees" imply that the Jews had some instrument for dividing time by a shadow cast across the sunshine, and probably into more than ten parts: and it is surely likelier that they should have derived such an instrument from Babylon, than invented a different one of their own, when even in its rudest form it would have required a kind of knowledge which they manifestly did not possess.

But beside this the Babylonians, far the largest part of their observations being taken at night, must have had some

means of measuring time by night as well as by day. From the earlier observations in Ptolemy it appears that they could ascertain the hour, though rudely, and without proceeding to any lesser subdivisions: in the first we find *ώρας ἱκανῶς παρελθούσης*, *a good hour after sunset*; in the fourth *ώρας ἰὰ ληγούσης*, *toward the end of the eleventh hour*. In the report of the eclipse of 502 indeed, along with the statement of the equinoctial hour, we find that of quarters of an hour; and that of 491 is said to have occurred in the middle of the sixth hour: hence, unless the former was taken by Ptolemy, as was before suggested, from Hipparchus, the Babylonians in the sixth century would seem, along with the equinoctial division of time, to have either made or adopted some improvement in the construction of their clocks. That these clocks were a rude kind of waterclocks, as Ideler conjectures (i. 225), is hardly to be questioned. Sextus Empiricus in his treatise against astrology, where he is speaking of the division of the zodiac into twelve parts (v. 24), tells us the way in which this division was effected. The Chaldeans in ancient times, he says, having filled a perforated vessel with water, watcht the rising of one of the bright stars in the zodiac, and at the same moment let the water run out into another vessel, which it continued to do until the same star rose again. Then they took a twelfth part of the water that had run out, and, observing in what time this ran out, calculated that a twelfth part of the circumference of the heavens must have risen up during that time, and markt this limit by some conspicuous star, either in the zodiac itself or to the north or south of it. Further on, §. 75—79, Sextus starts several objections to the accuracy of such a process. By Macrobius, who describes it at much greater length (Somn. Scip. i. 21), this division of the zodiac is attributed to the Egyptians, probably by a mistake, but by one of very frequent occurrence. Cleomedes too (*Περὶ Μετεώρων* ii. p. 93, ed. Bake) speaks of a similar process as having been employed by the Egyptians to determine the ratio between the sun's diameter and the whole circumference of the heavens: and this nicer measurement may possibly be due to them: Plutarch (*de Defect. Orac.* iii) ascribes it to the priests of Ammon. The general diffusion of the other however in very early times is almost a proof

that it originated in the East: for there is little likelihood that any branch of science spread from Egypt eastward: indeed knowledge seems to be bound by such an invincible necessity to follow the path of light, that even down to the present day there is scarcely an instance of an oriental nation having adopted any of the discoveries or refinements of the West: nay, even religion, when it has been carried thither and sown, though it may have grown up for a while by the help of diligent culture in a kind of artificial soil, has almost always withered and perisht the moment the gardener was taken away.

The foregoing passage of Sextus might seem to favour the notion that the *δωδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρας* in Herodotus refer to a division of the civil day into twelve parts: but the observations in Ptolemy prove that there were twelve hours in the Babylonian night: in one we find mention of the first, in another of the eleventh hour; and in all he regards the variable hour as nearly equivalent to a single equinoctial hour. Nor can the process by which the Babylonians measured their hours, at least in the earliest times, have been exactly similar to that by which they divided the zodiac: for the latter would rather have led them from the first to the adoption of equinoctial hours. Indeed these were so much more easily ascertainable, that it is quite surprising they should not have been introduced sooner: the reason must have lain in the inveterate practice of the ancient nations to begin the day at sunrise or at sunset, to which the divisions of the day were adapted and subordinated: and it seems necessary to suppose that instead of taking a fixt measure of water by which an equinoctial hour would have been determined, the same labour was gone through night after night to find what proportion the water that had run out between sunset and any given moment bore to that which ran out between the same moment and sunrise.

It is possible too that another cause, and one very closely allied to the subject of the present inquiry, may have obstructed the reception of the equinoctial hours in the room of the variable ones: for the latter were intimately connected with all the fundamental assumptions and fancy-bred visions of astrology. The lines of Chaucer quoted above are enough to prove that the astrological day began at sunrise, and that the astrological hours must have been variable ones: and this

notion was so firmly established, that in the middle ages the variable hours were designated by the name of *horae planetariae*; as appears, to cite but a single witness, from the following passage of Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occult. Philosoph.* II. 34: which shews moreover that there was a controversy about the true mode of determining them. "The astrologers almost universally divide the interval between sunrise and sunset into twelve equal parts, which they call the twelve hours of the day: in like manner they divide the interval between sunset and sunrise into twelve equal parts, which they call the twelve hours of the night: and having done this they assign each successive hour to one of the planets according to the order in which they stand, always giving the first hour of each day to the lord of that day. In this arrangement the *magi* agree with them: in the division of the hours however some of them differ, maintaining that the interval between sunrise and sunset is not to be divided into equal parts, and that the reason these hours are called unequal (*inaequales*) is not that the hours of the day are of a different length from those of the night, but because the several hours both of the day and night are of different lengths respectively. Hence the *unequal or planetary hours* are determined by the *magi* after another method. For as the artificial hours, which are all of the same length, are determined each by the ascent of fifteen degrees of the equinoctial, so the variable length of the planetary hours is settled by the ascent of fifteen degrees of the ecliptic." Indeed this variableness seems almost indispensable, in order to furnish materials for astrology to deal with. Did no changes take place in the face of the heavens, it could never have been imagined that there was any correspondence between the heavens and the changes and chances of human life. Hence the planets have always been regarded by astrologers as the dominant powers; and the other stars only come in as connected with and subordinate to them.

If Dion's second explanation of the names of the days be the true one, it is clear that this disposition of the planetary hours, and the belief in the ascendancy of each planet during its particular hour, though in subordination to the lord of the day, must be older than those names. Now we cannot

indeed produce any passages of a very early date in which this belief is explicitly set forth: the earliest hitherto cited are from the *Ἀποτελεσματικὴ* of Paullus Alexandrinus, who, as Ideler (i. 166) shews, wrote in A. D. 378, and from the *Ἀνθολόγια* of Vettius Valens: the latter, as Selden (III. 20) conjectures, may very probably be the Valens who was employed by Constantine to cast the nativity of his new capital; as another Vettius, perhaps an ancestor of his, is said by Varro (in Censorinus c. 17) to have interpreted the augury seen by Romulus into an omen that Rome was to flourish for twelve centuries. No legitimate inference however can be drawn from the lateness of these authorities; since all the earlier astrological writers are totally lost, and we know hardly anything but the names of Petosiris, Necepsos, and their clan. Nor are the details of astrology matters likely to be mentioned incidentally by writers on extraneous subjects: how great a part of modern literature may we travel through, and yet find no trace of them! But that the practice of casting nativities and foretelling events by means of the planets existed in very early ages, we have the amplest evidence: that practice would naturally give rise to some sort of arrangement of the planets as the dominant powers during certain portions of time, analogous to the one described by Dion, Valens, and Paullus Alexandrinus: and as there is no vestige of any other such, nor any record speaking of this as an innovation, we may without excessive boldness conclude that this very arrangement may perhaps have been almost coeval with the origin of astral divination.

Everybody knows how Juvenal inveys against the Chaldean astrologers with whom Rome was inundated in his time; when even women of fashion pored over an ephemeris, to make out

quid sidus triste minetur

Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro: VI. 560.
Propertius, after claiming descent from the Babylonian Horos, exclaims, IV. 1. 103:

Adspicienda via est coeli, versusque per astra

Trames, et ab zonis quinque petenda fides:

Felicesque Jovis stellae, Martisque rapacis,

Et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput.

And Horace, who warns Leuconoe against meddling with *Babylonian numbers*, congratulates Mecenas, whom *Jovis impio Tutela Saturno refulgens Eripuit*. As Valens cast the nativity of Constantinople, so, Cicero tells us (*De Divinat.* ii. 47), his friend Tarutius, a man eminently learned in the doctrines of the Chaldeans, had cast that of Rome, and going back to the festival of the Parilia, on which according to tradition it was founded, discovered that the Moon was in Libra at the time of its birth, a prognostic that it was to hold the scales of universal empire. Plutarch, on the authority, it would seem, of Varro, says (*Romul.* c. 12) that Tarutius proceeded by inverting the usual course, and, taking the fortunes of Romulus and of Rome for his data, calculated the hours of the conception and birth of Romulus, and of the foundation of Rome. Either way this anecdote shews the popularity astrology had already gained among the Romans. Tiberius too is related to have studied astrology during his retirement at Rhodes, and to have predicted that Galba was to have a taste of empire: see the very remarkable passage in Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20—22. His knowledge however did not lead him to favour the craft: on the contrary his edict against the Chaldeans and mathematicians appears to have been one of the severest: see Tacitus *Ann.* ii. 32, and the *excursus* of Lipsius, who enumerates a variety of ordinances for the expulsion of the Chaldeans from Italy: one of them is of a date as early as the year of the city 614.

But if we turn to Greece we may trace back the prevalence of astrology to a much earlier period. It is true that few of the traditions on the subject examined by Lobeck in his *Aglaophamus*, p. 426, are able to stand the severe test of his almost infallible criticism. Nor does Berosus, who was spoken of above as the first establisher of a school of astrology in Greece, seem to have lived before the time of Alexander. But Cicero (*De Divinat.* ii. 42) tells us that Eudoxus, who was a disciple of Plato, and according to Strabo (*xvii.* i. 29) was said by the Egyptian priests, in their usual tone of exaggeration, to have spent thirteen years along with him in the study of astronomy at Heliopolis, and who in the opinion of the best judges was held to be *facile princeps*

in astronomy, had recorded his opinion that the predictions concerning a man's life, which the Chaldeans drew from the day of his birth, were no way deserving of credit. This passage is at variance with Pliny's assertion (xxx. 2), that Eudoxus regarded the Magians, that is, as appears from the context, the professors of magic and astrology, as the most illustrious and useful among all the sects of philosophers. That assertion however is only a fresh instance of Pliny's carelessness: such an opinion might easily have come from one of the later Platonists, as they miscalled themselves, but seems wholly alien from a scholar of that master whose chief characteristic was the celestial clearness of his vision: and there can be no doubt that the praises of Eudoxus, who was the father of Greek astronomy, and whose astronomical writings are said by Cicero (*De Republ.* i. 14) to have formed the groundwork of those of Aratus, and are quoted by Pliny (xviii. 74), and by Lydus (*De Mens.* iv. 14, 31, 37, 82, 85, 87), were bestowed on the practical science, not on the divination of the Magians. That the Magians must have been well known to the Greeks in the capacity of diviners or conjurers, in the age of Sophocles, is clear from his making Edipus call Tiresias *μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον* v. 387. Euripides too in the *Orestes*, v. 1510, speaks of *μάγων τέχναι*, along with *φάρμακα*, and *θεῶν κλοπαί*. In his *Supplices* the modern editors in v. 1110 read *βρωτοῖσι καὶ ποτοῖσι καὶ μαγεύμασιν*, on the authority of Plutarch: and they are probably right: for the treatise of Hippocrates on epilepsy shews that the word *μάγευμα* was already come into use for a charm against a disease: an epileptic patient, he maintains, may be cured by proper management and diet, *ἄνευ καθαρμῶν καὶ μαγευμάτων* and all such nonsense, p. 310. In the same treatise, p. 301, he asserts that the persons who first gave the epilepsy the name of *the sacred disease*, were like the conjurers and quacks of his days, *οἳ καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ μάγοι τε καὶ καθάρται καὶ ἀγύρται καὶ ἀλαζόνες* and, in p. 302, he speaks of such as profest *μαγεύοντές τε καὶ θύοντες σελήνην τε καθαιρεῖν, καὶ ἥλιον ἀφανίζειν, καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ εὐδίην ποιεῖν*. Hence it appears that the arts of the Magians in those ages extended far beyond divination, and embraced most of the other provinces which in aftertimes belonged to

magic and witchcraft. The application of the term to Tiresias however shews that soothsaying formed a branch of the craft: and it may fairly be presumed that, wherever the case admitted of it, the predictions of a genuine Magian would be grounded on the interpretation of the stars. For the passages quoted above (pp. 36, 37) carry back the exercise of astrology among the Babylonians to those primitive ages when the light of the understanding was just beginning to dawn in mankind: and if the reader be still unwilling to put any faith in those accounts, even in their reduced form, at all events he will find frequent mention of the Chaldean astrologers, along with the magicians (the *μάγοι*), in the book of Daniel; and Isaiah in his prophecy against Babylon exclaims, XLVII. 13: "Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators (that is, those who prophesy on the new-moons), stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee."

Thus it has been shewn that the chronological objections to Dion's second explanation of the names of the days are groundless, or at least totally untenable. So far as our information reaches, the division of the day into twentyfour hours, and the belief in planetary influences, depending on the ascendancy of the several planets during certain portions of time, are considerably older than any remaining record can prove the planetary names to have been. The chief obstacle to the reception of that explanation having thus been cleared away, it must be left to rest on its own probability. For probability, greater or less, is usually the utmost we can arrive at in investigating the origin of things, or even of words; at least of such things and words as do not lie on the surface, but have struck deep root and spread far and wide in the intellectual history of mankind. How great is the obscurity hanging over the origin of many inventions, which have arisen in ages far more recent, and when the existence of written documents might have been thought to afford a kind of security against oblivion! For it is the nature of seeds to remain some time underground, before they come forth and lay themselves bare to light and sight: and even when they have done so, a long while will

intervene ere the plant becomes conspicuous above its fellows, and attracts peculiar notice, and ere that which is to last for ages separates itself from that which is to be cut off and to pass away. If man only knew this beforehand, and had an intellectual touchstone to distinguish the permanent from the perishable, then, and only then, would historical speculations be enabled to dispense with conjecture; by the aid of which they are now often forced to grope out a way amid the memorials of worthless trifles, in the hope of getting at last to some particle of valuable truth.

But though the arguments hitherto brought forward prepare us for adopting Dion's second explanation in the main, there is one thing with regard to which they almost compell us to dissent from him. While Dion says that the planetary names arose among the Egyptians, far the greater part of the passages cited point not to Egypt but to Chaldea. Lydus too tells us (*De Mens.* II. 3), that the Chaldeans, following Zoroaster and Hystaspes, and the Egyptians, divided the days into weeks according to the number of the planets.

In the first place the division of the day into twelve hours is said by Herodotus to have been derived from the Babylonians, and not from the Egyptians: and the manner in which he introduces this assertion disposes one to suspect that this division was not in use among the Egyptians in his time. Else they would of course have laid claim to the honour of having invented it; and Herodotus would probably have stated his reasons for disallowing their claim. That the Babylonians divided the night also into twelve parts, has been shewn above.

The other element too, requisite for the solution of our problem, the pursuit of astronomy and astrology, appears, so far as we have the means of judging, to have been native in Chaldea, much rather than in Egypt. How far the Assyrians may themselves have been indebted either to the Medes or Indians;—and whether the singular coincidence between the beginning of the Babylonian astronomical observations and the conquest of Babylon by the Medes is to be regarded as evidence that those conquerors were the first introducers of some rude astronomical notions;—these are questions which we have no means of answering, and must

accordingly allow to slumber: but the relative pretensions of Assyria and Egypt may be adjusted with tolerable confidence. The general voice of antiquity, as appears from the passage quoted in p. 34, ascribed the invention of geometry to the Egyptians, of astronomy to the Assyrians or Babylonians: and this opinion is strongly confirmed by the fact that, as Ideler (p. 199) remarks, Ptolemy, though living in Egypt, never speaks of any Egyptian astronomy, or quotes any Egyptian observations. There are indeed several testimonies which attribute a very remote antiquity to the astronomy of the Egyptians. Diogenes Laertius (Proem 2) says, apparently after Sotion, that they had a record of 373 solar and 832 lunar eclipses, anterior to the time of Alexander. Bailly (p. 410), after calculating that these eclipses may have occurred in the course of twelve or thirteen centuries, tries to shew that there must be a mistake in the statement, and that these observations must be the very same with those spoken of by Berosus as going back to about the year 1600 B. C. Assuredly too it is very singular that, if any such register was preserved, no manner of use was ever made of it, so far as we know, by the Alexandrian astronomers: though Ptolemy expressly asserts (p. 94) that he has taken his eclipses from the most ancient on record: ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομεν ἀρχαιοτάτων ἐκλείψεων τρισὶ ταῖς ἀδιστακτως δοκούσαις ἀναγεγράφθαι συγχρήσομαι· and the rudeness of those which he cites shews that he would have been content with any of which the day and hour were noted down. But if it be a just inference from the words of Herodotus, that the Egyptians in his time did not divide the day into twelve parts, nothing more than the day can have been recorded: and perhaps a great part of them may not have had even this degree of precision: Laertius merely tells us that the Egyptians said that between the time of Phthas and that of Alexander 48863 years had intervened, during which there had been 373 eclipses of the Sun and 832 of the Moon. Otherwise it might be conjectured that the ancient priesthood lookt with jealousy, and perchance with contempt, on the upstart mathematicians of Alexandria, and carefully veiled all their knowledge from them; whereby they themselves in course of time lost the power of understanding it: for Strabo tells us (xvii. 1. 29),

that the whole race of Egyptian astronomers and their pursuit had become extinct. It is very remarkable how little of our information about ancient Egypt is derived from the men of letters who lived at the court of the Ptolemies.

In the Platonic *Epinomis*, p. 987, we are told that the stars had been observed χρόνῳ μυριέται τε καὶ ἀπείρῳ in Egypt and Syria, ὅθεν καὶ πανταχόσε καὶ δεῦρ' ἐξήκει. Aristotle too (*De Coelo*, II. 12) tells us that occultations of the stars had often been noticed by those who had observed the stars for the greatest number of years, the Egyptians, and Babylonians: παρ' ὧν πολλὰς πίστεις ἔχομεν περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀστρῶν. Seneca, in a passage where he makes an express distinction between the astronomy of the Egyptians and that of the Chaldeans (*Nat. Quaest.* VII. 3), speaks of certain Egyptian observations of eclipses, which Canon had collected, and which he himself appears to have seen. In the account of Egypt by Diodorus Siculus there are also several statements on the same subject: and through the loss of so many earlier and abler and more authentic writers, Diodorus has necessarily acquired an importance altogether disproportionate to his merits; though he exercised so little discretion in selecting his authorities, and so little intelligence in representing their meaning, that great caution is requisite before we adopt his accounts; indeed one might almost say, the chances are that whatever he relates he has made some sort of mistake. "The Thebans (he tells us, I. 50) assert that they are the most ancient of the whole human race, and the first inventors of philosophy and of an accurate knowledge of the stars (τὴν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἀστρολογίαν). They seem also to have made careful observations concerning eclipses of the Sun and Moon; and they announce them all beforehand, predicting them as they occur successively without any error." For such is clearly the meaning of the Greek text, not, as the Latin version renders it, *divinationes ex his ita instituunt ut singulatim omnes eventus certissime praedicant*. There is nothing in this passage about any divination, except that which foretells eclipses: and if it should seem at variance with the words of Strabo cited above, we are to remember that Diodorus had so little of the historical spirit, that, in transcribing from a historian who may have lived

several centuries before him, he would still retain the present tense, as if that which had once existed must needs continue to exist in his days. Nor does there seem to be any reference to astrology in his description of the crown of Osymandyas contained in the preceding chapter: he merely says that on it were represented the heliacal rising and setting of the various stars, along with what the Egyptian astronomers regarded as their meteorological import: παραγεγραμμένων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν γινομένων τοῖς ἄστροις ἀνατολῶν τε καὶ δύσεων, (here the Greek astronomers would have written ἐπιτολῶν, but Diodorus seems to use the two words indiscriminately), καὶ τῶν διὰ ταύτας ἐπιτελουμένων ἐπισημειῶν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀστρολόγους. It is scarcely necessary to observe that ἀστρολόγος here, as in every Greek writer, down to a very late age, is nothing more than *an astronomer*. The knowledge of the stars was at first termed ἀστρολογία, a word analogous to θεολογία: ἀστρονομία was a later form, and in the second or third century a distinction between the two was introduced. Thus *astrologus* and *astrologia* are the words used by Cicero and by the Latin writers of the best ages: *astronomus* and *astronomia* came in afterward, and in course of time dislodged the others from the better part of their meaning, restricting them to the superstition as contradistinguisht from the science; very much in the same manner as an *alchemist* grew to be a different person from a *chemist*.

But the fullest passage of Diodorus on the astronomy of the Egyptians is in the 81st chapter of the first book. "They cultivate geometry (he says) and arithmetic assiduously. For the annual floods of the Nile, by making various changes in the face of the country, give rise to sundry controversies about the boundaries of estates; and it is not easy to settle these accurately, without the help of a geometer to lead the way to the truth. Arithmetic too they find to be of use both for the purposes of household life, and for the speculations of geometry: and moreover it is of great assistance to those who engage in the study of astronomy. For no nation has been more diligent than the Egyptians in observing the order and motions of the stars; and they preserve records concerning them, that go back an incredible number of years, this

study having been zealously pursued among them from very early times. They have sedulously watcht the motions, and orbits, and stationary points of the planets, and the power of each over the births of living things, and the good and evil which they produce. Often too they have successfully foretold events about to befall men: and not unfrequently do they predict years of scarcity or plenty, and pestilential diseases that attack men and cattle. They also foreknow earthquakes and floods, and the appearance of comets, and many other things which the generality think cannot possibly be ascertained, their observations having extended through a number of ages. They say too that the Chaldeans at Babylon are an Egyptian colony, and that it is to this they owe their renown for astronomy, having derived their knowledge of it from the Egyptian priests." The last assertion, which Diodorus had already mentioned in c. 28, is palpably a sheer fiction, of a piece with all those by which so many nations have endeavoured to gain a reputation of originality at the expense of their neighbours. There is something so attractive in inventive genius, that neither individuals nor nations are very scrupulous about the means they employ for the sake of being supposed to possess it: when they have it not, they try to steal it: and as few discoveries are made nowadays but a controversy soon starts up between our countrymen and the French about the honour of having given birth to its author, so in ancient times, when similar institutions were observed to prevail in several countries, each people was firmly convinced that its own was the parent of all the others, and devised sundry ways of explaining how they sprang from it. There is nothing about the Babylonians which can induce us to believe that an Egyptian colony ever settled amongst them. The institutions which they had in common with the Egyptians, such as the exemption from public burthens enjoyed by the priests, mentioned in Diodorus as a proof of their Egyptian origin, prevailed also through the chief part of Asia. Nor does Herodotus say a word about this fable: so that it probably was not invented till the time when the astronomy of the Babylonians, being introduced into Egypt by its Persian masters, threw that of the natives into the shade, and led the priests to con-

sole their vanity by giving out that, though the Chaldeans were now their masters, they had at one time been the masters of the Chaldeans. It is much likelier that Josephus is correct in his account of the progress of astronomy, when, after saying that Abraham introduced the knowledge of it among the Egyptians, he adds, ἐκ Χαλδαίων γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐφοίτησεν εἰς Ἀιγυπτον, ὅθεν ἦλθε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας: 1. 8. 2.

In the rest of the passage too there must no doubt be much misrepresentation; for instance in the assertion that they could foretell the coming of comets, κομητῶν ἀστέρων ἐπιτολάς. For Seneca, who, as a Stoic, had been diligent in the study of natural philosophy, brings forward strong arguments to prove that the Egyptians knew nothing about comets; though the Chaldeans according to Apollonius Myndius classed them along with the planets, and had observed their revolutions: Nat. Quaest. vii. 3. It is much to be regretted that our information on this point is so scanty: for this opinion on the nature of comets can hardly have been a mere guess, and seems to imply that observations were carried on for a very long period of time with a minute accuracy far greater than anything else would have led us to suspect. Heeren conjectures, and plausibly enough, that the passage in Stobæus on this subject (Eclog. i. 29. 1) is taken from the very work of Apollonius Myndius referred to by Seneca. "The Chaldeans (it is there stated) are said to hold the following opinion concerning comets: that, beside the planets usually seen, there are other stars, which for a while are invisible, being borne away to a great distance from us, but at times lower themselves and come into sight, thus bringing strange stars into the world (for probably the right reading is: οὕτως ξέν' ἐνεγκόντες εἰς τὰ ὅλα, that is, out of the vacuum, in which they usually revolve, into the system of the world: τὸ ὅλον, as Heeren shews, was the κόσμος ἄνευ τοῦ κενοῦ, whereas τὸ πᾶν comprehended the κενόν); and that those who knew not that these also are stars have chosen to call them comets; but that their disappearance is owing to their departure into their own region (where we must read ἐπειδὴν ἀνενεχθῶσιν εἰς τὴν σφῶν χώραν) sinking into the depths of ether, as a fish vanishes in the depths

of the sea." A somewhat similar opinion is ascribed by Stobæus in the same chapter to some of the Pythagoreans, who held ἀστέρα εἶναι τὸν κομήτην, τῶν οὐκ ἀεὶ μὲν φαινομένων, διὰ δέ τινος διωρισμένου χρόνου περιοδικῶς ἀνατελλόντων. From this passage it appears that they imagined there was but one comet: and the same thing is implied in Aristotle's Meteorology, i. 6, where it is said that "certain of the Pythagoreans hold that the comet is one of the planets, but that it does not become visible except after long intervals, and only recedes to a short distance from the sun, like the planet Mercury, for which reason it is rarely seen." If the opinion ascribed to the Chaldeans was actually entertained by them—and there does not seem to be any valid reason for doubting the point,—it must apparently have been from them that these Pythagoreans derived their notion, in which however that of the Chaldeans seems to have been very much misrepresented and disfigured.

There is one more passage on the astrology of the Egyptians, which must not be past over: for it comes from Herodotus himself. "The Egyptians (he says, ii. 82) are also the authors of the following inventions. They know to what god each month and day belongs; and from the day on which any one is born, they make out what will befall him, and how he will die, and what sort of a person he will be: these inventions have been made use of by Greek poets." It has often been supposed that this passage refers to the assignment of the days of the week to the seven planets. If so, a great part of the difficulty that hangs over our question would be removed at once. But the words of Herodotus will not bear this meaning, unless we assume that he misunderstood the account he received: the Egyptians, he says, have found out, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί. He nowhere tells us anything about a *week*: and so ἡμέρη ἐκάστη cannot legitimately mean each day of the week, but must either be each day of the month or of the year. Every way however this passage is surrounded with difficulties. That the Egyptian year in the time of Herodotus consisted of twelve months, and the months of thirty days, he himself tells us, ii. 4. Now he speaks several times of the twelve Egyptian gods, who formed the second

race in their theogony (see II. 43, 46, 145): and each of the twelve months may have been consecrated to one of these. But we know nothing of any thirty Egyptian deities, to whom the days of the month can have been sacred: and though Herodotus does not tell us the number of the third race of gods, who sprang from the twelve (II. 145), it would be too bold an assumption to take for granted without further authority that this third race, either by itself, or along with the other two, amounted to thirty. Again, if we conceive that Herodotus was speaking of a cycle of seven days, each of which was assigned to a peculiar deity, but that he omitted to specify this point, either through carelessness, or because he himself confounded the Egyptian practice with that of his own countrymen alluded to above, (p. 9), still it is perplexing that, though he speaks expressly of the Egyptian division of time, and of its advantages over that in use among the Greeks, he should not have found out that they had also a seven-day week, supposing that such was the case. Nor do we learn from his, or any other account of the Egyptian gods, that there were any seven distinguish'd from the rest, to whom the days of such a week might have been dedicated. Jablonski indeed labours hard to maintain that the eight gods of the first race were the seven planets along with the supreme deity (Panth. III. 6: Prolegom. 24—27): but he is compelled to admit that neither Herodotus, who treats at such length concerning the Egyptian religion, nor any other ancient writer says a word about the planets as objects of worship in Egypt. If we even knew for certain whom Herodotus meant by the Greek poets he speaks of as having adopted the Egyptian inventions, a good deal of the obscurity of this passage might be cleared up. Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* p. 427) supposes that they were Orphic and Pythagorean poets, who had borrowed the astrological notions, along with many other doctrines, of the Egyptians: and certainly the words seem to imply something more than the very simple prognostics which we find in Hesiod. The meaning however which the preceding part of this passage would naturally have suggested to a Greek reader, is, that, as in Greece some of the days of the month were consecrated to particular gods, in Egypt all were so:

and such accordingly we must suppose to have been the view which Herodotus took of the Egyptian custom, even if we conceive it to have been erroneous. But the whole passage is one of those which makes us regret that his usual garrulity was occasionally kept under check, and that too often, when he touches on theological subjects, βούς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκεν.

On the other hand almost every piece of information we have received concerning the religion of the Babylonians, represents it as consisting mainly, if not wholly, in the worship of the host of heaven. It is true, our information is very scanty; while of Egypt we know more than of any other ancient nation, except the two classical ones. Indeed but for their astronomy and astrology the Chaldeans would rarely have been mentioned: a *Chaldean* at Rome meant an astrologer; and in Greece the name bore pretty nearly the same meaning. The great antiquity of these two pursuits among them has been treated of above: it is further implied in the general tradition of the East that, when Abraham was called out of Chaldea, he was also converted from the worship of the stars to that of Jehovah. “The Chaldeans (says Philo, *De Abrahamo*, Vol. II. p. 11), having especially cultivated astronomy, and referring all events to the motions of the stars, by which they conceived that the affairs of the world are governed, decked out the visible creature with powers comprehended by numbers and the proportions of numbers, taking no thought of the invisible and spiritual: but searching out the order of the stars, watching the revolutions of the Sun and Moon and other planets, and of the fixt stars, and the vicissitudes of the seasons (this must probably refer to the changes in the face of the heavens during the year), and the sympathy between heavenly things and earthly, they imagined that the world itself was God, irreverently assimilating the creature to the Creator. Now Abraham, being bred up in this opinion, and having for a long time walkt in the ways of the Chaldeans, at length awoke as from a deep sleep, and followed the light which led him to perceive that there is a ruler and governor of the world.” Thus again he says in another place, when speaking of the calling of Abraham (I. p. 464): “The Chaldeans had carried astronomy and

astrology to a much greater perfection than the rest of mankind, fitting terrestrial things to etherial, and things in heaven to things in earth, and demonstrating the harmonious symphony of the universe, linkt together by a kind of musical proportion, through the mutual communion and sympathy of the parts, which though severed in space are still united by brotherhood." A legend on this subject is found in Suidas, and a different form of it in D' Herbelot, who has taken it from an Arabic source. This tradition confirms the abovesited accounts of the great antiquity of astrology among the Babylonians.

The most important passage on this subject however is that in the second book of Diodorus, c. 29—31: and it is the more valuable, since in his whole account of the Assyrians he was mainly following Ctesias (see II. 2, 5, 7, 8, 15, 17, 20, 21); who, though he may have overindulged his fancy in the description of marvels, and may not have been very scrupulous about accuracy with regard to the numbers of armies, cannot well have deviated much from the truth in representing the customs of a nation so well known as the Babylonians. Besides almost every particular in his account might be confirmed by the testimony of other writers. "The Chaldeans (he says) spend their whole lives in philosophy, and are greatly renowned for their knowledge of the stars. They are also assiduous in the study of divination, and foretell future events, and endeavour to avert the evil and promote the good, partly by lustrations, partly by sacrifices, and partly by other charms. (These are the very practices of the *μάγοι*, against which Hippocrates in his treatise on epilepsy inveys.) Moreover they are skilled in augury, and interpret dreams and prodigies, and discern omens in the entrails of victims. Their knowledge is handed down hereditarily, the son receiving it from the father.—Having observed the courses of the stars for a vast length of time, and knowing more than any other people of their motions and influences, they tell men beforehand of many of the events that are to befall them. They say that the observations and motions of the highest importance, are those of the five planets, which they call *interpreters* (*ἐρμηνεῖς*). And they differ from other nations in calling the one which the Greeks now name *Κρόνος*, and which is the most brilliant, and foreshews the greatest number of events and the most

momentous ones, the star of Ἡλῖος: but the other stars they agree with our astronomers in naming the stars of Mars, of Venus, of Mercury, and of Jupiter. Their reason for calling them *interpreters* is, that, while the other stars are fixt, and revolve without any change in their relative position, these alone travel along a course of their own, and shew the things that are to happen, interpreting the good-will of the gods to men. Some things they signify by their rising, others by their setting, and some too by their colour. The Chaldeans further hold that under the sway of these planets there are thirty-six other stars, which they call divine counsellors (βουλαίους θεούς). Of these half survey the regions above the earth, and half those under the earth, watching over everything that happens either among mankind or in the heavens: and every ten days one of them is sent down from above to those below, as it were a messenger from the stars, while another is in like manner sent up from below. The chief gods, they say, are twelve in number; and to each of these they assign a month and one of the signs of the zodiac."

For a copious commentary on this passage the reader may refer to the very able and learned dissertation of Gesenius on the religion of the Chaldeans, in his commentary on Isaiah, Vol. III. pp. 332—346, where almost everything that can throw light upon the subject is brought together. A thorough investigation of all the details given by Diodorus would carry me much too far: but there are two or three points which must not be totally past over.

In the first place the passage about Saturn is a very singular one. In Wesseling's text it stands thus: Μεγίστην τε φασίν εἶναι θεωρίαν καὶ κίνησιν περὶ τοὺς πέντε ἀστέρας τοὺς πλανήτας καλουμένους, (this is what in the next chapter he expresses by διὰ τῆς τούτων φύσεώς τε καὶ θεωρίας μάλιστα γινώσκειν κ. τ. λ.), οὓς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑρμηνεῖς ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κρόνον ὀνομαζόμενον. ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ καὶ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα προσημαίνοντα καλοῦσιν ἥλιον· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τέσσαρας ὁμοίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀστρολόγοις ὀνομάζουσιν, Ἀρέως, Ἀφροδίτης, Ἑρμοῦ, Διός. Now this passage thus punctuated is neither grammatically correct, nor can any consistent meaning be extracted from it: the Sun, it is clear, has nothing

to do with the context: on the contrary Diodorus is stating that the name given to Saturn by the Chaldeans is peculiar, and does not correspond to the Greek name for it, though with regard to the names of the other four planets the two nations are agreed. These difficulties are pointed out by Wesseling in his note; and he proposes to read ὀνομάζουσιν ἰδίᾳ δ. τ. ν. ν. τ. Ε. Κ. ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐπιφανέστατον δε, κ. π. κ. μ. π. καλοῦσι Βῆλον: at the same time he refers to authorities to prove that the Assyrians called Saturn's star Belus. Gesenius would read ἥλιν, because Sanchoniathon in Eusebius (Praep. Evang. i. 10) gives ἥλος as a name for Saturn, and Damascius in Photius (Bibl. p. 343. ed. Bekker.) says the Syrians call Saturn ἥλ. All this is much to the purpose, and shews what Diodorus was alluding to. Nevertheless the altering his text destroys the contrast which he evidently intended to draw. If he had supposed the Chaldeans to call Saturn's star the star of their Saturn, there would be no difference between that which they did ἰδίᾳ, and that which they did ὁμοίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀστρολόγοις: for assuredly they did not give the names of the Greek gods to the other planets, but those of such Chaldean gods as the Greeks imagined to answer to their Ares, and Aphrodite, and Hermes, and Zeus. In order to make sense of the passage, it is absolutely necessary either to retain ἥλιν, or, what is perhaps better, to adopt the reading of three manuscripts, ἥλίου. Hereby that which the Chaldeans had in common with the Greeks, is clearly distinguisht from that which Diodorus regarded as peculiar to them. He may have been mistaken or not on the point; the Chaldeans may actually have applied the same name to the Sun and to the planet Saturn, or Diodorus may have blundered and confounded their ἥλ with the Greek ἥλιος: his meaning undoubtedly is that they called Saturn the Sun. Nay, this is exactly what Servius says, on Aen. i. 729: *Assyrios constat Saturnum, quem eundem et Solem dicunt,—coluisse. Apud Assyrios Bel dicitur quadam sacrorum ratione et Saturnus et Sol.* This passage, to which Wesseling refers, ought to have withheld him from his conjecture. Perhaps too this very confusion led Diodorus to apply the epithet ἐπιφανέστατος to Saturn, an epithet which seems so little

appropriate to him as distinguisht from Jupiter and Venus. Achilles Tatius says, though he was called φαίνων by the Greeks, it was by a euphemism, ἀμαυρότατος ὢν: Isag. in Arat. c. 17.

In the sentence about the stars that were called βουλαῖοι θεοὶ, there can be no question, so far as the Chaldean astrology is concerned, that Gesenius is right in substituting *thirty-six* for *thirty*, the number which we find in the text of Diodorus: though it is not by any means impossible that the blunder should have been committed by Diodorus himself. That the true number must have been thirty-six, is quite clear from what is said just after, that every ten days one of them sank below the horizon, and another rose above it; though we do not know how they managed with regard to the odd five days. Moreover in the very next chapter, where Diodorus is unconsciously transcribing a different account of the same thing, he tells us, as Gesenius remarks, that beside the stars in the zodiac, (μετὰ τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον, in which Sextus Empiricus, Cont. Math. v. 25, says they pickt out twelve stars), they fixt on twenty-four stars, half of them in the northern, and half in the southern hemisphere. These θεοὶ βουλαῖοι, whose office was τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐπισκοπεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν συμβαίνοντα, are assuredly the *Watchers* spoken of in Nebuchadnezzar's vision. As the *Holy ones* seem to be distinguisht from them, they must probably be either the planetary gods, or the κύριοι τῶν θεῶν, the zodiacal gods. Never was there a wilder extravagance than Horsley's notion that these *Watchers* and *Holy ones* are the three persons of the Trinity. He makes the idolatrous king Nebuchadnezzar have a perfectly clear conception of the nature of the Trinity, at a time when among the Jews themselves we find nothing more than faint and dim intimations on the subject. It would be difficult to believe that Horsley with his vigorous understanding could be sincere in such an assertion, unless we knew that talents like his too often prove a snare to inveigle their possessor into errors of his own creating. The desire to be ingenious, the ambition to be original, are almost sure to lead us astray: for few will believe that there is room for being far more ingenious, and far more original, in the discovery of truth,

than in the fabrication of fictions; only that such ingenuity and originality are not of so glaring a kind, and cannot manifest themselves without the help of patient and strenuous and assiduous thought. On many subjects such whimsies and vagaries may be allowed to pass, and may not do much harm: but when one of them sticks itself close to the primary truths of religion, and would fain offer them a deceitful prop, it must be got rid of, the sooner the better: lest perchance in course of time it may be deemed by the unthinking to be inherently connected with them, so that it cannot be assailed without shaking the truths themselves.

From the last sentence in the extract from Diodorus it may be inferred that the Egyptian practice, mentioned by Herodotus, of dedicating each of the months to a particular deity, was borrowed from the Babylonians; in the same manner as they borrowed several others of the opinions described in the same passage. For instance the learned scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius says (iv. 262), that the Egyptians called the twelve signs of the zodiac *θεοὺς βουλαίους*, and the planets *ῥαβδόφόρους*. The latter statement is confirmed by Sextus Empiricus, *Cont. Math.* v. 31. The first name is exactly the same with the Chaldean; only that the Chaldeans according to Diodorus applied it to the thirty-six gods instead of the twelve: and *ῥαβδόφοροι* may very probably be merely a different version of the name which Diodorus renders by *ἐρμηνεῖς*. That one of these nations derived them from the other, cannot well be doubted: and that they were native with the Chaldeans may fairly be presumed, inasmuch as they fit in like integral parts into their theological system, and harmonize perfectly with the whole of it; whereas there is no sort of link to connect them with the religion of the ancient Egyptians. Besides the division of the zodiac into twelve signs is expressly attributed to the Chaldeans by Sextus Empiricus; who gives a long account, evidently derived from ancient tradition, of the manner in which they measured it out: and Van Goens in his commentary on Porphyrius *de Antro Musarum*, pp. 113, 114, shews how much better suited several of the signs are to the climate of Assyria than of Egypt. Nor did the Egyptians omit to adopt the thirty-six secondary deities, along with the rest of the Chaldean astrological system. Chæremon, an Egyptian

ἱερογραμματεὺς, whose treatises on the theology of his country are frequently quoted by Porphyry, did not imagine, as Porphyry tells us in his letter to Anebo (Euseb. Praep. Evang. III. 4), that there had been any existence anterior to the visible world, but at the beginning of his treatises placed the Egyptian gods, and of those no others than the stars called planets, and those which fill the zodiac, and such as rise along with them (the *watchers* of the Chaldees), and the divisions of the heavens εἰς τοὺς δεκανοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ὠροσκοποὺς, καὶ τοὺς λεγόμενους κραταιοὺς ἡγέμονας, the names of which are found in their *almanacks* (ἐν τοῖς ἀλμηνιχιακοῖς). On these δεκανοί, who were thirty-six in number, there is a very curious passage in Stobæus (Eclog. I. 22. 9), taken from one of the works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, and giving an account of their nature and office, τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ ἀπάντων ὥσπερ εἰ φύλακας (*watchers*) αὐτοὺς περιΐσταςθαι, πάντα συνέχοντας καὶ τηροῦντας τὴν τῶν πάντων εὐταξίαν. By Manilius, who writes with his usual obscurity about them, their name is derived from their having each of them ten stars or ten days under their tutelage. That a Greek or Roman should explain the word so, is natural enough: but Salmasius observes that δεκανὸς is no doubt an Egyptian or Chaldaic word, and he derives it from 𐤍𐤊, *quod est prospicere, speculari*. He would render it by a *sign*, or *constellation*: it is more probable however that a *looker out* or *watcher* was the sense the name was designed to express: see his treatise *De Annis Climactericis* p. 559, in which work there is a good deal of information on the subject. It was no doubt owing to this ancient division of the heavens into the twelve signs of the zodiac and the thirty-six *decani*, that the Alexandrian astronomers, when they drew their map of the heavens divided it into forty-eight constellations, twenty-one to the north and fifteen to the south of the equator, along with the twelve signs of the zodiac. See Scaliger on Manilius, p. 62: who reads *vastitas coeli discreta in duo de L signa*, for *duo atque LXX signa*, in Pliny, II. 41: *tot enim sunt μορφώσεις ab Hipparcho, Eudoxo, et aliis designatae*. Forty-eight is the number of the constellations enumerated by Ptolemy, *Almag.* pp. 172—201.

Another argument, which, if it could be depended upon, would settle the question as to the relative claims of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, at least unless we have recourse

either to Selden's explanation or to Bede's, may be deduced from Macrobius; who, to account for the discrepancy between Plato's arrangement of the planets, and Cicero's, says, Somn. Scip. i. 19: "Cicero in giving the Sun the fourth place among the planets agrees with Archimedes and the Chaldeans; while Plato followed the Egyptians, who place the Sun between the Moon and Mercury". It is remarkable however that Cicero himself is not always consistent in his arrangement: for though he adopts what Macrobius calls the Chaldean system not only in Scipio's dream (De Rep. vi. 17), but also in the treatise on Divination (ii. 43), yet in the treatise De Natura Deorum, which seems to have been written in the same year with that De Divinatione, and the first of the two, he follows a different order (ii. 20): so carelessly faithful was he in copying the writer who happened to be lying before him, and who in this instance must have been either Cleanthes or Chrysippus. Giving us the Greek names derived from the appearance of each particular planet, along with those taken from the gods, he places φαίνων or Saturn at the greatest distance from the earth: then comes φαέθων or Jupiter, then πυροεὶς or Mars, then στίλβων or Mercury, and then φωσφόρος or Venus. The Sun is not mentioned: perhaps a scruple came over him, and he did not like directly to contradict the statement which he had elsewhere sanctioned; and so, after a few sentences have intervened, he merely adds that the Moon *omnium ultima est*. At the same time he seems not to have observed that he had transposed Mercury and Venus, adopting the order in which they are placed by Plato in the passage referred to by Macrobius, and which Macrobius too had not noticed. Plato there says (Timæus p. 38) that God having made the seven planets, set them in the seven spheres, the Moon in the one nearest to the earth, the Sun in the next, ἑώσφορον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦ λεγόμενον in those which revolve in the same time with the Sun, but in an opposite direction. The same doctrine may be collected from the singular μῦθος about the distaff of necessity in the tenth book of the republic, p. 616. Here, not to trouble ourselves with the difficulties occasioned by the imagery, Plato calls the light of the first or outermost sphere ποίκιλον, that of the fixt stars; τὸν τοῦ ἐβδόμου λαμπρότατον, that of the Sun; τὸν τοῦ ὀγδοοῦ τὸ χρῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔχειν

προσλάμποντος, the borrowed light of the Moon; τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ πέμπτου παραπλήσια ἀλλήλοις, ξανθότερα ἐκείνων, that of Saturn and Mercury, and so on. Now that Plato derived his astronomical opinions from Egypt, is most probable: there does not seem to be any ground for wholly denying the truth of the story cited above, p. 20, provided the time of his stay is duly curtailed: indeed the testimony of Cicero (*De Finibus* v. 29) is quite enough to establish the fact of his having visited Egypt, *ut a sacerdotibus barbaris numeros et coelestia acciperet*. The same thing is said in the *De Republica*, i. 10; and it might almost be inferred from the beginning of the *Timæus*. But the accounts of Plato's travels in Asia rest on very questionable authority: nay the very passage of Cicero just quoted is almost enough to overthrow them: for, after making the most of Plato's traveling into Egypt, and then to Tarentum and Locri, he says Pythagoras and Democritus went both to Egypt *and to the Persian Magians*: which clearly shews that he had never heard of Plato's having visited the latter. This negative testimony is of more weight than the assertions of writers so little scrupulous about accuracy as Lactantius (*Institut.* iv. 2), and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Cohort. ad gent.* p. 60): the latter of whom even gives out that Plato was instructed in legislation and theology by the Jews. For it is a lamentable fact, but the conviction is perpetually forced upon us, that no class of writers are less to be depended upon in their assertions concerning historical facts of early ages, than the Fathers of the Christian Church. Their excuse is, that they were not men of a learned education, still less of critical habits: they caught with avidity at every thing that seemed to favour the spread of that religion to which they devoted their lives, and for which they were at all moments ready to sacrifice them: and their whole souls were so possessed with the spirit of Faith, that Doubt could find no room in them.

It is observable that in neither of the passages from Plato do we find names for any of the planets, with the exception of φῶσφορος and Ἑρμῆς. This does not indeed absolutely prove that the other names were not already in use: the passage however on the subject in the Platonic *Epinomis* (p. 987), which unquestionably is not a work of the great

master himself, but came out of his school, seems to imply that they were very recently introduced. The author begins with saying that the planets have no names of their own, but have received names from the gods: which proves that the names, φαίνων, φαέθων, πυροεῖς, and στίλβων are of later origin. Then he adds that ἑώσφορος or ἑσπερος, which, like his master, he places below Mercury, is commonly said to be the star of Venus, a name befitting its Syrian namegiver; that the star which completes its revolution in the same time with Venus and the Sun, is usually called the star of Mercury; that the star which surpasses the others in slowness, is termed by some Saturn's; that the next in slowness should be called the star of Jupiter, and the next, that of Mars. Besides that these names were at all events not in common use in the time of Euripides, may fairly be inferred from their never occurring in any of his tragedies; though, as the author of the argument prefixt to the Rhesus observes, he was πολυπράγμων περὶ τὰ μετάρσια: and though, if he had been acquainted with them, he would assuredly have introduced them into the description of the πέπλος in the Ion, 1148—1158. There however we only find ἑσπερος, Πλείας, Ὠρίων, Ἄρκτος, Ὑάδες, and ἑως φώσφορος. This might serve, if it were needed, as an additional proof that the planetary names of the days of the week cannot possibly have been so ancient in Greece as Scaliger supposes. In Aristotle's time however the names of the planets taken from the gods must have been generally current. He speaks of having observed an occultation of Mars (De Coelo II. 12.), and that of a star in Gemini by Jupiter (Meteorol. I. 6.); and mentions Mercury in the same chapter. In the treatise De Mundo too, publisht among the works of Aristotle, but evidently composed by a later writer, we find (c. 2) an arrangement of the whole system, along with a great variety of names: φαίνων, φαέθων, πυροεῖς, and στίλβων occur here, I believe, for the first time: perhaps they were given by Eudoxus, who, Seneca says (Nat. Quaest. VII. 3.), *primus ab Aegypto quinque siderum motus in Graeciam transtulit*. We are likewise told that the star of Mars was also termed the star of Hercules, that of Mercury by some the star of Apollo, that of Venus by some the star of Juno. The latter name occurs also in the treatise

De Anima Mundi bearing the name of Timæus, as do those of the three remoter planets: the more advanced state of astronomical knowledge evinced in that treatise may be added to the other arguments which prove that this Doric dissertation is not the original of Plato's dialogue, but a later extract from it. According to Achilles Tatius in his introduction to Aratus (c. 17), Hercules and Apollo were the Egyptian names of Mars and Mercury. He adds, that with the Egyptians the Sun stands fourth, with the Greeks sixth in the order of the planets, thus directly contradicting Macrobius: it is not impossible however that he should have transferred the opinion of the Alexandrians to the old Egyptians. This point seems to have been discusst by Plutarch, in connexion with the origin of the names given to the days of the week, in the lost dissertation spoken of above, p. 32; at least if Wyttenbach's reading be correct, as it undoubtedly seems to be: though he does not refer to any manuscript authority for ἡλίου, and the editions of Aldus and Stephens read περὶ ἡλων τάξεως. For one cannot imagine what the arrangement of the nails driven in by the Roman chief magistrate in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus can have had to do with the order of the days of the week.

Another presumption in favour of the Chaldeans may be derived from the statement of Pliny (II. 79), in which several other writers concur, that the Babylonians began their day at sunrise. For though the effect would be just the same, at whichever of the twentyfour hours one started to go through the cycle of the planets, almost every account represents sunrise as the beginning of the astrological day. Now Pliny in the same passage asserts that the Egyptians and Hipparchus, like the Roman priests, began their civil day at midnight; and Ideler ingeniously observes (I. 100) that, unless Hipparchus had found such a practice already existing, he would rather have taken noon, as astronomers have usually done, from the facility of determining it with precision. It must be by a mistake that Lydus, confounding astronomers with astrologers, said that οἱ ἀστρολόγοι did so ἐπὶ ταῖς γενέσεσιν: De Mens. II. 1. The assertion of Isidore, and Servius, repeated in the same passage of Lydus, that the Egyptian day began at sunset, Ideler rejects: because this

is not the case with any nation but such as follow the moon in their chronological system, whereas the Egyptian year was a solar one. But the passage of Ptolemy, from which Ideler conjectures that the Egyptians in his time may have begun their day at sunrise, is hardly sufficient to prove more than that Ptolemy may occasionally have adopted the Babylonian style, as he did so many other things from the same people.

After all it must be confest that the arguments here brought forward do not amount to more than a mere probability, and that they are far from deciding the question, which still continues surrounded with difficulties. These difficulties it would have been easy to mask: by playing the part of an advocate, stretching the arguments in one's favour to the utmost, and slurring over those that make the contrary way, a much stronger case might be brought forward. Would that this advocate's spirit did not too often shew itself in other places as well as at the bar! that it did not too often intrude into literature, and warp that calm judicial spirit by which an author above all men ought to be animated! for though in active life we have to contend for interests and feelings, in our intellectual life we are to contend only for truths.

Thus much at least seems to have been shewn; that there is no valid external objection to the explanation which derives the names of the days of the week from the belief in the cycle of the planetary hours; that of the explanations hitherto suggested no other has so high a degree of internal probability; and that of the nations with whom we have become acquainted through the remains of classical antiquity none is in itself so likely to have devised those names as the Chaldeans. It remains to turn to the second question proposed at the beginning of this dissertation: what was the analogy which guided our ancestors in substituting their national gods for the Roman? But this would lead us into a totally new field of investigation: and the present article has already swelled out unexpectedly to such an inordinate bulk, though several points have been too briefly toucht upon, and some have been wholly past over, that the remainder of the discussion may well be postponed to a future number.

J. C. H.

ON

THE NUMBER OF DRAMAS

ASCRIBED TO SOPHOCLES.

THE following account is transmitted to us of the number of dramas which Sophocles produced: Vit. Sophocl. ἔγραψε δὲ, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης, δράματα ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα· τούτων δὲ νοθεύεται δέκα ἑπτὰ. Suidas: ἐδίδαξε δὲ δράματα ρκγ' [l. ριγ']· ὥς δέ τινες, καὶ πολλῷ πλείω. I adopt the judicious correction of Mr. Bœckh *de Græcæ tragædiæ principibus* p. 110. in the number of Suidas, ριγ' for ρκγ', by which these two accounts are brought to a perfect agreement with each other. Of 130 pieces which were attributed to Sophocles, Aristophanes the grammarian admitted 113 to be genuine, and excluded 17 as spurious. But Mr. Bœckh *Ibid.* p. 107–109, following Petitus, rejects this account of the dramas of the great poet. The just reputation of Mr. Bœckh adds such authority to his opinions, that it is the more necessary to weigh those opinions carefully, lest by chance the influence of an eminent name should give currency to an error. I propose therefore to examine the arguments upon which Mr. Bœckh has founded his conclusion. He argues in this manner: The *Antigone*, which was the 32nd piece, was exhibited in B. C. 441, about twenty-eight years after the first prize in B. C. 468. If, then, Sophocles produced only 32 pieces in twenty-eight years, from his 28th to his 56th year, it is not credible that he should have produced 90 or 100 dramas in thirty-six years, in his old age: *Illud probabile mansit et mansurum est, qui ab anno 28^o ad annum 56^{um} ediderit 32 fabulas, eum ab hoc ad 90^{um} non editurum fuisse 90 vel 100. At erit istud, si Sophoclis sunt omnes quæ tributæ ei fuerunt.* He thinks

forty a sufficient number for the latter period: *Ediderit intra tempus hoc circiter quadraginta. Satis amplius numerus fuerit comparatione prioris: amplius comparatione senis quamvis vegeti cum juvene et viro.* And concludes about 70 to be the genuine number: p. 111. *Ad summum pauca ultra septuaginta dramata fecit.* If, therefore, Aristophanes held 113 to be genuine, we might doubt his authority: p. 113. *Igitur etiam si Byzantius Aristophanes omnia pro genuinis habuisset, tamen dubitare nobis licuisset.* But Mr. Bœckh p. 114. thinks it probable that Aristophanes in the 130 pieces acknowledged 17 to belong to Iopho, and in the remaining 113 included all the dramas of the younger Sophocles. This last proposition is thus exprest: *Nihil temere conjecisse videbimur si credimus Aristophanem utriusque Sophoclis fabulas eo quem Suidas posuit numero complexum esse, ex 113 autem pro genuinis majoris Sophoclis habuisse omnes quæ superessent demptis minoris 40 sive 51 (quot fuisse statim demonstrabimus), sed a recentioribus Græcis ignorantia rerum hoc esse perperam intellectum, quasi cunctas uni tribuisset.*

But Aristophanes had before him the *didascalæ*, from which he would know the dates of each particular piece. It was not therefore possible for him to ascribe to the elder Sophocles those which belonged to the younger. He could not fail to know that any piece which preceded Ol. 95. 4. B. C. 39 $\frac{7}{8}$ could not belong to the younger, and that any piece which was registered in the *didascalæ* subsequent to Ol. 95, 4, could not have been exhibited by the elder: the test of genuineness which Mr. Bœckh himself applies¹. And this would be done by the ancient grammarians with much more certainty than by any modern critic, because, while we possess only a few imperfect hints, the ancient grammarians had the whole evidence before them. And if it is not credible that Aristophanes himself should err in this point, or confound the works of the elder with those of the younger, it is also not credible that the critics of following ages (as

¹ P. 133. *Opus est aut teste diserto tempus fabulæ designante aut narratione aliqua de quodam dramate—apud scriptorem obvia qui ante Ol. 95. 4., hoc est antequam minor Sophocles publice doceret, sua composuerit.*

Athenæus for instance), who lived while the stores of ancient learning were undiminished, and who possessed entire not only the works of Sophocles, but of the compilers of *didascalie*, of the Alexandrine critics, and of Aristophanes himself, should mistake the meaning of that grammarian *ignorantia rerum, quasi cunctas uni tribuisset*. Moreover we must observe that the younger Sophocles is quoted²: Σοφοκλῆς ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τρισὶ τραγωδίας. But these could not have been distinguished, if the dramas of both had formed *unum corpus*. His dramas were reckoned to be forty³: but this again could not have been known, if they were confounded with the dramas of his grandfather by all ancient critics after the time of Aristophanes.

Mr. Bœckh has somewhat overstated the difficulty. His proposition is that Sophocles is supposed to have produced 32 dramas in 28 years, and 90 or 100 dramas in 36. The second period is rightly called 36 years, but the first period was 27: for the first prize was obtained in the spring of B. C. 468, and the *Antigone* was performed in the spring of B. C. 441. These two points of time are acknowledged by Mr. Bœckh. If, however, 32 pieces belonged to the former period, the 27 years, then 81 would belong to the latter period of 36: for the numbers of Aristophanes give $113 - 32 = 81$. But how many dramas the poet produced in 63 years would depend upon the number of *tetralogiæ* which he exhibited. On this subject Mr. Bœckh justly rejects the groundless opinion of Petitus, who imagined from a single obscure hint in Suidas that Sophocles only exhibited single plays, or only one play at a time, from the very beginning of his dramatic career. Suidas v. Σοφοκλῆς affirms, αὐτὸς ἤρξε τοῦ δράμα πρὸς δράμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ τετραλογία. But Sophocles himself exhibited a *tetralogia* in B. C. 431: Conf. Arg. Eur. Med. *Tetralogiæ* were exhibited in B. C. 415: Ælian. V. H. II. 8. And this practice continued even till the death of Sophocles: Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 67. αἱ διδασκα-

² Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 19. A. See Mr. Bœckh himself, p. 118.

³ Forty or Fifty one, according to Mr. Bœckh. But it has been shewn elsewhere that this latter number is founded upon a conjecture for which there is no sufficient reason. See Fast. Hellen. Part II. Introd. p. xxxv.

λῖαι φέρουσι τελευτήσαντος Εὐριπίδου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδι-
 दाχέναι ἐν ἄστει Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα,
 Βάκχας. There can be little doubt that these three tra-
 gedies were a *τριλογία*, which, with a satyrical piece not
 named, was presented at the Dionysia τὰ ἐν ἄστει, and ob-
 tained for Euripides the prize which he is recorded to have
 gained after his death. When Plato proposed to exhibit
 Tragedy he prepared a *tetralogia*: Ælian. V. H. II. 30. ἐπέ-
 θετο οὖν τραγωδία, καὶ δὴ καὶ τετραλογίαν εἰργάσατο, καὶ
 ἔμελλεν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι δούς ἤδη τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς τὰ ποιήματα.
 But this occurred in his 20th year: Conf. Laërt. III. 5. 6.
 about five years before the death of Sophocles. The Οἰδιπό-
 δεια of Meletus was exhibited in the same year with the
 Πελαργοὶ of Aristophanes, which appears to have been a late
 comedy⁴. The Οἰδιπόδεια we may conjecture to have been
 a *τριλογία* upon the story of Œdipus. Barthelemy⁵ had
 supposed that the *tetralogiæ* lasted only about a century, and
 that they had ceased before the time of Aristotle. But
 Mr. Bœckh himself has lately shewn from the evidence of a
 marble⁶, that they existed down to B. C. 345. And this is
 consistent with what is recorded of the younger Astydamas,
 who began to exhibit tragedy in B. C. 372, and yet com-
 posed satyrical dramas: Athen. x. p. 411. a. Ἀστυδάμας ὁ τρα-
 γικὸς ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ σατυρικῶ. Suidas: Αστυδάμας ὁ νέος,
 υἱὸς τοῦ προτέρου—δράματα αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλῆς σατυρικός
 κ. τ. λ. But as we have no reason for supposing that saty-
 rical dramas, after the perfection of tragedy, were ever ex-
 hibited alone, or substituted for tragedy⁷, it would follow
 that in the time of the younger Astydamas single dramas
 were not exhibited. The practice, then, of exhibiting *tetra-*

⁴ See Fast. Hellen. Part. II. Introd. p. xxxiv. b. Tables 399. 4.

⁵ Mém. de l'Acad. tom. xxxix. p. 172—179. *Cet usage ne paroît être conservé que pendant un siècle.* p. 180. *Il faut observer qu'il fut un temps ou les auteurs ne présentoient plus qu'une tragédie au concours. Suivant Suidas, Sophocle fut le premier qui se contenta d'opposer une pièce a une autre pièce &c.* p. 183. *Le decret Demosth. Mid.* p. 604. *étant postérieur a l'usage des tetralogies, &c.*

⁶ See this fragment in Fast. Hellen. Part III. p. 295.

⁷ Mr. Bœckh observes, p. 126—127. *Tragicam satyricen non sustinuisse in scenam prodire nisi consociatam ad publicam communitatem cum tragædiis.*

logiæ had not ceased in the time of Sophocles; and, if that circumstance related by Suidas were true at all of the elder Sophocles (which I very much doubt⁸), that he exhibited single dramas, it would have been occasionally permitted only, and was not received into general use.

The reasons assigned by Mr. Bœckh p. 106—107. for thinking that the *Antigone* and the *Ædipus Tyrannus*, and the *Philoctetes* were singly exhibited are insufficient: *Antigona sola non integra tetralogia præturæ honorem poëta sibi dicitur parasse. Ædipus Rex quum a Philocle victa traditur esse, nullis aliarum fabularum additis nominibus, videtur singillatim producta fuisse. De Philocteta didascalicæ, ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου· πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς. Sic, credo, scriptor non locutus esset, nisi Philoctetam voluisset doctam singulariter significare.* But the two first are mentioned singly because their superior merit made the question turn upon them; as *Æschylus* in *Aristophanes*, *Ran.* 1021. names the Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας singly. In the case of the *Philoctetes* only a particle or fragment of the *didascalia* is quoted. The competitors of Sophocles are not named. Thus the *Hippolytus* of Euripides in B. C. 428 is named singly, and the *Orestes* in B. C. 408; but it would be rash to conclude that these were exhibited as single dramas.

The whole opinion of Mr. Bœckh is founded upon that single argument, that the *Antigone* was the 32nd drama: p. 143. *Tota hæc de Sophoclis fragmentis disputatio ea sententia nititur quam proposui, poëtam post 56^{um} annum tantum dramatum numerum non fecisse: una cum hac et stat et cadit.* But the words of the Scholiast are somewhat obscure: Arg. Antig. φασὶ τὸν Σοφοκλέα ἠξιῶσθαι τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας εὐδοκίμησαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης. λέλεκται δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο τριακοστὸν δεύτερον. The grammarian may mean to refer to tragedies only, without

⁸ It may be suspected that if single tragedies were admitted at all, this would occur in the time of the younger Sophocles, during the depression of comedy, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν χορηγῶν. The same cause, the heaviness of the expence, would affect the tragic exhibitions at the same period; and might produce an occasional representation of single dramas, although not a total change in the practice of giving *tetralogiae*. Suidas perhaps by an error applied to the elder Sophocles what in reality belonged to the younger.

computing the satyrical pieces: a mode of speaking not without example⁹, and adopted by Mr. Bœckh himself¹⁰. The meaning, then, is obscure; and, if we were to adopt the opinion of Mr. Bœckh upon the number of genuine pieces, we should accept a conjecture in opposition to testimony, and this a conjecture founded upon a text of doubtful meaning.

Sophocles obtained eighteen, twenty, or twenty-four times the first prize, and many times the second¹¹: If his first prizes were 18, 20, or 24, it is not probable that the first and second prizes collectively were fewer than thirty. Hence we should obtain thirty exhibitions. If these were all *tetralogiæ* (and but little weight is to be ascribed to the account in Suidas), we have 120 pieces. The assertion, then, of Aristophanes is not incredible, that Sophocles should have published 113 dramas. The fragments of Sophocles have been presented to us with many improvements in the excellent edition of Mr. Dindorf, *Poëtæ Scenici Græci*, p. 29—73. Many things are there corrected, and many things supplied. Some titles of dramas, which appear in Brunck and after him in the list of Mr. Bœckh, but which

⁹ Thus Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1155. τὴν Ὀρεστίαν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τριλογίαν λέγουσι, χωρὶς τῶν σατυρικῶν. Casaubon. de Satyr. pœsi p. 124. *Cur Aristarchus et Apollonius in tragicorum dramatis recensendis tantum tragædiarum, non etiam satyricarum, rationem habuerint non est obscurum: ostendimus enim satyricas non inter seria opera esse habitas, sed tanquam parerga.* That Aristophanes himself sometimes reckoned by τριλογίαι we may collect from Laërt. III. 61.

¹⁰ Mr. Bœckh observes p. 131. speaking of the younger Sophocles, *Cui nescio an nunc 40 dramata nunc 51 adscripta sint propter hoc ipsum, quod satyrica omitterentur modo, modo numerarentur.*

¹¹ He has eighteen prizes in Diodorus, XIII. 103. and twenty-four in Suidas. Twenty were ascribed to him by Carystius of Pergamus: *Auctor vitæ: νίκας ἔλαβεν εἴκοσιν, ὥς φησι Καρύστιος· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δευτερεῖα ἔλαβε.* Some are inclined to suppose that nothing more is meant, when a dramatist is said δευτερεῖα or τρίτα λαβεῖν, than simply that he was second or third in merit, without any reference to an actual prize. But those who had the second place are distinctly said νικᾶν: as in the *didascalia* of the *Εἰρήνη* apud Dindorf. Scen. pœt. Græc. p. 620. καὶ ἐνίκησε τῷ δράματι—πρῶτος Εὐπολὶς Κόλαξι, δεύτερος Ἀριστοφάνης Εἰρήνη. Again Arg. Nub. Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐνίκα Πυτίνῃ Ἀμειψίας δὲ Κόννω. The *Connus* had the second place. But if the second place was called a victory, we may reasonably conclude that a prize was assigned to the victor.

rested on no just authority, have been properly expunged by Mr. Dindorf. In reciting a list of the dramas, it will be proper to distinguish from the rest those which are named only in a single testimony. Many of these are only quoted by Hesychius; who, according to Porson, Tracts p. 138, is "so corrupt an author, that, when he is a solitary witness, his evidence ought to be received with great caution." Some therefore, which are cited once may be corrupt titles. The *Περίλαος* is numbered by Brunck, and by Mr. Bœckh after him, among the titles from Hesych. v. *καρπομανής*. But as the reading in Hesychius is *Τυριλάω*, Mr. Dindorf properly rejects this title and with much probability refers it to the *Τυρώ*. Some again may be double titles. Until the sagacity of Toup discovered the true title, the *Ηρακλῆς ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ* was supposed to be two dramas, because Hesychius v. *ἀλαλίαν* and Athenæus ix. p. 375. d. quote *Σοφ. ἐπὶ Ταιναρίοις*, but Hesychius v. *κύκλους*, Pollux x. 110. Steph. Byz. v. *Χώρα* cite *Σοφ. ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ σατυρικῶ*. But, if this error occurred in a drama which was attested by so many witnesses, how much more likely it is that similar errors would occur in the case of a drama which is quoted only once. In the following catalogue, then, of the dramas of Sophocles, those which are only once quoted are distinguished from the rest by being without a number.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Ἀθάμας πρότερος. | 11. Ἀλκμαίων. |
| 2. Ἀθάμας δεύτερος. | 12. Ἀλωάδαι σάτυροι. |
| 3. Αἴας Λοκρός. | 13. Ἄμυκος σατυρικός. |
| 4. Αἴας μαστιγοφόρος. | 14. Ἀμφιάραος σατυρικός. |
| 5. Αἰγέυς. | 15. Ἀμφιτρύων. |
| 6. Αἰθίοπες. | Ἀνδρομάχη. |
| 7. Αἰχμαλωτίδες σατυρικόν. ¹² | 16. Ἀνδρομέδα σατυρική. |
| 8. Ἀκρίσιος ἢ Λαρισσαῖοι. | 17. Ἀντηνορίδαι. |
| 9. Ἀλέξανδρος. ¹³ | 18. Ἀντιγόνη. |
| 10. Ἀλήτης. | 19. Ἀτρεὺς ἢ Μυκηναῖαι. |

¹² Brunck observes, *Quantum ex exiguis fragmentis conijcere licet, satyricum fuit hoc drama.*

¹³ This line in Laërtius vii. 67.

ὥς Πριαμίδῃσιν ἐμφερὴς ὁ βουκόλος,
was perhaps a line of Sophocles, and from this tragedy.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 20. Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος ἢ σύν-
δειπνον ἢ σύνδειπνοι
σατυρικόν. | Ἰόλαος. |
| 21. Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασταί σατυ-
ρικόν. | 42. Ἰππόνοος. |
| 22. Δαίδαλος. | 43. Ἰφιγένεια. |
| 23. Δανάη. | 44. Ἰχνευταὶ σάτυροι.
Ἴων. |
| 24. Διονυσιακός σατυρικός. ¹⁴ | 45. Καμίκιοι ἢ Μίνως. |
| 25. Δόλοπες. | 46. Κηδαλίων σατυρικός.
Κλυταιμνήστρα. |
| 26. Ἐλένης ἀπαίτησις σατυ-
ρικόν. | 47. Κολχίδες. |
| 27. Ἐλένης γάμος. | 48. Κρέουσα. |
| 28. Ἐπίγονοι. | 49. Κρίσις σατυρική. |
| 29. Ἔρις. ¹⁵ | 50. Κωφοὶ σάτυροι. |
| 30. Ἐριφύλη. | 51. Λάκαιναι. |
| 31. Ἐρμιόνη.
Εὐμηλος. | 52. Λαοκόων. |
| 32. Εὐρύαλος.
Ζωστῆρες. | 53. Λήμνιαι. |
| 33. Ἠλέκτρα. | 54. Μελέαγρος.
Μέμνων. |
| 34. Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ σα-
τυρικός. | 55. Μυσοί. |
| 35. Ἡριγόνη. | 56. Μῶμος σατυρικός. |
| 36. Θάμυρις. ¹⁶ | 57. Ναύπλιος καταπλέων. ¹⁸ |
| 37. Θησεύς. | 58. Ναύπλιος πυρκαεύς. |
| 38. Θυέστης ἐν Σικυῶνι. | 59. Ναυσικάα ἢ πλύντρηαι σα-
τυρική. |
| 39. Θυέστης δεύτερος.
Ἰάμβη. ¹⁷ | 60. Νιόβη.
Ξοανηφόροι. |
| 40. Ἰναχος σατυρικός.
Ἰξίων. | 61. Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ ἢ
Νιπτρα. |
| 41. Ἰοβάτης. | 62. Ὀδυσσεὺς μαινόμενος. |
| | 63. Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ Κολώνῳ. |
| | 64. Οἰδίπους τύραννος.
Οἰνεύς. |

¹⁴ Supplied by Mr. Dindorf from Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 385. 20. Conf. Schweigh. ad Athen. tom. xiii. p. 483.

¹⁵ Rightly restored by Mr. Dindorf. Brunck had altered the title into Ἴρις. Conf. Schweigh. ad Athen. tom. ix. p. 37.

¹⁶ Add to the testimonies "Auctor vitæ Sophoclis."

¹⁷ *Hujus fabulae titulum deprehendit Werferus in schol. MS. Darmstad. Vide acta Philol. Monac. Tom. II. p. 515. Sophoclis fragm. p. 34. Oxon. 1827. Mr. Dindorf does not admit this title.*

¹⁸ Add to the testimonies Schol. Platon. p. 325. Bekker.

82 *On the Number of Dramas ascribed to Sophocles.*

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 65. Οινόμαος ἢ Ἰπποδάμεια. | 81. Τριπτόλεμος σατυρικός. |
| 66. Παλαμήδης. | 82. Τρώϊλος σατυρικός. |
| 67. Πανδώρα ἢ σφυροκόποι
σατυρική.
Πελίας. | 83. Τυμπανίσται.
Τυνδάρεως. |
| 68. Πηλεύς. | 84. Τυρὼ προτέρα. |
| 69. Ποιμένες. | 85. Τυρὼ δευτέρα. |
| 70. Πολύιδος ἢ μάντεις. | 86. Ὕβρις σατυρική. |
| 71. Πολυξένη. | 87. Ὑδροφόροι. |
| 72. Πρίαμος.
Προκρίς. | 88. Φαίακες. |
| 73. Ῥιζοτόμοι. | 89. Φαίδρα. |
| 74. Σαλμωνεὺς σατυρικός. | 90. Φθιώτιδες. |
| 75. Σίνων.
Σίσυφος. | 91. Φιλοκτήτης ἐν Δήμῳ. |
| 76. Σκύθαι. | 92. Φιλοκτήτης ἐν Τροίᾳ. |
| 77. Σκύριαι. | 93. Φινεὺς πρῶτος σατυρικός. |
| 78. Τεῦκρος. | 94. Φινεὺς δεύτερος σατυρικός. |
| 79. Τηρεὺς. | 95. Φοίνιξ. |
| 80. Τραχίνiai. | 96. Φρίξος.
Φρύγες. |
| | 97. Χρύσης. |
| | 98. Ὠρεΐθυια. |

The preceding list contains 114 dramas, 16 of which are only quoted once. Of the remaining 98, 42 are quoted by Athenæus; and, if we except two or three titles which are not so well attested as the rest, it is probable that the remaining 95 or 96 belonged to the catalogue of 113 acknowledged by Aristophanes.

Mr. Bœckh p. 119, 121, having given a list of 106 or 109 titles, which in his opinion were partly the dramas of the elder Sophocles, partly of the younger, and partly of Iopho and others¹⁹, proceeds p. 127 to found an argument upon the number of satyrical pieces included in the list: *Tot in Sophocleis reliquiis satyrica dramata sunt vix ut tum ubi nihil nisi tetralogias docuisset ac 113 ejus essent fabulæ omnia possent pro genuinis haberi.* He enumerates thirty; and remarks p. 125. *Consentaneum est Sophoclem non multas edidisse propterea quod subinde singula produxit dramata. Æschylus qui nihil edidit nisi tetralogias satyrica scrip-*

¹⁹ *Harum igitur pars majoris Sophoclis est, pars minoris cæterorumque Sophocleorum poetarum.*

sit haud plura quindecim. Euripidis pauciora sunt. Octo omnino scripsit, teste Thom. Mag. Æschylo πρωτεῖα dedit Menedemus apud Laërt. II. 133. Post hunc celeberrimi Achæus, Pratinas, Aristetas. Sed Sophocles in hoc neque primus neque secundus neque adeo tertius. He concludes therefore, p. 131, that many of these satirical pieces belonged to the younger Sophocles: *Pars harum fabularum Sophocli majori certissime tribuenda est, pars Iophontis, pars minoris Sophoclis videtur fuisse, cui nescio an nunc 40 dramata nunc 51 adscripta sint propter hoc ipsum, quod Satyrica omitterentur modo, modo numerarentur.*

If the genuine pieces of Sophocles were 113, according to Aristophanes, this number would not contain thirty satirical dramas. But in Mr. Boeckh's list of thirty the following have been placed in this class without sufficient authority; Ἴρις, Ἰφικλος πρότερος, Ἰφικλος δεύτερος, Ζωστήρες, Τυμπαμισταί, Φαίακες. For the Τυμπαμισταί there is no other argument than the name: p. 130. *Tympanistas addidi meo arbitrio, neque enim tragædiæ hic potest titulus esse, qui nec ab argumento nec a choro posset desumptus esse.* This is insufficient to decide the question. For the Φαίακες he has two arguments: 1. the name: p. 130. *Nec quomodo Phæaces tragædiæ materiam potuerint præbere video.* 2. p. 131. *Satyrica indoles elucet e reliquiis. Lex. MS. apud Brunck. [Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 82. 32] ἀρτύματα οὐχ ἡδύσματα: Σοφοκλῆς Φαίαξιν. Locum servavit Athenæus II. p. 67. f. ὅτι ἀρτύματα εὐρηται παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ. Καὶ βορᾶς ἀρτύματα. Idem Ibid. τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κεῖται παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ. Ἐγὼ μάγειρος ἀρτύσω σοφῶς. Hoc Brunckius censet ex comædia esse, Valckenarius Sophoclis nomen corrigendo abigit: neuter verum vidit; sed ex eadem satyrica fabula Phæacibus unde et prægressum habuit hoc Athenæus repetiit.* But this word in Sophocles occurs elsewhere: Hesych. ἀρτύμασι:—Σοφ. Φινεῖ. Herodian. apud Dindorf. fr. Soph. No. 305. Σοφ. ἐν Κηδάλιονι σατυρικῶ φησι. Καὶ δὴ τι καὶ παρ-εῖκα τῶν ἀρτυμάτων Ὑπὸ τοῦ δέατος. And we cannot safely affirm that the line in which μάγειρος occurs is quoted from the *Phæaces* and not from the *Cedalion* or from the *Phineus*, both of which are cited by Athenæus upon other occasions. The Ζωστήρες is a drama only named in a single

testimony; of which therefore we can determine nothing²⁰. Of the Ἰφικλος α. β'. he speaks as follows: *Schol. Œd. Col.* 791. *citat Sophoclem in Ἰφικλείᾳ quod proculdubio recte Meursius mutavit ἐν Ἰφικλείᾳ α. adeo ut necesse sit fuisse etiam Ἰφικλέα β', atque ad Iphiclem (minus recte ad Oiclem) Brunckius refert hæc Pollucis x. 39. καὶ τύλη δὲ παρ' Εὐπόλιδι ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς Κόλαξι καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλείᾳ ἐν τῷ Ἰοκλείᾳ (leg. Ἰφικλείᾳ) λέγοντι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λινορραφῇ Τυλείᾳ*—*quod fragmentum satyricam conditionem satis ostendit, præsertim si Eupolidi compositum reputes esse.* No inference can be drawn from this mention of Sophocles with a comic poet. He is so mentioned by Athenæus iv. p. 183. e. f. Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Μυσοῖς καὶ ἐν Θαμύρᾳ, Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Δαιταλεῦσι, καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν Πηνελόπῃ, Εὐπολὶς δ' ἐν Βάπταις. But the *Mysi* and the *Thamyris* were tragedies. Again, iii. p. 100. a. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ, Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τυροῖ, Εὐβουλος ἐν Δόλῳ, are quoted together for the use of the word χορτάζειν. But the *Tyro* was not a satirical piece. The *Iphiclus* however is a corrupt title. The only testimonies are *Schol. Soph. Œd. Col.* ἐν Ἰφικλείᾳ which is also the reading of the Laurentian MS. apud Elmsleium. Pollux x. 39. ἐν τῷ Ἰοκλείᾳ. and *Etym. Magn.* Βουθοίη. Σοφ. ὀνομακλείᾳ. It is properly therefore omitted by Dindorf. We are indebted to Brunck for the Ἰρίς σατυρική, who substitutes Ἰρίς for Ἐρίς upon conjecture. The Ἐρίς is thrice quoted: the Ἰρίς nowhere. These six, then, we may reject. Even the Φινεὺς δεύτερος is very doubtful; and the reasons of Brunck for omitting it are cogent.

There remain, then, as far as can be now ascertained, about twenty-four dramas of this class. But, if they were twenty-five or twenty-six, when we compare the dramatic life of Sophocles with that of Æschylus, we shall not think this number in a space of 63 years a larger proportion than fifteen or sixteen in 43 years. It is concluded rather too hastily that Sophocles was far inferior to other poets in this department. The opinion which placed him below Achæus is not delivered as the general sense of antiquity, but only

²⁰ Mr. Bœckh p. 128. merely remarks, *Quid obstet quo minus satyrica fabula habeatur equidem non video.*

as the judgment of one individual. The satyrical pieces of Sophocles are as frequently quoted as his tragedies. Nor is the question quite accurately stated if we say that Æschylus composed only fifteen satyrical dramas, and Euripides only eight. Only this number indeed was preserved in writing and descended to posterity: but a greater number was composed by both; since it is not to be supposed that Æschylus exhibited only fifteen *tetralogiæ*, and Euripides only eight. The question therefore is, how it came to pass that, while out of the whole number which Æschylus composed, only fifteen were preserved, and out of the whole number of Euripides only eight, so large a proportion remained of the satyrical pieces of Sophocles. To determine this, we may take into the account the probable relation which the published dramas bore to the number of victories. Many unsuccessful pieces might be suppressed. Perhaps two thirds of the satyrical dramas of Euripides were never published. Yet again, many dramas which failed in obtaining the prize were preserved in writing. If this had not been so, many of the 69 tragedies of Euripides would never have descended to posterity. Even dramas which were not acted at all—*ἀδίδακτα*—were sometimes published: Athen. vi. p. 270. a. But if the poet sometimes published unsuccessful pieces, it is reasonable to suppose that he would not fail to publish those which had been favourably received. This may explain why the satyrical pieces of Sophocles were so many. Æschylus gained fifteen prizes, and accordingly fifteen satyrical dramas were preserved: Euripides had only five; and only eight satyrical pieces appeared among his works. But Sophocles had twenty or twenty-four. Hence twenty-four satyrical dramas might be extant. Upon this objection, however, founded on the number of satyrical dramas, Mr. Boeckh himself appears to rely but little, since we have seen already that he considers another proposition to be the sole argument with which the cause must stand or fall.

H. F. C.

ON THE EARLY IONIC PHILOSOPHERS.

THE ancient Ionic philosopher Anaximenes intervened between Anaximander and Anaxagoras. I have endeavoured on a former occasion to reconcile the dates which are assigned with the facts which are recorded. The observations of Mr. Ritter upon these early philosophers have led me to reconsider the subject. His arguments, as they are translated by Mr. Kruger¹, are delivered in the following terms: *Anaximenes ætas non facile definiri potest. Cui auctoritati plurimum sit tribuendum si circumspicias, non temere rejecerim quæ ex Apollodoro tradit Laërtius II. 3. καὶ γεγέννηται μὲν, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, τῇ ἑξηκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ περὶ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν. De mortis tempore quod addit etsi offensionem est, tamen, si Sardes 499 ab Ionibus captas dici statuas, certe non existit repugnantia; quanquam fieri potest ut hoc non ab Apollodoro traditum sit. Hic profecto prorsus rejiciendum est quod Ionici philosophi alter ab altero disciplinam accepisse produntur. Quod quam improbabile sit hic tantum ex temporum rationibus docebo:*

<i>Thales nascitur</i>	Ol. 35. 1.	<i>Secundum Apollodorum.</i>
<i>Anaximander nascitur</i>	42. 2.	<i>Sec. eundem Apollodorum.</i>
<i>———— moritur</i>	58. 2.	<i>aut non multo post.</i>
<i>Anaximenes nascitur</i>	55.	<i>Secundum Suid.</i>
	63.	<i>Secundum Apollodor.</i>
<i>———— floret</i>	58.	<i>Sec. Pseudo—Origenem.</i>
<i>Anaxagoras nascitur</i>	70.	
<i>———— moritur</i>	88. 1.	
<i>Diogenem Apolloniatam Anaxagora posteriorem esse omnes auctores consentiunt.</i>		

¹ Confer Fastos Hellenicos conversos a C. G. Kruegero, p. 376.

Ex his rationibus perdifficile est assequi quomodo inter Anaximandrum et Anaximenem et Anaxagoram conjunctio intercedere potuerit. Si Anaximenem Anaximandro magistro usum esse sumas, amplectare necesse est quod Origenes personatus tradit; Anaximenem Ol. 58 floruisse. Quodsi 32^o ætatis anno eum floruisse statuas (quum ἀκμή philosophorum fere 40^o ætatis anno adscribi soleat), Ol. 50 natus fuerit, ut 80 annos habuerit quo tempore Anaxagoras natus est ac proinde prope centum annorum fuerit quo tempore Anaxagoram instituerit. Etiam major natu fuisset quo tempore Diogenem Apolloniatam institueret. Neque tamen usquam a veteribus annumeratur iis qui admodum grandes natu obissent. Sed quum quæ veteres de Anaximandri et Anaximenis ætate scripta reliquerunt parum certa sint, iis potius nitor quæ certiora tradiderunt de Thaletis et Anaxagoræ temporibus. A Thaletis natali tempore ad Anaxagoræ mortem minimum 53 Olympiades sive 212 anni fuerunt; quod spatium quatuor philosophi alter alteri disciplinam tradentes explesse sumuntur. Jam si ætatem 30 annorum statuimus, hoc spatium septem, si 33 annorum, amplius sex ætates complectitur. Quid quod, si ætati 40 annos tribuimus, huic spatio quinque ætates et duodecim anni insunt.

It would be inaccurate to consider these 212 years as four generations, which were in reality five; being measured from the birth of Thales. Four generations would be measured from his ἀκμή. Nor is the mean length of generations properly applied in this case. An average is only true when applied to a sufficient number of successions. That which is true of ten or twenty reigns or generations may be false when applied to four. Thus the 31 kings of England from A. D. 1066 to 1760 reigned 694 years, which will give, as Dr. Hales remarks, $22\frac{2}{5}$ years to each: but this proportion will not be true of four. Henry III. and his three successors reigned 161 years; an average of $40\frac{1}{4}$ years to each; but James II. and his three successors reigned only 43; an average of less than 11 years. A proportion, then, which may be true in general may be false in a particular case; and, although ten successions of philosophers might not occupy 42 years each, yet this amount might be true of four or five. The space of 212 years from the birth of Thales

to the death of Anaxagoras, taken, according to Mr. Ritter's mode of reckoning, as four successions, gives an average of 53 years to each. The probability of this will be best illustrated by a comparison with similar successions, where the facts are known. From the birth of Diogenes of Sinopë B. C. 412 to the death of Zeno B. C. 263 are three successions and 149 years, or nearly 50 years to each. If we place the death of Zeno, with Laërtius, at B. C. 259, we have 153 years, and 51 to each. Again, from the ἀκμὴ of Aristarchus B. C. 156 to A. D. 18, when Strabo was still living, are 174 years; which will give at the least 204 years from the birth of Aristarchus to the death of Strabo; and the proportion in that case would be 51 years to each; Strabo being the fourth from Aristarchus². From the birth of Isocrates B. C. 436 to the accession of Attalus I. B. C. 241, when Neanthes of Cyzicus was still writing, are 195 years; and yet Neanthes was the third from Isocrates³, which gives an average for the three successions of 65 years to each: and this period is computed not to the death of Neanthes but to a date at which he was still living. The difficulty, then, does not lie in the extent of the whole period but in the dates assigned to Anaximenes, which are confused through corruption in the texts.

² See Fast. Hellen. Part III. p. 554. In referring to that volume, it may be permitted to correct an error which occurs in p. 98. at the year 149: where for "The first law at Rome against bribery at elections" the reader will substitute "The first law at Rome *de pecuniis repetundis*." The first law against bribery at elections we know from Livy VII. 15. to have been proposed by the tribune C. Pœtelius, in B. C. 355. The question here is concerning a law of a different character. The laws *repetundarum* provided against public functionaries taking money, &c. in the execution of their office. The law of L. Piso referred to functionaries in the provinces. By subsequent laws *repetundarum* the provisions were extended to functionaries at Rome, and to judges receiving bribes. Again, at 83. 3. p. 153. l. 11—23, omit "*Polyhistor—filius*." I have been misled by Berkelius l. c. by Vossius p. 145. and by Jonsius p. 197., who all suppose Alexander of Cotiaium to be Alexander Polyhistor. But that grammarian was a distinct person from Polyhistor, and flourished more than 200 years later, being the preceptor of Aristides, by whom he is celebrated in a piece entitled ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπιτάφιος.

³ Ibid. p. 25.

Thales was born about the year B. C. 639, and survived B. C. 546: Anaxagoras lived B. C. 500—428. These propositions are sufficiently established. The Chronology of Anaximander is also consistently delivered. He was born Ol. 42. 3. B. C. 610: The author of the work ascribed to Origen, tom. iv. p. 236. ed. Oberthur: οὗτος ἐγένετο κατὰ ἔτος τρίτον τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος. He was in his sixty-fourth year in Ol. 58. 2. B. C. 547: Apollon. apud Laërt. These numbers therefore agree. He flourished in Ol. 51. 4. B. C. 573: Euseb. Chron. Ol. 51. 4. *Anaximander physicus cognoscebatur*. This would be his 38th year according to the Pseudo—Origen and Apollodorus. He is mentioned by Pliny H. N. II. 8. at Ol. 58: *Obliquitatem (signiferi circuli) intellexisse—Anaximander Milesius traditur Olympiade quinquagesima octava*. These dates are all consistent with each other, and there will be no difficulty in the time of Anaximander, if we understand Polycrates named in Apollodorus to be the elder Polycrates⁴. The testimonies, then, to the times of Thales, Anaximander and Anaxagoras are sufficient. But between the death of Thales and the birth of Anaxagoras is a space of about 46 years, or nearly that amount. Thales survived B. C. 546: Anaximander died soon after 547. The deaths, then, of these two philosophers occurred about the same time: which leaves the whole of these 46 years to be occupied by Anaximenes, who would accordingly be of mature age 46 years before the birth of Anaxagoras his disciple.

Mr. Ritter is inclined to accept the dates for Anaximenes which are delivered to us, and to reject the accounts which connect him with Anaxagoras. I should prefer on the contrary to reject the dates, and adhere to the facts. The connexion of these two philosophers is attested by many

⁴ Apollod. apud Laërt. II. 2. ἀκμάσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον. Suid. v. Ἰβυκος: Ἰβυκος—εἰς Σάμον ἦλθεν ὅτε αὐτῆς ἦρχε Πολυκράτης ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πατήρ. χρόνος δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἐπὶ Κροίσου, ὀλυμπιάς νδ'. Cræsus began to reign Ol. 54. 4. But he was associated with his father, and probably visited by Solon, before that date. See F. H. Part II. p. 296. We may therefore place the reign of Polycrates I. at B. C. 564, about 32 years before the reign of Polycrates II. and this would agree with the 47th year of Anaximander.

concurrent authorities. That Anaximander taught Anaximenes is recorded by Cicero Acad. iv. 37. *Anaximenes Anaximandri auditor*: And not only Laërtius ii. 6. Clemens Strom. i. p. 301. A. Harpocratio v. Ἀναξαγόρας, Augustine Civ. D. viii. 2. Simplicius in Aristot. phys. Auscult. p. 6. b. but Cicero Nat. Deor. i. 11. and Strabo xiv. p. 645. confirm the account that Anaxagoras was taught by Anaximenes. The accounts indeed which deliver the succession in the Ionic school have been questioned by some. Arguing from the silence of Plato and Aristotle⁵, and from the difference which is remarked in the doctrines of the early philosophers⁶, they assert that this succession is the invention of a later age⁷. The silence of Plato and Aristotle is not decisive because these only mention the early philosophers incidentally, and do not profess to deliver their history. With respect to the terms διάδοχος τῆς σχολῆς and other such expressions, it may be admitted that the writers of a later age have used a language drawn from the practice of their own times: and especially since this term is applied to Anaximander, who is called Θαλοῦ διάδοχος. But, as Anaximander and Thales died at the same time (if the account of Apollodorus is accurately reported), it is sufficiently manifest that the relation of master and disciple, which subsisted between these two, is described by an inappropriate term. But yet, although we admit the inaccuracy of their language, borrowed from the usage of their own times, we cannot safely deny all credit upon this point to those writers who lived less than four centuries after the death of Thales, and who wrote while the entire works of the philosophers were still extant.

⁵ Schaubach fragm. Anaxag. p. 4. *Quamquam Anaxagoras in nonnullis locis discipulus Anaximenes fuisse fertur, tamen hoc nusquam apud Platonem vel Aristotelem dictum reperies.*

⁶ Panzerbieter Diog. Apollon. p. 9. *Anaximandrum non secutum esse Thaletis dogmata sed novam aliquam proposuisse philosophiam demonstratione non eget; qua de causa constanter negandum videtur eum Thaletis in schola fuisse successorem.*

⁷ Panzerbieter Ibid. *Manifesto apparet omnem hanc eorum successionem fictam esse nulloque prorsus nixam firmo fundamento ac tum demum inventam quum διαδοχῶν scriptores exsistere cœpissent, quorum antiquissimi quos novimus Sotion et Sosicrates vix duo a. C. n. sæcula vixisse videntur.*

Although then we may allow that schools of philosophy in the literal sense, in which the successive teachers received and transmitted particular opinions, were of a later age, yet we may believe that Anaximander was the disciple of Thales, Anaximenes of Anaximander, and Anaxagoras of Anaximenes, as Phædo Aristippus and Plato were the disciples of Socrates, and Aristotle the disciple of Plato, although each afterwards pursued independent views of his own.

With respect to the dates cited by Mr. Ritter, we may observe that Laërt. II. 3. cannot be relied upon as genuine. If we interpret Σάρδεων ἄλωσις, with Mr. Ritter, to mean the capture in 499 (which, as the text stands, would alone be intelligible), in that case Anaximenes would have lived only twenty-nine years; which is inconsistent with what is recorded of this philosopher. The date in Suidas affixed to the capture of Sardis—ἐν τῇ νέ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐν τῇ Σάρδεων ἀλώσει—is evidently corrupt. I believe, indeed, that Apollodorus was the original source of Suidas as well as of Laërtius; and we may gather from both the passages that Apollodorus connected Anaximenes with the mention of the capture of Sardis by Cyrus in B. C. 546, but the meaning is obscured by the corrupt and mutilated state of the text of Laërtius⁸.

The term ἀκμή is of very wide extent. Timotheus is said ἀκμάζειν at the age of 48 or 55⁹. Arcesilaüs is affirmed by Apollodorus ἡκμακέναι, when he was under twenty¹⁰. We may suppose Anaximenes, like Arcesilaüs, to have been

⁸ Eudocia p. 55. has these passages: Ἀναξίμανδρος—ἐτελεύτησεν ἑξηκοντούτης, ἀκμάσας μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον. Ἀναξιμένης—οὗτος τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε περὶ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν. In the first passage Eudocia seems to have given an inaccurate account. From the second we may collect that the text of Laërtius II. 3. was in the same state in the eleventh century as at present. Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 112. understands Laërtius to have confounded Anaximander with Anaximenes: *Voces transferendas putaverim ut in illo legatur γεγένηται περὶ Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ξγ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. Errorem inde profluxisse suspicor quod Laërtius Anaximandri simulque Anaximenis tempora misere confuderit. Itaque sic statuo: Anaximandrum Ol. 63. obiisse.* But this is incompatible with Apollodorus. If Anaximander died μετ' ὀλίγον—a short time after Ol. 58. 2. he did not survive that period twenty years.

⁹ See F. H. Part II. p. 93.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 179.

under twenty when this term is applied to him at Ol. 58. 1¹¹, and to have lived till the 19th year of Anaxagoras Ol. 74. 3. B. C. 482: this would extend his life to 86 years. Mr. Ritter observes that Anaximenes is not recorded among those who attained an advanced age. This objection, however, is not decisive. The text in Laërtius appears to be mutilated. Phlegon only names those who attained 100 years and upwards. Lucian in his enumeration omits many names. He omits Diogenes of Sinope, who lived to near the age of 90¹²: Dionysius of Heraclea, who lived 80 years¹³: Pindar, who lived 80¹⁴: Alexis the comic poet, who attained to 106¹⁵. It is not incredible, then, that he should have omitted Anaximenes.

Diogenes of Apollonia is asserted by Mr. Ritter to be placed after Anaxagoras by the consent of all authors. This observation is inaccurate. He is called indeed younger than Anaxagoras by Sidonius Apollinaris xv. 91. who flourished in A. D. 470. But Antisthenes apud Laërt. ix. 57. and Augustine Civ. D. viii. 2. affirm that he heard Anaximenes: And in the account of Laërtius l. c. ἦν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ Ἀναξαγόραν. These three testimonies, then, contradict the account of Sidonius. Clemens Al. Protrept. p. 42. C. Ἀναξιμένης—ὧ Διογένης ὕστερον ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης κατηκολούθησεν. Neither does this passage place Diogenes below Anaxagoras. Stobæus Eclog. lib. i. p. 796. Heeren. Ἀναξαγόρας, Ἀναξιμένης, Ἀρχέλαος, Διογένης, αἰρώδη (τὴν ψυχὴν). Plutarch. de Placit. p. 898. D. οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀναξαγόρου αἰροειδῆ ἔλεγον. It would be a wrong conclusion to infer from hence, that Diogenes is placed below Anaxagoras; for in that case Anaximenes would also be below him. It appears from the mention of Anaximenes, that the author of the fuller account preserved by Stobæus did not intend to recite the names in the order of time; and it would seem that the author of the epitome in the works of Plutarch, finding

11 Auctor apud Origen. tom. iv. p. 238. Ἀναξιμένης ἤκμασε περὶ ἔτος πρῶτον τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδότης Ὀλυμπιάδος. It is very possible that for ἔτος A we may read ἔτος Δ. or Ol. 58. 4=B. C. 545. which would be equivalent to his 23rd year according to the dates here proposed.

12 Laërt. vi. 76.

13 Idem vii. 167.

14 See Fast. Hellen. Part II. p. 57.

15 Ibid. p. 175.

Anaxagoras at the head of the list in the original passage, for the sake of a compendious expression, ignorantly or carelessly classed them together, as οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀναξαγόρου. There remains a passage of Simplicius, quoted by Panzerbieter Diog. Apollon. p. 5. Διογένης ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης σχεδὸν νεώτατος γεγονὼς τῶν περὶ ταῦτα σχολασάντων τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα συμπεφορημένως γέγραφε, τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἀναξαγόραν τὰ δὲ κατὰ Λεύκιππον λέγων. Mr. Panzerbieter observes, *Hoc, opinor, dicere voluit, "post Anaxagoram": id enim ex iis quæ dixerat, σχεδὸν νεώτατος, elucet.* I do not think these words imply so much. Simplicius is there surveying the different opinions of the physical philosophers. He mentions Thales: comm. in Aristot. phys. ausc. p. 6. Θαλῆς δὲ πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκφῆναι, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων προγεγονότων, ὡς καὶ Θεοφράστῳ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ πολὺ διενεγκῶν ἐκείνων, ὡς ἀποκρῦψαι πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ. He then notices Hippasus and Heraclitus. Then Anaximander; of whom he remarks οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἀλλοιούμενου τοῦ στοιχείου τὴν γένεσιν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινομένων τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως· διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦτον [sc. *Anaximandrum*] Ἀριστοτέλης συνέταξεν, where evidently nothing more is meant than that Anaximander and Anaxagoras had arrived at the same conclusion. Anaximenes is next mentioned—Ἀναξιμένης Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος, ἑταῖρος γεγονὼς Ἀναξιμάνδρου—and then Diogenes: where the qualified expression σχεδὸν νεώτατος—"almost the youngest"—will not express that he was younger than Anaxagoras; and κατὰ Ἀναξαγόραν will mean no more than a conformity of doctrine, such as he before remarked in the case of Anaximander. Only one writer, then, out of seven testimonies here produced, distinctly places Diogenes below Anaxagoras; and his account is very much outweighed by three earlier authors, who relate that Diogenes was contemporary with Anaxagoras and the disciple of Anaximenes. Some modern critics indeed affirm from the internal evidence of fragments that Diogenes preceded Anaxagoras¹⁶.

¹⁶ Schaubach fragm. Anaxag. p. 6. *Inter utrumque (Anaxim. et Anaxag.) ponendum esse Diogenem Apolloniatem ostendit Schleiermacherus. p. 32. Inter*

The remains, however, of these two philosophers are too scanty to enable us to form a judgment upon this point. That Anaxagoras wrote in advanced life we may gather from Aristotle Met. i. 3. p. 843. B. Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Κλαζομένιος τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν Ἐμπεδοκλέους τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὕστερος. That another was supposed to have preceded him in the first hint of his grand doctrine, we also know from Aristotle, Ibid. p. 844. A. φανερώς μὲν οὖν Ἀναξαγόραν ἴσμεν ἀψάμενον τούτων τῶν λόγων, αἰτίαν δ' ἔχει πρότερον Ἐρμότιμος ὁ Κλαζομένιος εἰπεῖν¹⁷. But we know again that Diogenes wrote after the fall of the stone at Ægospotami: that is, after B. C. 468¹⁸, the 33d year of Anaxagoras. But which of the two published his opinions first, is not to be gathered with certainty. The conclusion of the editor of the fragments of Diogenes is the most reasonable¹⁹; that

Anaximenem et Anaxagoram ponendum esse dixi secutus Schleiermacherum, qui ipsam Diogenis doctrinam non cohærere ostendit cum Anaxagoræ, verum potius cum Anaximenis placitis. Panzerbieter demonstravit Diogenem Apolloniatem fuisse æqualem Anaxagoræ, sed ita ut Diogenes paullo major esset.

17 Conf. Simplic. comm. in Phys. auscult. p. 321. a.

18 The testimonies to the time of this fact are these: Mar. Par. ep. 58. ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ὁ λίθος ἔπεσεν—ἔτη Η Η Π ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Θεαγενίδου [Ol. 78. 1. B. C. 468]. Plin. H. N. ii. 58. *Celebrant Græci Anaxagoram Clazomenium Olympiade 78. 2 [B. C. 467]. prædixisse cælestium literarum scientia quibus diebus saxum casurum esse e sole, &c.* Euseb. Chron. Ol. 79. i. [78. 4.] *Glarea in Ægypto* [“sic legit interpres Armen. pro Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς.” Edit.] *de cælo pluit.* In Laërt. ii. 12. the passage is mutilated: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διμύλου λίθον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν. ἐπὶ ἄρχ. Λυσανίου Scal. ad Euseb. Kuhnus ad Laërt. l. c. Διμύλου. *Videtur male coaluisse hæc vox ex Λυ residuo ex nomine archontis, sive Λυσανίας fuerit [Ol. 78. 3.] sive Λυσίθεος [Ol. 78. 4.] et μύλου quod ad sequens λίθον pertinet.* The passage perhaps stood originally thus: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δημοτίωνος μύλου λίθον. Ancient authorities are not all agreed in the year of this event: and Demotion, who was archon Ol. 77. 3., is as near the date of the marble as Lysanias or Lysitheus. That Diogenes of Apollonia referred to this fact is attested by Stobæus Eclog. Phys. l. i. p. 508. Heeren. and Theodoret. Θεραπευτ. iv. tom. iv. p. 797.

19 Panzerbieter p. 19, 20. *Colligi posse videntur hæc: Erat æqualis Diogenes Anaxagoræ: ita ut aut ante Anaxagoram vel eodem tempore quo ille philosophiam suam excogitaret libroque perscriberet aut certe non multo post, priusquam Anaxagoræ doctrina libris innotescere famamque assequi cœpisset.*

they flourished together, and might have been engaged at the same time independently of each other in philosophical speculations. The chronology, then, of Anaximenes will not be embarrassed by the times of Diogenes of Apollonia. If he was of about the same age as Anaxagoras, he might at the same time in early youth have heard the lessons of Anaximenes.

H. F. C.

ON CERTAIN CONSTRUCTIONS

OF THE

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

I. *On the Construction of the Relative Pronouns or Relative Particles with the Subjunctive Mood without ἄν.*

THE critics who have noticed the construction of the relative pronouns or relative particles with the subjunctive mood without ἄν, have considered it merely as a poetical licence, and have not pointed out any difference of meaning between the subjunctive mood with and without ἄν. Porson on Orest. v. 141., Monk on Alcestis, v. 76., Blomfield on Seven against Thebes, v. 243.

The subjunctive mood expresses contingent events, possible upon the present and actual hypothesis of circumstances. The particle ἄν joined with a verb refers the action expressed by the verb to its conditions. When therefore it is joined with a mood of a verb expressing a contingent event, it connects the contingent event with its conditions, and denotes that, under the conditions stated or implied, the event is not merely contingent but consequent. This is evidently its force with the optative mood in independent sentences. Its force with the subjunctive mood is the same: only, as the conditions of contingent events expressed in the subjunctive mood are not arbitrary or imaginary, but merely actual circumstances, they are not expressed in any distinct clause, although reference is made to them by the particle ἄν.

Here it may be objected, that, according to this explanation, the subjunctive mood with ἄν would become equivalent, sometimes to the present, but more frequently to the future indicative. And so in fact it would in independent sentences.

A contingent event would be affirmed as consequent upon actually existing premises. I conceive that the very fact that such a construction would be a superfluous circumlocution, that it would express nothing more than could be signified more simply by the future indicative, is the reason why in the Attic dialect, in what may be considered as the perfect state of the Greek language, the construction of the subjunctive with *ἄν* in independent sentences was rejected. *Ποῖ φύγω;* is grammatical: *ποῖ ἄν φύγω;* is pronounced ungrammatical, because it says awkwardly what is said more directly by *ποῖ φεύξομαι;* but it must be remembered that such a construction is merely obsolete; not ungrammatical, that is, unmeaning, from the very nature of the language. In the Homeric poems the subjunctive with *κε* or *κεν* or *ἄν* is actually employed in independent sentences: e. g.

Il. A. 137. εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι

184. τὴν μὲν ἐγὼ σὺν νηϊ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισι
πέμψω· ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηον
αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισιήνδε.

See also Il. A. 205. B. 488. I. 416. Od. α. 396. χ. 325, &c. Here it is evidently equivalent to the future indicative.

In the dependent clauses of sentences the force of the construction of *ἄν* with the subjunctive mood is modified by its connexion with the relative pronouns or relative particles, which express the subject, object, or circumstances of the action. In this case the presence of *ἄν* denotes that the action itself is considered as consequent, and not merely contingent: but still it is left uncertain and contingent, who or what may be the subject, object, or circumstances of the action. Thus in Æsch. Eum. 33. *μαντεύομαι γὰρ ὥς ἂν ἡγῆται θεός,* it is assumed as certain that the god guides the Pythia in some way, but in what way is left uncertain. Thuc. VII. 62. *ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς γῆς, πλὴν ὅσον ἂν ὁ πεζὸς ἡμῶν ἐπέχη, πολεμίας οὔσης.* That their army was at all times in possession of some part of the shore was an undeniable fact; but of how great a part at any time, is left undetermined. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of this construction.

But when the particle *ἄν* is not inserted, not only the subject, object, or circumstances of an action are not defined, but the action itself is represented as contingent and uncertain, not as consequent or certain. This construction therefore may be used sometimes by negligence or licence, where the full construction with *ἄν* would be more exact: sometimes it may be difficult to assign a reason, why one construction should be used rather than the other: but more commonly there is a peculiar force and propriety in the construction without *ἄν*, and the insertion of the particle would impair or destroy the meaning.

For example: in *Æsch. Eum. vv. 321—4. θνατῶν τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαι συμπίσωσιν μάταιοι, τοῖς ὁμαρτεῖν, ὅφρ' ἄν γὰρ ὑπέλθῃ*, if *ἄν* were inserted in the first clause, it would imply that there always were mortals whom such events had befallen: “to whomsoever of mortals have befallen, &c.” Now however this is not distinctly implied; and the meaning rather is, “if to any mortals have befallen, &c.” On the other hand, as it is certain that the murderer will die at some time, though it is uncertain how long the intervening time may be, the *ἄν* in the last clause could not with propriety be omitted.

In *Eurip. Elect. v. 972. ὅπου δ' Ἀπόλλων σκαιὸς ἦ, τίνες σοφοί*; the meaning is, “if in any case Apollo be ignorant, in such a case who are wise?” If the sentence ran thus, *ὅπου δ' ἄν Ἀπόλλων σκαιὸς ἦ, οὐδεὶς σοφός*, it would be assumed that there were cases in which Apollo was ignorant: “but in cases in which Apollo is ignorant, whatsoever they be, no one else is wise.”

In *Soph. Trach. v. 147.*

*ἀλλ' ἡδοναῖς ἄμοχθον ἐξαίρει βίον,
ἐς τοῦθ', ἕως τις ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνὴ
κληθῇ, &c.,*

if *ἄν* were inserted, it would imply that every woman may be reckoned sure of being married at some time or other. As it is, the event as well as the time is left contingent and uncertain.

From the last example especially it may be seen that this construction is peculiarly adapted for expressing an actually

possible contingency in the most indefinite way: and hence it is commonly found in general sentences.

Thus in *Med.* v. 516.

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ χρυσοῦ μὲν, ὃς κίβδηλος ἦ,
τεκμήρι' ἀνθρώποισιν ὥπασας σαφῆ, &c.

and in *Sept.* c. *Theb.* 243.

ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἶον ὥπασας γένος.
μοχθηρὸν, ὥσπερ ἄνδρες, ὧν ἀλῶ πόλις.

In this last line the case of men whose city may chance to be taken is put generally by way of illustration. If it were mentioned as a historical fact, in which only the sufferers were to be described generally and indefinitely, ἄν would be inserted; and we might have a sentence of this kind; Ἑλλήνας δὲ πάντας, ὅσων ἂν ἀλῶσιν αἱ πόλεις, εἰς συνοικισμόν προκαλοῦνται οἱ Κυρηναῖοι.

These examples will suffice to show the difference which I conceive to be made by the insertion or omission of ἄν.

It may be asked, if such is the force of ἄν, why is ἄν not used in connexion with relative pronouns and particles with the optative mood after past tenses? Why is such a sentence as οὐς ἂν βούλοιντο ἔκτεινον esteemed ungrammatical? The reason seems to lie in the double use of the optative mood, which is employed to express contingent events possible upon a past state or hypothesis of circumstances, and also to express contingent events possible upon an arbitrary or imaginary hypothesis of future circumstances. For the sake of distinction, the particle ἄν, which refers the contingent events to their conditions, is used with the optative mood only in the latter case.

II. *On the Construction of the Subjunctive Mood with εἰ.*

It has been a common precept of grammarians, that in the Attic dialect εἰ is not joined with the subjunctive mood; but that the supposition of such a contingency as is expressed in the subjunctive mood must be made by the particle εἰάν or ἤν. To the universal application of this rule to the lan-

guage of the Attic Tragedians there are certain passages in their works opposed; which the critics of the last age generally altered, so as to make them agree with the rule; but in which the most eminent of the present age (for example, Hermann and Elmsley) have been inclined to restore the old readings.

The principal passages are these: *Æsch.* (ed. Wellauer) *Suppl.* vv. 86, 395. *Pers.* v. 777. *Eum.* v. 225. *Soph.* (ed. Hermann.) *Œd. T.* vv. 199, 868. *Aj.* v. 491. *Antig.* v. 706. *Œd. Col.* v. 1445. *Eurip.* (ed. Matth.) *Iph. Aul.* v. 1227.

In these passages the construction of *εἰ* with the subjunctive is supported by strong authority from MSS. and old editions; and in *Antig.* v. 706. it is acknowledged and cited by the grammarians Thomas Magister and Phavorinus (see Hermann's note.)

The construction is made questionable by the general consent of the Attic writers in using *ἐάν* or *ἤν* with the subjunctive mood: and the precept of the grammarians is founded only upon this consent.

Against this argument it may be observed that the construction with *εἰ* is not at variance with the general laws of the language: which is manifest from its frequent occurrence in the older dialects: e. g. in *Hom. Il.* A. 340. A. 116. M. 224. *Od.* α. 204. ε. 221 &c.; *Pind. Pyth.* iv. 474, 489. *Nem.* vii. 16, 23, &c. *Solon. Frag.* v. 29. *Tyrtæus, Frag.* iii. 35. See *Matth. Gr. Gr.* 525, 7, b. *Hermann Adnot. ad Viger.* 304. *Thiersch, Gr. Gr.* 329, 1.

The opposing authority therefore can amount to nothing more than a custom or idiomatic rule of the Attic dialect, either arbitrary, or founded in some subtle distinction overlooked in the other dialects.

Even if the greatest weight be allowed to this apparent consent or custom, it would be a sufficient defence of the passages, *Æsch. Supp.* 86. *Soph. Œd. T.* 199, 868. that they occur in Choric songs, which are not necessarily subject to the idiomatic laws of the Attic dialect, but might freely admit a construction legitimate to Pindar and other lyric poets. It is to be remembered also that the language of the Tragedians in general is not merely Attic, in the sense in which the language of Aristophanes or Demosthenes is

called Attic, but was a conventional language of poetry, partaking of the character of the older dialects which were the vehicles of the earlier Greek poetry, in a greater or less degree, from those plays of Æschylus which are most strongly imbued with an epic or lyric spirit, down to the latest and most familiar style of Euripides. The rare admission therefore, even in the dialogue, of an antique and poetical construction, might be tolerated by the spirit of their language.

In order however to form an intelligent judgment on the question, it is necessary to examine the force of the construction with $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ and with $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$; to point out the difference, if any there be; to show in what cases the former is proper; and why the latter is so much more common.

The Subjunctive Mood, as has been before observed, expresses events contingent upon the actual hypothesis of circumstances. If therefore a supposition be merely the supposition of such contingency; if it be supposed only that an event is possible under existing circumstances; this meaning will be properly expressed by the subjunctive mood with the simple particle $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$. But a supposition is presented much more vividly to the mind, if an event is supposed not merely possible under existing circumstances, but naturally consequent upon them. Now the force of the particle $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is always to refer an action or event to its conditions, and to mark the connexion between them. If therefore an event be supposed consequent upon existing premises, we may expect the subjunctive mood with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ to be constructed with $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$. Thus in Homer $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu$ are used, as in Il. E. 232; but more commonly the equivalent particles $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \kappa\epsilon$ or $\alpha\acute{\iota} \kappa\epsilon$ (see Thiersch, Gr. Gr. 329, 2.) But at an early period custom joined the particles $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ so closely, as to form out of them the compound word $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$, which was contracted into $\eta\acute{\nu}$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (with α long.) In the Attic dialect the separate particles are never used in conjunction; but the supposition of a consequent event is made by the compound particle.

If then an event be supposed as certainly future, but its connexion with present circumstances not marked, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ is used with the future indicative. If a contingent event be supposed arbitrarily, without any connexion with existing circumstances, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ is used with the optative mood. With these

two constructions we have now nothing to do. If a contingent event be supposed as merely possible, *εἰ* is used with the subjunctive mood (that is, if the theory propounded above be correct.) If it be supposed as consequent upon the existing premises, *εἰάν* or *ἦν* is used with the subjunctive mood. This explanation of the force of the subjunctive with *εἰάν* or *ἦν* is in accordance with the opinion of Matthiæ, who states that a condition is so expressed, when it is considered as a case *probably* happening (Gr. Gr. 523, 1.)

Of the two constructions of the subjunctive with *εἰ* and with *εἰάν*, it is manifest that the latter is likely to occur much the more frequently. But there are cases in which the former has a peculiar propriety: and such are general and indefinite sentences, in which, although they are expressed in present time (frequently by an aorist present), the conditions are not real existing circumstances, to which a determinate reference can be made. Thus Pind. Nem. vii. 16, &c.

εἰ δὲ τύχῃ τις ἔρδων, μελίφρον' αἰτίαν
 ῥοαῖσι Μοισᾶν ἐνέβαλεν.
 ταῖ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαὶ
 σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι.
 ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ,
 εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἑκατι λιπαράμπυκος
 εὖρῃ τις ἄποινα μόχθων
 κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς.

Isthm. iv. 69. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει,
 εἴ τις εὖ εἶπῃ τι.

v. 17. εἴ τις εὖ πάσχων λόγον ἐσλὸν ἀκούῃ.

So also in Pyth. iv. 473, 488. and Nem. ix. 109, 110. Pindar abounds in general sentences, and this construction is accordingly usual to him.

So in Solon, Frag. v. v. 27, &c.

αἰεὶ δ' οὐ τι λέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρὸν
 θυμὸν ἔχει· πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη.
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἔτισεν, ὁ δ' ὕστερον· εἰ δὲ φύγῳσιν
 αὐτοὶ, μηδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπιούσα κίχῃ,
 ἦλυθε πάντως.

Tyrtæus, Frag. III. v. 31, &c.

οὐδέποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται, οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,
 ὄντιν' ἀριστεύοντα, μένοντά τε, μαρνάμενόν τε
 γῆς πέρι καὶ παιδῶν, θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέση.
 εἰ δὲ φύγῃ μὲν κῆρα τανηλεγεός θανάτοιο,
 νικήσας δ' αἰχμῆς ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἔλῃ,
 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι ἢ δὲ παλαιοί,
 πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθῶν ἔρχεται εἰς Αἴδην.

In both these fragments Brunck has erroneously substituted ἦν for εἰ.

Precisely of this nature are the passages in the Œd. Tyr. vv. 199, 868. The latter, especially occurs in a sentence altogether indefinite, and of which the main action is expressed by the aorist present:

ῥβρις, εἰ πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῇ μάταν,
 ἂ μὴ ῥίκαιρα μηδὲ συμφέροντα,
 ἀκρότατον εἰσαναβᾶσ' ἐς
 ἀπότομον, ὥρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν.

Of the same character is the passage, Antig. v. 706.

ἀλλ' ἄνδρα, κεί τις ἦ σοφὸς, τὸ μανθάνειν
 πόλλ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν, καὶ τὸ μὴ τείνειν ἄγαν.

The passage in the Supplices is a similar general proposition: v. 86,

πίπτει δ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ,
 κορυφᾷ Διὸς εἰ κρανθῇ πρᾶγμα τέλειον.

So in Eumen. v. 225.

δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι κᾶν θεοῖς πέλει
 τοῦ προτροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῶ σφ' ἐκῶν.

I would not insist very confidently upon the reading of this passage, since the MSS. of the play are so few: but if the sentence be taken as a general proposition, which the present πέλει shows that it is, I believe that the construction εἰ προδῶ is right. It will make my view of the subject more clear, if I observe, that, if Apollo had been speaking of one definite fact, instead of putting the proposition generally, "The wrath

of *this* suppliant will be terrible, if I shall have betrayed him," the supposition must have been made by *εάν* or *ἤν*.

It is a strong confirmation of this view of the subject, that it is in such general and indefinite sentences that *άν* is most frequently omitted in the construction of the subjunctive mood with relative pronouns and relative particles, as I have shewn in the preceding disquisition. In the Fragment of Tyrtaeus, cited above, compare the construction of *όλέση* in the fourth line with that of *φύγη* and *έλη* in the lines following. In the second line of the fragment of Solon, probably *έχη* should be substituted for *έχει*.

Of the examples of the construction of *εί* with the subjunctive mood, which were enumerated from the tragedians, those which remain are of a different character. We have seen already, how *εάν*, by strengthening contingency into consequence, intimates some probability in the supposition. In the following passages, the suppositions are of such a nature, that their probability seems purposely dissembled and the intimation of it suppressed.

Æsch. Supp. v. 395.....*μή καί ποτε
είπη λεώς, εί πού τι μή τοῖον τύχη,
έπηλύδας τιμῶν άπώλεσας πόλιν.*

Soph. Aj. v. 491. *εί γάρ θάνης συ, καί τελευτήσας άφῆς, &c.*

(so in Gaisford's edition, partly from MS. Laur. A. See particularly Hermann's note.)

Œd. Col. v. 1445.....*δυστάλαινα τάρ' έγώ,
εί σοῦ στερηθῶ¹.*

Eur. Iph. A. v. 1227. *ίν' άλλά τουτο κατθανούσ' έχω σέθεν
μνημείον, εί μή τοῖς έμοῖς πεισθῆς λόγοις.*

¹ The explanation given by Hermann, in his note on this passage, of the difference between *εί* and *ἤν*, is not very clear; but it seems to be the very contrary of the theory which I have endeavoured to establish: "Interest autem non parum, *εί* an *ἤν* dicas. Nam *ἤν* incertum est, referturque ad id, quod simus experiundo cognituri, fiatne an non fiat; *εί* autem fortius est, solamque conditionem designat: unde eo hic utitur Antigona, non dubitans quin sit fratre caritura." It appears to me that the meaning which Hermann attaches to the words would be expressed in Greek by *εί γε σοῦ στερηθήσομαι*.

In the one remaining passage, *Æsch. Pers. v. 777.* (v. 796, ed. Blomf.), the confusion of moods is very perplexing. The use of $\epsilon\iota$ with the subjunctive cannot be explained here as in the other instances; and if $\eta\nu$ be substituted, the syntax seems still more incorrect.

H. M.

ANCÆUS.

It is the peculiar advantage of a Literary Miscellany like the present, that it affords room for the discussion of minute questions, in themselves of little or no moment, and only interesting so far as they may appear to be connected with subjects of higher importance; while on the other hand the historical or philosophical views to which such details owe all their real value, may not admit of a full developement in the same place, and may with more propriety be briefly hinted. The writer trusts that this remark will be sufficient to justify him, if starting from a seemingly inconsiderable point in mythical history he proceeds to shew its bearing on questions that embrace a wide field, and that can never be indifferent to a historical inquirer; without dwelling on them at a length exactly proportioned to their relative dignity.

Several of our readers perhaps are familiar with the proverb which suggests the uncertainty that intervenes between the cup and the lip, who are not acquainted with its high antiquity and its supposed origin. According to the Greek mythologers the person who first experienced a truth which after him became proverbial, was a king named Ancæus. Lycophron, who has exprest the proverb with his usual simplicity and perspicuity: (v. 489.)

ὥς πολλὰ χεῖλες καὶ δεπαστραίων ποτῶν
μέσῳ κυλίνδει Μοῖρα παμμήστωρ βροτῶν.

refers it to an Arcadian hero, Ancæus of Tegea, who was killed by the Calydonian boar. His valour and untimely fate were subjects of lively interest in his native city; and the artist who adorned one of the pediments in the great temple of Minerva Alea at Tegea, with the principal figures belonging to the Calydonian chase, had represented Ancæus in the act of sinking under his wounds, after the hatchet with which he had ineffectually assailed the boar had dropt

out of his hand. (Pausan. viii. 45. 7). But Lycophron's Greek commentator censures the poet for confounding two perfectly distinct personages, the one just mentioned and Ancæus a son of Neptune and Astypalæa, and king of the Leleges¹. This people according to Pherecydes (Strabo xiv. p. 632) was in possession of the coast of Asia between Ephesus and Phocæa, and of the islands Chios and Samos, before the Ionian migration, and a legend reported by Tzetzes on the authority of an Aristotle who had written a book entitled *πέπλοι*, placed the scene of the event which gave rise to the proverb in Samos. There Ancæus had planted the vine: but a seer or an oracle had predicted that he should never drink wine from its fruit. When the grapes were ripe, the king prest a bunch into a cup, and as he raised it to his lips scoffed at the idle prophecy: the seer replied, *ποὺλὺ μεταξὺ πέλει κύλικος καὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρου*. at the same moment a shout was heard, and tidings came that a boar was ravaging the fields. Laying aside the untasted must, Ancæus rushed forth to encounter the invader, and perished in the conflict.

With regard to the proverb, it can scarcely be doubted that it belongs to the Samian Ancæus, whose son Samos was said to have given his name to the island: for the prediction which is the basis of the story had most probably some connexion with that peculiar defect in the quality of the Samian soil, which rendered it unfavorable to the growth of the vine, while the neighbouring islands, as well as the adjacent coast of the continent, were celebrated for the excellence of their wines². But even if we suppose Lycophron to have been mistaken in referring the occasion of the proverb to the Arcadian, there still remains a resemblance between the fates of these two Ancæuses, close enough to startle

¹ So he is described by Asius (in Pausan. vii. 4. 1.), who does not mention the Carians, as is incorrectly stated by Panofka, (*Res Samiorum*, p. 11.) Strabo himself speaks of the Carians as having inhabited Samos while it was called Parthenia, (xiv. p. 637.) but perhaps he only uses the name of Carians according to a commonly received notion, as equivalent to that of Leleges, without at all meaning to contradict Pherecydes.

² Strabo, xiv. p. 637. *ἐστὶ δ' οὐκ εὖοινος, καίπερ εὖοινουσῶν τῶν κύκλῳ νήσων, καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου σχεδόν τι τῆς προσεχοῦς πάσης τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐκφερούσης οἶνους.*

the curious reader. The coincidence however extends much further; for we find both the heroes taking a share in the Argonautic expedition. Both appear in the catalogue of Apollonius, who describes Ancæus of Tegea as clothed in the skin of a Mænalian bear, and wielding a great double hatchet in his right hand; his namesake of Samos (Parthenia) is simply described as the comrade of the Milesian Erginus, and like him skilled in navigation and in war; he is marked however by the epithet *ὑπέρβιος*, which reminds us of his ungovernable temper. The armour of the Tegean would naturally excite the surprize of any one who was familiar with that of the Homeric heroes, and its singularity is even more striking on board the Argo than in the Calydonian forest. The poet therefore adds a few lines to explain this strange garb and weapon: and we learn that Aleus, the grandfather of Ancæus, desirous of keeping him at home, had taken the unavailing precaution of locking up his accustomed armour: a satisfactory explanation perhaps, so long as the closing scene of his life is kept out of view, but one which cannot be reconciled with that by any but a very forced and artificial construction.

Some of our readers who are not strangers to the way in which all mythical legends, and above all the Greek, are apt to shift their phases, will probably by this time have been led to ask themselves, whether according to the rules of sound criticism it is allowable to imagine that two stories, in which two heroes of the same name both embark in the Argo and both come to their death in fighting with a boar, can have had two essentially distinct foundations? and whether it is not sufficiently clear that Ancæus of Tegea and Ancæus king of the Leleges were originally one and the same person, and that the slight variations which occur in the description of his character and adventures, must have arisen from the legend having been transplanted to a foreign soil. Should this be granted, it seems no more than a natural conclusion, which may be drawn independently of any opinion as to the original seat and form of the myth, that its transmission from the one place to the other implies some degree of affinity between the two tribes who claimed possession of it, and that we may fairly regard it as an

additional ground for believing, that the Leleges of the Asiatic coast and the neighbouring islands were nearly related to the old Arcadians, whom the ancient writers unanimously represent as a Pelasgian race. A very early connexion between Arcadia and the part of Asia adjacent to the territory of the Leleges is implied in the legend of Telephus, who like Ancæus is a grandson of Aleus, and whose combat with Achilles in the plain of the Caicus was the subject that filled the other pediment in the above-mentioned temple at Tegea.

The chief difficulty that perplexes all inquiries into the character of the Leleges, is the combination in which we find them placed with some Hellenic tribes on the one hand, and on the other hand with the Carians. The ancients themselves were divided in their opinions on the question, whether the Leleges and the Carians were the same or different races, and they seem generally to have inclined to the former side, with Herodotus, who looked upon the name of Leleges merely as one by which the Carians had been known, while they occupied the islands of the Ægean in the reign of Minos. This however is a case in which we may certainly venture to decide with great confidence even against this high authority. For it is perfectly clear from the accounts transmitted to us of these two nations that their histories were quite distinct, and that at all events they were not connected together by any closer affinity than subsisted between the Greeks and the Thracians. The principal, and apparently the earliest settlements of the Leleges were on the continent of Greece, where there are only a very few traces of the Carians, and those confined to the Eastern coast. The latter themselves maintained that they were from the beginning an Asiatic people, and claimed the Lydians and Mysians for their brethren. It is not at all surprising that the manifold contact into which they were brought with the Leleges on the coast of Asia should have led many of the ancients to overlook these broad distinctions between them, as it may here and there have effaced all the marks by which they could have been discriminated. Yet even there they were far from being completely mingled or confounded by tradition. Pherecydes, in the passage of Strabo above referred to, distinguishes the territory of the Leleges from

that of the Carians, who were masters of the coast toward the South. In many parts of Caria itself monuments remained even to the latest times of Greece, that preserved the name of the Leleges. A Carian writer, Philip of Theangela (Athen. vi. c. 101), the author of a treatise on the two nations, compared the condition in which the Leleges were placed by the Carians, to that of the Laconian helots and the Thessalian Penestæ. Strabo himself adopted the same view, though not perhaps on very critical grounds; for he appeals to the authority of Homer, who mentions both Carians and Leleges as distinct bands in the Trojan army. He conceives these Leleges, whom the poet describes as occupying a small territory at the foot of Ida, to have been the original stock from which all the other tribes of the same name were descended. According to his view they had migrated southward after their towns had been sacked by Achilles, and had founded some new ones in Caria, where Pedasa preserved the recollection of the Pedasus which they had left on the banks of the Satnioeis. Another body of them took possession of a part of Pisidia, and became blended with the ancient inhabitants. Finally they joined the Carians in their expeditions, spread over all parts of Greece, and gradually disappeared. It is however pretty clear that in forming this theory the geographer has been biassed by the same superstitious reverence for Homer, which on other occasions perverted his naturally sound judgement. It is at least equally probable that the Leleges had once covered the whole coast between the Hellespont and Caria, and if we may lay any stress on the evidence of Philip of Theangela, we shall be inclined to believe that they had preceded the Carians in the possession of that country. It is rather remarkable that Pedasa was the only town in Caria that held out against the troops of Cyrus: it was taken after a long siege, which cost the Persian general much trouble. Yet after the fall of Miletus we find the Carians of Pedasa receiving from the Persians a portion of the Milesian territory: (compare Her. i. 175. and vi. 20). Does this singular mark of apparently unmerited favour, combined with the strange mode of divination practised by the priestess of Minerva, warrant a suspicion, that so late as the reign of Cyrus the

population of Pedasa remained distinct from that of the surrounding country, and was then exterminated after its gallant struggle, and replaced by the submissive Carians?

If this conjecture be well founded, the Carians may be supposed to have stood in the same relation to the Leleges as their brothers the Lydians to the Mæonians, and like them to have advanced from the interior toward the coast. This movement however must have taken place long before the conquest by which the name of the Mæonians was merged in that of the Lydians; for the latter people was unknown to Homer; as it seems also to have preceded, though perhaps not by so long an interval, the migration of the Mysians, whom Jupiter in the *Iliad* sees still far from Ida on the banks of the Danube³. That of the Phrygians was also believed by some of the ancients to have taken place after the Trojan war; and there seems to be sufficient evidence that at a period subsequent to that event some unknown cause, connected perhaps with that which produced the Thessalian and Dorian migrations, threw a number of tribes previously settled in Thrace and the adjacent countries upon Asia. The Lydians and Carians however are not mentioned among them: and this might raise a doubt as to the reality of that mutual affinity which was recognized by these two nations and the Mysians, and seemingly confirmed by their exclusive admission to the temple at Mylasa. (*Her.* i. 171). And perhaps it was not a nearer one than existed between the Mysians and many other branches of the Thracian family: and the belief in it may have arisen chiefly out of the accidental juxtaposition in which after many changes the fortunes of the three nations finally placed them: as it was probably this cause that occasioned the popular legend which we learn from the native historian Xanthus to have been commonly received among the Lydians⁴: that the Mysians were an offset of the same root, descended from a sacred tithe, which had once been exposed on mount Olympus: as according to Myrsilus of Lesbos, (*Dionys.* i. 23) the Tyrrhenians of the Ægean had sprung from a similar portion of

³ Posidonius ap. Strab. vii. p. 295, and Niebuhr *Kleine Schriften*, p. 371.

⁴ Strab. xii. p. 571.

the Italian Tyrrhenians, which had been consecrated by a vow. But the well attested community of language among these three tribes furnishes a stronger argument of the fact than tradition or popular belief: and if we adopt what appears to be the most probable view of their origin, and suppose that the Phrygian and other kindred races came down from the table-lands of Armenia⁵, that some of them remained in Asia, while others crost over into Europe and were afterwards driven back toward the East, we shall have no difficulty in conceiving that tribes which had not shared all one anothers' wanderings, might nevertheless retain many decisive marks of their original affinity.

There are two other questions, one of them highly interesting, connected with this subject, which ought to be noticed here, but which we must not attempt to discuss in the space to which we confine ourselves. As to the first we only wish to observe, that although the Phrygians, Mysians, and several other nations that finally settled in the same part of Asia, are described by the ancients as Thracians, this name must be understood in a geographical, not an ethnographical sense, and that their relation to the various tribes which in the days of Thucydides occupied the same part of Europe whence they had migrated, may notwithstanding have been extremely remote⁶. The second question is, how far the early population of Western Asia was allied to that of Greece. According to a view which has hitherto been very prevalent among writers on this subject, the distinction we have drawn in a preceding page between the Carians and Leleges would be trifling and unsubstantial. It has been commonly supposed that in the period when the history of Greece first begins to dawn, an intimate connexion subsisted among its inhabitants and those of Thrace, and of Asia Minor. The traditions concerning the most ancient poetry of Greece which represent it as cultivated by Thracian and Lycian bards, seemed to imply that one language was spoken or understood throughout those countries, and that the wide

⁵ See Hoeck's *Kreta*, i. p. 125. and foll.

⁶ See a note on this subject in the French translation of Strabo: Tom. III. p. 23.

difference that was observed between them in this respect at a later period, was a change that had been gradually introduced by time and accident. Now however that the researches of Niebuhr have enabled us to form a more exact notion of the limits within which the early inhabitants of Asia Minor and Greece may be regarded as the same people, this argument has lost all its force, and until some other can be found we may reasonably doubt that there was ever any closer resemblance between the Greek language, in any of its forms and stages, and that of the Lydians and their kinsmen, than appeared after these races had been formally distinguished from the Greeks as barbarians, or than now strikes a common reader in the specimens collected by Iablonski. We may admit, and indeed it seems scarcely possible to deny an affinity, between the Carians and Leleges for instance, such as connects together the most distant members of a widely propagated race, including the numberless varieties of the Indo-Germanic family, but we have no ground for concluding that, after their first separation from their parent stock, they had ever been brought into contact before we find them neighbours on the coast of Asia, or that there was any peculiar resemblance between them, except what arose out of this fortuitous intercourse. That a considerable interchange however of language and ideas was likely to take place between two nations so situate cannot be denied; and we are now about to point out an instance in which we conceive the influence of this mixture may be traced.

It is no other than that from which we set out, to which we now return from this digression, to examine more closely the character and attributes of the mythical hero Ancæus. We have pointed out what appear to us sufficient reasons for believing that in this instance two persons of the same name have grown out of one; and as this division is itself a fiction, it may the more readily be imagined that features which properly belonged to one of them might easily be transferred to the other. This we conceive to have happened with regard to the double hatchet, with which we have seen the Arcadian Ancæus accompanying the Argonauts and attacking the Calydonian boar. We have already observed that the legend alluded to by Apollonius can only serve to

mark the singularity of the weapon, without explaining the cause that made it the inseparable badge of a Grecian hero. But in the hands of the Samian Ancæus it would have excited no surprize, for we should see in it nothing but an ancient religious symbol, which from the earliest times of which we have any historical notices appears to have been familiar to the inhabitants of the western coast of Asia, and especially of the part nearest to Samos, where it is visible among the wrecks of antiquity at this day. Chandler at least saw it not only on the keystone of the arch at Mylasa⁷, but also on two marbles inserted in the wall of a church built on an islet in the lake of Myûs, and under it, as he says, the name of the proprietor, Jupiter of Labranda (*Travels*, c. 51. p. 169). To persons conversant with this subject, it would be unnecessary to say anything more on the wide diffusion of this symbol: but for the sake of readers to whom it may be new or not very familiar, we will add a few remarks to illustrate this point. Plutarch (*Qu. Græcæ*. 45) answers the question: why the statue of Jupiter Labradeus⁸ in Caria wields a hatchet, and not a sceptre or a thunderbolt: by relating a legend, according to which the weapon in the hand of the God represented one which had once belonged to the Amazon Hippolita, had been taken from her by Hercules and by him presented to Omphale, whose successors the kings of Lydia had worn it as a sacred ornament till the time of Candaules, who disdaining the relic had consigned it to one of his attendants. When Gyges revolted from his master, he was assisted by a Carian chief who received the hatchet as the reward of his services, and on his return to Caria, dedicated a statue to Jupiter, which he adorned

⁷ A view of this arch is engraved in the *Ionian Antiquities*, Vol. II. Pl. xxii. See also the vignette on the opposite page. If circumstances should ever render it possible to explore the ruins of Asia Minor with the attention they deserve, other specimens might probably be found. They would be still more interesting if they were discovered further to the north.

⁸ The word should probably be written *Λαβρανδεύς*, but the mistake may have been made by Plutarch himself: or he may have conceived that the name of the village was not directly derived from the epithet of the God.

with it. Hence the god received the title Labradeus, *labrys* being the name for a hatchet in the Lydian language. This story traces the use of the hatchet to the Amazons: and accordingly we find it not only on the Carian coins, but on those of a great number of cities in Asia Minor, which claimed Amazons as their founders. The reader may see many of these collected in the work of Petitus *De Amazonibus*: the hatchet appears sometimes by itself, sometimes in the hand of the Amazon: and in those of a later period it is wielded by the Roman emperors. The Greek traditions not only spoke of Amazons as founders of many towns in Æolis and Ionia, but related that they were among the inhabitants of the country whom the Ionian colonists found on their arrival. It was disputed whether they or a son of the river Caystrus had built the temple of the great goddess at Ephesus, but it was universally admitted that when Androclus landed there with his followers, Leleges and Lydians (that is Mæonians) were in possession of the upper part of the town, and Amazons were dwelling within the precincts of the sanctuary: the Ionians forcibly expelled the former, but the latter were permitted to remain in peace (Pausan. vii. 2. 8.) As the double hatchet was the constant badge of the Amazons, these traditions seem sufficiently to prove the antiquity and the extensive diffusion of the symbol, which, by the light afforded by these monuments, we trace from the southwest of Asia Minor to the neighbourhood of Themiscyra.

It may not however be equally clear that we are justified in terming it a religious symbol. And undoubtedly if there were no other ground for calling it so than that it was carried by the Carian god, its claim to this title would be doubtful; for it might easily be conceived that a piece of armour which had once been worn by a race of warlike kings, might become the peculiar distinction of a god of war, such as the Carian Jupiter seems to have been. But its association with the Amazons places it in a different light, and may be considered as a sufficient proof, that it was a sign originally connected with some religious meaning. We venture to assert this, on the supposition that scarcely any one will now be found to embrace any other view of that celebrated race, than that which regards them as the ministers of some kind

of religious worship. On this point we believe almost all mythologers are now agreed, though the explanation of their various attributes and of the legends relating to them is a problem that will always afford room for difference of opinion. We do not mean to discuss these questions, but we may observe that according to one view of the Amazons, the badge which uniformly distinguishes them is not an unmeaning ornament, but is in perfect unison with their character, while it is very difficult to perceive its connexion with any other that has yet been proposed.

The religions that prevailed in Asia Minor from the earliest times of which we have any tradition down to the propagation of Christianity, so far as they were not introduced or modified by the Hellenic settlers, exhibit a remarkable simplicity and conformity in their general outlines, which presents a striking contrast with the inexhaustible variety, the endless ramifications of the Indian, Grecian and Egyptian systems. Their common basis appears to have been the same on which the latter were raised; but either the genius of the people was deficient in that quickness of invention, which moulded these into such a multiplicity of forms, or the numerous sacerdotal dynasties which united religious and political authority, and, from sanctuaries which were at once centres of commerce and of devotion, spread their sway over large surrounding tracts, checked every tendency either to vary or to refine and spiritualize the established objects and modes of worship. These temples, with their subject principalities and consecrated serfs, flourished with little interruption or diminution of their power and lustre under the shelter of the Lydian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman Monarchies, and during the successive revolutions that took place around them, the religion of which they were the seats underwent as little alteration in its essential character as in its outward forms. It was the adoration of nature contemplated as the great sensible whole, but under two or three different aspects, determined by the disposition of each people, and regulating its modes of worship. The earliest and simplest conception of nature perhaps entertained by the human mind is that of a merely passive productive power: and this the imagination of almost every people has figured to itself

in the shape of a female deity. The next step has been to distinguish an active vivifying principle: and this must then be represented by a person of the other sex. A third stage ascends to the union of these two powers; which may be exhibited in various ways, either by simply combining their mythical forms in some prodigious mixture, or by transferring some of the attributes of the one to the other. Specimens of the former process are said to occur in Indian works of art; and a very lively and exact description of such a compound figure is preserved in a fragment of Porphyrius, who had extracted it from an account given by the Babylonian Bardesanes, of an interview he had with some Indian envoys in the reign of Heliogabalus⁹. Among other things they told him of a large natural cave in a very lofty mountain, containing a colossal statue. It was erect, with its arms stretched out in the form of a cross. The right side of the face, the right arm and foot, and the whole of the right side of the body was male, the other half female. The sun was carved on its right breast, the moon on the left: and on other parts various other natural objects. Its head supported the image of a god. It was conjectured by Payne Knight¹⁰ that some such androgynous figure had given rise to the legend of the Amazons wanting the right breast. Whether we adopt this opinion or not, it seems at all events in the highest degree probable that it was to their connexion with some such worship that they owed their legendary character: and that on precisely the same principle on which among an effeminate and luxurious people the Babylonian Mylitta was honoured by the prostitution of her female devotees, the priestesses of a masculine goddess, such as the Cappadocian Enyo, represented her by assuming the garb of the other sex.

⁹ Stobæus ed. Heeren, Vol. i. p. 144. Compare Heeren's *Ideen* xii. p. 29.

¹⁰ The writer of this article only learnt Mr. Knight's conjecture from a note in Creuzer's *Symbolik* ii. p. 175. He does not possess the work in which it was proposed, (*Inq. into the Symbol. lang.*) and though he read it a year ago, yet as his attention was not then directed to the subject, he had entirely forgotten that the subject of the Amazons was discussed there, and does not now know whether Mr. Knight takes any notice of the hatchet.

And it is easy to conceive that wherever a train of religious ideas prevailed, such as suggested the image described by Bardesanes, there they may have been compendiously exprest by such a symbol as the Amazonian hatchet. The very mode in which it probably originated seems to be pointed out in a fragment of Heraclides Ponticus on the state of Tenedos (Pol. vii.) He relates that king Tennes, from whom the island, before called Leucophrys¹¹, derived its name, was the author of a law by which an adulterer was to be put to death with a hatchet, and that his own son afterwards incurred the penalty; for a memorial of this act of justice the Tenedian coins bore on the one side a hatchet, and on the other two faces, male and female, growing out of one neck. We know however that a totally different explanation of the Tenedian hatchet was given in another legend reported by Pausanias (x. 14.), and also that Apollo himself was represented at Tenedos, like the Carian Jupiter, with the hatchet in his hand¹²: and we may therefore pretty safely conclude that both the stories are only instances of the facility with which the Greek mythology could account for usages the origin of which had been forgotten.

We fear we may already have ventured too far on this dangerous ground, and would not abuse the freedom it offers; we cannot however refrain from adding another remark on the adventure of the double Ancæus. Eudocia (Viol. p. 24), without assigning any locality to the story, relates that Ancæus was a lover of husbandry, who planted a vineyard and tasked his labourers hardly¹³: so that one of them was provoked to make the prediction which we have seen in another version attributed to an oracle or a seer. The rest of this narrative agrees with the former, and the writer adds that

¹¹ This name recalls to mind the Artemis Leucophryne or Leucophryene of Magnesia on the Mæander. (Strab. xiv. p. 647.) Amazons appear with Cybele on the coins of the other Magnesia, and Petitus, p. 285. is probably right in explaining the introduction of the hatchet in a medal of Demetrias from this circumstance; Beger (Thesaurus i. 250.) has a similar medal with the hatchet, which he does not attempt to explain.

¹² Steph. Byz. (who mentions both the legends) Τένεδος. Καί φησιν Ἀριστείδης, καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν Τενέδῳ, Ἀπόλλωνα πέλεκυν κρατεῖν διὰ τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς περὶ Τέννην.

¹³ βαρὺς ἐπέκειτο τοῖς οἰκέταις.

Pherecydes had said, Ancæus died of a wound in the thigh, which he received from the Calydonian boar. The severity of Ancæus toward his labourers reminds us of the son of Midas, Lityerses, whose untimely fate was the subject of a plaintive ditty sung in the summer among the Phrygian husbandmen. He had been wont to challenge men to vie with him in reaping, and to scourge those whose strength flagged in the contest: till at length he met with one more robust than himself and died by his hands (Pollux iv. 7. 54). This single coincidence indeed would not be a sufficient argument for referring Ancæus to the same class of mythical persons to which Lityerses belongs. The latter, it is well known, corresponded to the Egyptian Maneros, the Phœnician Adonis, and the Mariandynian Borimus, inasmuch as each of them was a hero whose tragical fate was the theme of periodical wailings and mournful lays. Most mythological writers have believed that all these legends and usages had a common origin, and that although they may have been sometimes adopted where their meaning was not known, or retained after it had been forgotten, they were grounded on a natural sympathy with the changes of the seasons, and that the vicissitudes of the sun in his yearly course had been transformed by the popular imagination into a tale of human suffering. This view was not unknown to the ancients; and of the Phrygians and Paphlagonians in particular Plutarch observes, that the former conceived the god as sleeping in winter, and awake in the summer, and that they solemnized his slumber and his uprising with enthusiastic rites; while the Paphlagonians described him as fettered and imprisoned during the gloomy season, and restored to motion and liberty in the spring¹⁴. We are not now concerned to vindicate this opinion, though we are far from being convinced by the arguments with which it has lately been attacked by a writer of consummate learning and ingenuity¹⁵. It is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that as the Ancæus of Eudocia coincides in his general character with the Phrygian Lityerses, so in his fate he resembles Attes, Adonis and the Paphlagonian Borimus: the

¹⁴ De Is. and Os. c. 69.

¹⁵ Lobeck Aglaophamus, p. 687—692.

latter was the son of king Upis, and was killed in his youth while hunting on a summer's day¹⁶, whether also by a boar is not mentioned: but perhaps the extent to which religious abstinence from swine's flesh had spread over Asia Minor¹⁷, may justify us in supposing that this was the original and proper form of the story. And if we are allowed to transfer a part of the Arcadian legend to the Samian Ancæus, and to think that he may also have been described as a stripling too young for feats of arms, the resemblance between him and the three last mentioned mythical personages will become still more striking.

To some of our readers these conjectures will probably appear too bold and fanciful: yet before we conclude we must run the risk of still further forfeiting their good opinion, by confessing a suspicion which we have long harboured, that the sacred legend we have just been considering was the real foundation of a narrative which has hitherto been received as a piece of true history. We mean the beautiful tale in the first book of Herodotus, concerning the son of Cræsus, whom his father, after having long used the same precaution as old Aleus with his grandson, of locking up his arms, at last reluctantly sent out against the enormous boar that was wasting the Mysian fields, to perish like Ancæus in the chase. We need scarcely remark that the whole story is much more like one in the Arabian Nights than any series of events

¹⁶ This is the story told by Pollux, iv. 7. 54. Nymphis in Athenæus, p. 619. f. gives a different version, according to which Borimus was the son of a noble and wealthy man, a youth of exceeding beauty: he was inspecting the labours of the harvest, and going to draw water for the reapers disappeared.

¹⁷ At Comana (Strabo xii. p. 575.) τὸ τέμενος . . . διαφανέστατα τῆς τῶν υἱῶν κρεῶν βρώσεως καθαρεύει, ὅπου γε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πόλις οὐδ' εἰσάγεται εἰς αὐτήν ὕς. Pausan. vii. 17. 10. Ἀττης ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕος (in Lydia.) καὶ τι ἐπόμενον τούτοις Γαλατῶν δρῶσιν οἱ Πεσσινοῦντα ἔχοντες, ὕων οὐχ ἀπτόμενοι. The same superstition prevailed in Crete: a vestige probably of Phœnician influence; and a curious legend was invented to connect it with the Cretan mythology. A sow was said to have suckled the infant Jupiter, and to have drowned his cries with her grunting: διὸ (says Agathocles in Athen. p. 376. a.) πάντες τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο περίσεπτον ἡγοῦνται, καὶ οὐ τῶν κρεῶν δαΐσαιντ' αὖν. See also Dion. Perieg. 852 and the Scholiast, about Aspendus.

that ever happened in the world: that the adventure of Adrastus has no necessary connexion with it: and finally that the life and character of Cræsus afforded large room and strong temptation for the introduction of fictitious episodes. A tragical tale which the Greeks found current, about the son of a king or a wealthy man who had been cut off in his youth, might very easily be applied to Cræsus. It is undoubtedly true that the adventure related by Herodotus might have had at least a historical foundation: yet when we consider the name of Atys, the scene and the circumstances of his death, we feel strongly inclined to believe that it belongs altogether to the domain of mythology.

C. T.

NOTICE

OF

PAYNE KNIGHT'S "NUMMI VETERES."

NUMMI VETERES CIVITATUM, *regum, gentium et*
provinciarum, Londini in Museo RICHARDI PAYNE
KNIGHT asservati, ab ipso ordine geographico descripti.
Londini 1830, 4to. pp. 377.

MR. R. PAYNE KNIGHT, the author of several works on Grecian art and literature, and well known both in this and other countries, as an antiquarian of learning and originality, bequeathed to the British Museum his collection of antique bronzes and coins, which he had made in the course of a long life, at a considerable outlay of money, and with great taste and discernment. It had been his custom to enter in a journal a description of the different coins which he successively purchased; and this volume, containing a complete catalogue of his coins, became in 1824 the year of his death, together with his whole collection, the property of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The Trustees "in memory of this act of munificence" have published this catalogue, as it was left by Mr. Knight, without omission, alteration, or addition. It is quite evident to us, from an inspection both of the original MS. and the printed book, that this catalogue had never been intended by Mr. Knight for publication in its present state. He had made a list of his coins, for the sake of reference, and to

enable the legatees of his collection to ascertain that it was perfect after his death. At the end he had added some notes, of which some are valuable and interesting to the student of ancient history: but many containing short and imperfect sketches of the history of some towns, and the dates of their foundation or destruction, were plainly meant exclusively for the private convenience of the author of the catalogue. We entertain no doubt, indeed we have every reason for believing, that the Trustees of the British Museum were actuated by the purest feelings of gratitude towards Mr. Payne Knight, and respect for his memory; nor could anything but a fear that a posthumous publication of this work may give rise to a belief that it had been left for publication by its author, induce us to call in question the discreteness of the course pursued by them, or to lament that a suppression of some passages should not have saved from the reproach of trivial or at least useless annotation, a man of whose literary labours and well placed bounty the lovers of Grecian antiquity must ever retain a thankful remembrance.

The catalogue of the coins is arranged on the same plan as Professor Boeckh's collection of Greek inscriptions. The towns and states are taken in a geographical order, and the coins arranged, in order of time, as far as their relative antiquity can be ascertained, under each head. The devices on each coin are minutely described, and the inscriptions are given with great accuracy. The monograms are omitted; and in some places the text is incomplete. On the notes which are added at the end of the book, and are (as we before remarked) in an unfinished state, we have only a few remarks to offer.

P. 313. On a coin of ancient workmanship and considerably older than the battle of Leuctra, the word ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ occurs. Mr. Knight seems to doubt whether in early times

the Arcadians were sufficiently united to coin money in their joint name, and hence he suggests that the coin in question may belong to Ὀρχομενὸς ὁ Ἀρκαδικός. In that case we conceive that the inscription would not have omitted the name Ὀρχομενίων or Ὀρχομενοῦ. Mr. Knight does not state in what sense he would take the word ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ. We conceive that it is Ἀρκαδικόν, scil. ἀργυρίον. Thus on a coin of Caulonia p. 270. Καυλωνιάτας, scil. ἄργυρος. The Greek name for the Arcadians was neither Ἀρκάδιοι nor Ἀρκαδικοί, but Ἀρκαδες.

P. 315. A coin of Phlius has the inscription ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΟΝ. Mr. Knight remarks that Φλειάσιος is not formed from Φλειάσος; but from the ancient Doric form of the participle Φλείανς, αὐτος; whence Φλειάντιος, contracted and softened into Φλειάσιος.

P. 319. The ancient silver coins found near the river Strymon, with the figures of a satyr and a woman, one of which has an Α, another a Θ, Mr. Knight assigns to Argilus. Mionnet and Müller have given them to Thasos, the latter of whom mentioned his suspicion to Mr. Knight, when examining his collection in 1822. (Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst, p. 611). It should however be observed that on the coin in Mr. Knight's collection which has Α alone, there is room for a Θ, and the surface is well preserved. (Arg. A. 8.)

P. 320. Mr. Knight allots the coins with the names ΟΡΡΗΣΚΙΟΝ and ΩΡΗΣΚΙΩΝ to the Orestæ in Macedonia, observing "Hi nummi antiquissimi Macedonici certissimi sunt, et a civitate quam geographi Ὀρεστίαν appellant, nomine ab Agamemnonis filio conditore male deducto, et quam incolæ Ὀρρησκίαν et Ὠρησκίαν diversis forte temporibus nuncupabant, cusi esse videntur." The same remark is made at greater length by Mr. Knight in his Proleg. Homer. §. 78. It is undoubtedly fabulous that the Orestæ were named from Orestes; but that their name was Ὀρέσται, and not Ὠρήσκιαι, is certain from the testimony of Polybius, Livy, and Strabo. Their territory moreover is by Strabo called Ὀρεστιάς, not Ὀρεστία. See Müller's Makedoner, p. 14. or Dorians, Vol. I. p. 474. Engl. Transl. Mr. Müller conjectures with great probability, that Ὀρρησκος or Ὠρησκος was a Thracian town, of the same form as Δράβησκος, &c.

P. 340. Of two coins of Carthage Mr. Knight says, "Prior nummus e purissimo est argento, alter ex inquinatissimo; at uterque tamen eundem in re monetaria locum tenuisse videtur; et quum prior et major fabricæ haud paullo antiquioris sit, claro monstrant exemplo, quanta fraude et licentia in moneta imminuenda et adulteranda usi sint Carthaginienses, et fidem Punicam non sine causa male audiisse apud veteres." Mr. Knight seems here to understand "Punica fides" to mean the public credit of Carthage, in the modern financial sense of the word.

P. 344. A Sicilian coin has the name ΙΑΙΤΙΝΩΝ. Mr. Knight says, "Iætæ. Incertæ positionis oppidum et historicis ignotum." On this note we have two remarks to make. The article in Stephanus of Byzantium, is 'Ιαιτία πόλις Σικελίας· Φίλιστος Σικελικῶν δευτέρῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Ιαιτῖνος. In the first place therefore the name of the town is Iætia, and not Iæta: and secondly, it cannot be said to have been unknown to the historians, as it was mentioned by the historian Philistus. Göller Philist. fragm. p. 154, has followed the error of Berkelius, who altered 'Ιαιτία and 'Ιαιτῖνος into 'Ιαιθία and 'Ιαιθῖνος, because the "elementorum ordo" required it. The word stands between 'Ιάθριππα and 'Ιάλυσος. Why therefore 'Ιαιθία should suit the order of the letters better than 'Ιαιτία is what we do not understand.

P. 347. On the large silver coins of Syracuse there is a detailed dissertation by Mr. Knight in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIX. of which no notice is taken in his journal: a circumstance of itself sufficient to shew that the work before us was not designed by its author for publication.

G. C. L.

NOTICE

OR

ARISTOTLE'S ŒCONOMICS,

By GOETTLING.

Ἀριστοτέλους Οἰκονομικός. Ἀνωνύμου Οἰκονομικά. Φιλοδήμου
περὶ κακιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀρετῶν θ'. Conjuncta
edidit et adnotationem adjecit CAROLUS GOETTLINGIUS
Jenæ 1830.

OF the two books composing the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle, the second had by universal consent, and on the most convincing evidence been rejected as spurious, and considered as the production of a writer, later in date and very inferior in capacity to that great philosopher. But there was no internal evidence to discredit the genuineness of the *first* book of these Œconomics: which, though somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory, might pass for a fragment or summary of a genuine Aristotelian treatise. The late publication of a treatise of Philodemus from a Herculanean manuscript has however thrown the *onus probandi* on those who maintain this treatise to be the work of Aristotle: as Philodemus criticizes in detail the first part of this very treatise, in the precise form in which we now have it; but ascribes it constantly to *Theophrastus*. And his testimony has been received without suspicion by Brandis¹ and Niebuhr². Mr. Göttling however in his late edition of these Œconomics has undertaken to prove the opposite doctrine, and reassert the title of Aristotle. We give the Œdipodean

¹ Rheinisches Museum, Vol. i. p. 260.

² History of Rome, Vol. i. Note 28.

passage in which Philodemus introduces the treatise in question, with Mr. Göttling's supplements and translation.

Δ]ήλον δὴ διότι καὶ πρὸς [τὰ πλεῖ]στα τῶν Θεοφράστον [διαλεγό]μεθα ταῖς δυνάμε[σιν] ἐκεῖθεν κεκεφαλαι[ω]μέ[νοι, μ]ᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλ[λων]. ἅπαντες γὰρ ὡς ὑπὲρ [τούτον] μετηλλεύκασιν, ὅποτε καὶ Θεόφραστος ἀποψομένοις αὐτοῖς διαλλάττει. p. 45. ed. Goëttling.

“Apertum est cur disputandum nobis sit etiam adversus Theophrasti placita, secundum artes philosophicas ad res primarias ea redigentibus, vel potius non Theophrasti, sed aliorum, omnes enim de hoc libro quasi is esset Theophrasti disputarunt, etiam in iis locis, ubi facile intelligere poterant, si comparare res voluissent, Theophrastum ipsum dissentire cum doctrina hujus libri.” According to this interpretation, Philodemus doubted whether the work which he criticizes was truly ascribed to Theophrastus, although he followed the common opinion in using that name: and Mr. Göttling finds a confirmation of that doubt in the disagreement of one of the doctrines contained in this work with a recorded sentiment of Theophrastus. In c. 3. it is said that ἡ τῶν τέκνων κτήσις οὐ λειτουργίας ἐνεκεν τῇ φύσει μόνον οὐσα τυγχάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελίας· ἃ γὰρ ἂν δυνάμενοι εἰς ἀδυνάτους πονήσωσι, πάλιν κομίζονται παρὰ δυνάμενων, ἀδυνατοῦντες ἐν τῷ γήρα· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀναπληροῖ ταύτη τῇ περιόδῳ τὸ αἰεὶ εἶναι. But Theophrastus according to St. Jerome said: “Porro liberorum causa uxorem ducere, ut vel nomen nostrum non intereat, vel habeamus senectutis præsidia, et certis utamur hæredibus, stolidissimum est.” Adv. Jovinian. i. 47. From these and other indications Mr. Göttling infers that the first book of the *Œconomics* now extant was abridged by Theophrastus from the longer treatise of Aristotle, in the same manner as he had abridged the whole or parts of the *Politics* of the same philosopher. It will be observed that these arguments are only probable, nor does the question admit of a certain determination; but if the universal belief of the cotemporaries of Philodemus is to be rejected, and the doctrine of an abridgement to be admitted, we think that the claim of Aristotle to the treatise in question not devoid of foundation: the subject of economy is treated in it according to the ancient

notion (abandoned in the *second* book of the Œconomics) which confined it to the management of a house or family³; and some parts, in particular the fifth section relating to the treatment of slaves, bear strong marks of Aristotle's peculiar manner.

The second book of the Œconomics is evidently a complete work by itself: It begins with a short view of practical or financial economy, which is divided into different kinds, chiefly with a view to the different modes of raising revenues. We agree with Mr. Niebuhr that it was written in Asia Minor, for the use of satraps, and arbitrary rulers, not for the citizens of free states: and by a dishonest man, who intended that the swindling and extortionate practices which he records should serve as examples and not as warnings to rulers⁴.

Besides the ancient editions and the Leipsic MS. collated by Schneider, Mr. Göttling has used three MSS. one in the Library at Paris, one at Venice, another at Florence. By means of these, and the researches of himself and other critics he has considerably improved the very corrupt text of the second book of the Œconomics, though many passages still defy, or at least call for, the utmost skill of the critic. The first book does not offer many difficulties, and seems to be nearly in the same state in which it was read by Philodemus. To the second book therefore we shall now confine our remarks.

P. 13. l. 1. ed. Goettling. Τὸν οἰκονομεῖν μέλλοντά τι κατὰ τρόπον τῶν τε τόπων περὶ οὓς ἂν πραγματεύηται μὴ ἀπείρως ἔχειν. The word περὶ is omitted in the common editions, and is restored from the MSS. by Mr. Göttling. Compare p. 15. 11. ἡ σατραπεία, περὶ ἣν ἂν

3 Œcon. i. init. Ἡ οἰκονομικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ διαφέρει, οὐ μόνον τοσοῦτον οἰκία καὶ πόλις (ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐταῖς ἐστὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα), ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ μὲν πολιτικὴ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχόντων ἐστίν, ἡ οἰκονομικὴ δὲ μοναρχία.

4 "I have collected" says this writer "whatever financial measures or contrivances of administration seemed worthy of notice: thinking that such a research would not be useless: as persons might at times adapt some of them to matters in which they are themselves engaged." The last words are only capable of one construction: Mr. Göttling's arguments against Niebuhr seem quite futile.

πραγματευώμεθα. The active use of *πραγματεύομαι* is sufficiently defended by the examples collected by Mr. Göttling against Niebuhr's proof of the spuriousness of this treatise founded on that word.

P. 13. 7. τέσσαρες. p. 28. 3. ἔλασσον. p. 34. 14. ἐλάσσονος. p. 35. 5. ἔπρασσε. p. 35. 23. πράσσεσθαι. In all these words the common form should be restored.

P. 14. 4. τούτων δὲ κράτιστον μὲν περὶ τὸ νόμισμα, λέγω ποῖον καὶ πότε τίμιον ἢ εὖωνον ποιητέον. Mr. Göttling has very happily restored this passage by reading *κράτιστον* for *ἐκαστον*, and removing the comma before *λέγω*. He compares p. 14. 15, τούτων πρώτη μὲν καὶ κρατίστη. p. 14. 25, ταύτης δὲ κρατίστη μὲν πρόσδοδος. p. 15. 4, αὐτῆς δὲ ταύτης κρατίστη μὲν πρόσδοδος. But with the following remark we cannot agree "*ποῖον intelligendum est de materia pecuniæ; aurea et argentea nomine τιμίου comprehenditur, ferrea, ærea, et stannea εὖωνου.*" We conceive that the words referred to mean "Of what material the coin is to be made, and when its current value is to be raised or lowered," a fraud in which the ancient rulers indulged without scruple. By *εὖωνον ποιητέον* it is meant that the currency might be partly or wholly restored after having been debased.

P. 14. 7. περὶ δὲ τὰ ἐξαγώγιμα καὶ εἰσαγώγιμα, πότε καὶ τίνα παρὰ τῶν σατραπῶν ἐν τῇ ταγῇ ἐκλαβόντι αὐτῷ λυσιτελήσει διατίθεσθαι. In this passage *ταγῇ* is understood by Mr. Böckh, *Economy of Athens*, Vol. II. p. 6. Eng. Transl. to mean the tribute paid by the satrap to the king, according to Hesychius, *ταγῇ, βασιλικὴ δωρεά. καὶ ἡ σύναξις τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων.* Mr. Göttling says, "*ἐκλαβεῖν τίνα ἐν τῇ ταγῇ nihil aliud esse videtur quam excipere merces quasdam (non pretium earum) secundum legem τῆς ταγῆς τῶν φόρων.*" This appears to us to be incorrect. The meaning is "what commodities it would be for the interest of the king of Persia to take from the satraps as their tax, and transport them from the satrapies to the capital." The succeeding clause with regard to the disbursements of the king is also explained with perfect accuracy by Mr. Böckh, *ibid.*; but its meaning is wholly misconceived by Mr. Göttling.

P. 14. 20. ἀπὸ ἐμπορίων. Ἐμπορίων, the conjecture of Schneider, on the authority of the ancient Latin version, which has *de mercimoniis*, though rejected by Mr. Göttling, is unquestionably correct. Compare l. 20. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπορίων and l. 27: ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπορίων καὶ διαγωγῶν. p. 26. 14. τὰ ἀπὸ λιμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τελῶν προσπορευόμενα. Heraclides Pont. de Corinth. Polit. ap. Gronov. Thes. Vol. VI. col. 2825. μέτριος δὲ ἦν (Περίανδρος) ἐν ἄλλοις τῷ τε μηδένα τέλος πράττεσθαι ἀρκεῖσθαι τε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῶν λιμένων.

P. 15. 4. αὐτῆς δὲ ταύτης (scil. τῆς ἰδιωτικῆς) κρατίστη μὲν πρόσδοδος ἢ ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένη, δευτέρα δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων, τρίτη δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ ἀργυρίου. For ἐγκλημάτων Mr. Böckh approves ἐγκυκλημάτων, (which is perhaps found in one MS.) and explains it to mean the profit derived from the common business and traffic of life; such as trade, services, &c. Mr. Göttling very absurdly retains ἐγκλημάτων, and understands the wages of the dicasts: as if the money paid in some democratical states to the judges would be sufficiently important to form a separate item in private economy generally throughout Greece and Asia Minor.

P. 15. 20. ὅσα δὲ τινες τῶν πρότερον πεπράγασιν. Mr. Niebuhr objected to the active use of πέπραγα, as not being Aristotelian: he produced however two examples from Aristotle, to which Mr. Göttling has now added a third, Eth. Nic. x. 8. 11. and to which we add a fourth, ibid. ix. 8. 6. The word ἀγήοχα p. 15. 23. which Niebuhr says may be safely asserted not to occur in Aristotle, is, though not an Aristotelian, at least a legitimate Attic form, as it occurs in Lysias (see Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, Vol. I. p. 297. ed. 2.) and in an Athenian decree passed in the Archonship of Neocles (Demosth. pro Corona p. 249. 17.). The same form is also used by Philip, in a letter to the Athenian people, Demosth. pro Corona p. 238. extr. We are fully aware of the danger of maintaining a negative: nevertheless we believe that the use of στάσις in p. 21. 25. for a *party*, and τόπος in p. 13. 2. for a *subject* cannot be matched from any of the genuine writings of Aristotle.

P. 16. 7. Λύγδαμις Νάξιος ἐκβαλὼν φυγάδας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἠθέλησεν ἀλλ' ἢ βραχείος ἀγοράζειν,

αὐτοῖς τοῖς φυγάσιν ἀπέδοτο. The κτήματα here mentioned as being sold to their former possessors must be *moveables*, or *chattels*, as exiles could not repurchase their own lands. The word however is usually applied to landed property, e. g. twice in the following section, p. 16. 19. and p. 17. 11, 13.

P. 16. 17. The Byzantians being distressed for money, sold the uncultivated public lands in perpetuity, and the cultivated for a term of years; τὰ τε θιασωτικὰ καὶ τὰ πατριωτικὰ ὡσαύτως. By the word πατριωτικὰ Mr. Böckh (*Economy of Athens*, Vol. II. p. 392.) understands the property of φρατρίαι, Mr. Göttling the property of πάτραι. We agree with Mr. Müller (*Dorians*, Book III. Chap. 5. §. 5.) that πατρία was sometimes used to signify the division next to a φυλή, which contained πάτραι or γένη: nor are we aware of any instance in which a γένος or analogous division was possessed, as a corporation, of land.

P. 17. 2. ὄντος δὲ νόμου αὐτοῖς μὴ εἶναι πολίτην ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων ᾗ. For αὐτῶν Sylburg proposed ἀστῶν, which was improperly received into the text by Schneider, according to Mr. Göttling, who says "Ipsum pronomen αὐτός multo significantius in hoc loquendi genere civem denotat quam ἀστός. Sic Aristoph. Acharn. 509. αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν, οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγών, κοῦπω ξένοι πάρεισιν, in quo loco αὐτοὶ (*soli* Athenienses) opponuntur ξένοις." This is very true, nor did we ever see a more unhappy example. Aristophanes, speaking in his own character of an Athenian poet and citizen, says that he had been attacked for ridiculing the Athenians in a former drama in the presence of foreigners: "but on the present occasion (he says) the charge does not apply, for we are here by ourselves, and there are no strangers amongst us." Ἀστοὶ for αὐτοὶ in this passage would not make sense; the question was not whether *they* were citizens, but whether there were *none but* citizens. Sylburg's emendation seems to us unquestionable.

P. 17. 11. οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς (scil. τοῖς μετοίκοις) ἐγκτήσεως. "Hæc lex de vetita μετοίκων ἐγκτήσει est Attica." Goettling. It certainly was an Athenian law, and a law (we doubt not) of every other state in Greece, as indeed of modern nations.

P. 17. 20. συνελθόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κόψαι ἕτερον χαρακτῆρα. Two MSS. have the right reading, ἐπὶ τὸ κόψαι.

P. 18. 3. The Athenians dwelling in Potidæa being in want of money for war, required, that instead of all the landed property of each citizen being returned to the borough to which he belonged, every estate should be registered according to its situation, in order to check the returns of the poor, ἵνα οἱ πένητες δύνωνται ὑποτιμᾶσθαι. In the Athenian law, whatever might be the punishment or damages which the plaintiff sought to enforce or recover, he was said to *assess* or *value* the cause at so much (τιμᾶσθαι). The defendant was then allowed to make a lower assessment of the fine or other penalty, to *counter-value* as it was called (ἀντιτιμᾶσθαι or ὑποτιμᾶσθαι). See the *Attische Process* by Meier and Schoemann, p. 179 and 725. These two expressions were thus convertible, as the defendant's assessment of his own penalty was naturally lower than that of his accuser. The reason however for this usage of ὑποτιμᾶσθαι seems gradually to have been lost, and the word came to signify a counter-assessment, an estimate or reckoning by any checker or comptroller, without regard to the *greater or less amount* of the sum obtained. So lower down, p. 35. 24. ὑποτιμᾶσθαι is used to express a higher, not a lower, offer. In this manner the word ὑποτιμᾶσθαι, by passing through one intermediate stage, obtained a meaning directly opposite to its original and proper sense. In the passage before us therefore the word in question only means "checked." But how the valuing of the landed estates in the place where each was situated, that is, a territorial valuation or registry, rather than making a return of all the landed property of each citizen to the borough of which he was a member, that is, a valuation according to proprietors, not property, should have had the effect of checking those citizens whose landed estates were small, and preventing them from evading the tax, it is not easy to perceive. Schneider does not attempt any solution, and Mr. Göttling's explanation is not worth repeating. The only passage at all parallel is in the *Politics* of Aristotle, VI. 4. where after stating that many of the ancient laws of different Greek states were well fitted to

create an agricultural population, he adds, *νῦν δὲ διορθοῦν δεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀφυταίων νόμῳ*. πρὸς γὰρ ὃ λέγομέν ἐστι χρήσιμος. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ, καίπερ ὄντες πολλοὶ κεκτημένοι δὲ γῆν ὀλίγην, ὅμως πάντες γεωργοῦσι· τιμῶνται γὰρ οὐχ ὅλας τὰς κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τηλικάῃτα μόρια διαιροῦντες ὥστ' ἔχειν ὑπερβάλλειν ταῖς τιμήσεσι καὶ τοὺς πένητας. "*For they do not value the landed estates each as a whole, but divide them into parts, so as that the several parts have respectively a higher valuation than the poor.*" The best mode (as it appears) of interpreting the passage in the *Œconomics* is by supposing that the object of the Aphytæans was to fix the amount of landed property or valuation (τίμημα) which should qualify for the possession of the rights of citizenship, at as low a rate as possible. This seems to have been effected by making only one class of landed proprietors, and by valuing separately the parts of a large estate which were severally more valuable than the standard, that standard being high enough to exclude the poor. If this explanation is correct, the two cases are not very similar: as in one case the levying of a tax, in the other the multiplication of small land owners was the object.—By the words ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ ἦν κτῆμα μηθὲν, τὸ σῶμα διμναῖον τιμήσασθαι, it is meant, that those citizens who had no land, but only moveables, paid a poll-tax of two minas a head: the only exception of which we are aware to the assertion of Mr. Böckh *Econ. of Athens*, Vol. II. p. 9. that freemen in the Greek states never paid a poll-tax.

P. 18. 19. The Lampsacenes raised the price of flour from four to six drachms the medimnus, and the χούς of oil from some price which has fallen out of the text to four drachms and a half. Mr. Böckh, supposing that the same proportion was observed in both articles supplies δραχμῶν τριῶν πωλεῖν τεττάρων καὶ τριωβόλου, *Econ. of Athens*, Book I. note 451. If Mr. Göttling thought this conjecture too uncertain to be admitted into the text, he should at least have pointed out the hiatus in the notes.

P. 19. 7. for ἐν ὀλκάσι some MSS. have ἐνολίσασι. On this confusion of K and IC see Porson's *Tracts*, p. 233, 243.

P. 19. 19. Καλχηδόνιοι is properly restored by Mr. Göttling from the MSS. for Καρχηδόνιοι, who could not plunder the

ships sailing into the Pontus. This mistake has however deceived Heeren, *Ideen*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 159. (ed. 1826.) who thinks that this is an important specimen of the maritime law of Carthage, and considers it as almost a type of the prize-courts of modern Europe!

P. 20. 13. We agree with Camerarius in reading ἐκπορίσωσι for εὐπορήσωσι.

P. 20. 25. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν τοὺς Μυλασσεῖς φέρειν ἕκαστον ὅτι πλεῖστα χρήματα. For φέρειν Schneider proposes εἰσφέρειν. The last syllable of the preceding word should doubtless be doubled.

P. 21. 8, 10. Ἐπικαρπία in the first of these places appears to signify an *ad valorem* duty, as in p. 14. 22. The words ἡ ὕν l. 5. may perhaps be spurious: but there is no absurdity in supposing such a duty to be paid on swine in respect of their increase. In the latter place ἐπικαρπία appears not to mean a percentage; but neither the reading of the manuscripts nor either of Mr. Göttling's conjectures are satisfactory.

P. 22. 8. τοῖς τε πολίταις κατιδὼν οὐσας δίκας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἀδικίας. "Ceterum ἀδικίας est genitivus non accusativus. Sic enim construe, κατιδὼν οὐσας δίκας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐκ τῆς πολλοῦ χρόνου ἀδικίας." Göttling. We conceive that ἐκ belongs to χρόνου, and that the construction is, ἀδικίας ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου γενομένης.

P. 22. 11. προεῖπεν ὅσοι ἂν μὴ δικάσωνται (χρόνον δ' ἔθηκε) μήκετι ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν προτέρων ἐγκλημάτων κρίσεις. The MSS. vary in the words χρόνον δ' ἔθηκε. We would read χρόνον ὃν ἔθηκε, and omit the signs of parenthesis. See Matthiä. Greek Grammar, §. 424.

P. 23. 14. Ἀβυδηνοὶ δὲ, διὰ στασιασμόν τῆς χώρας ἀργοῦ γενομένης καὶ τῶν μετοίκων οὐ προϊεμένων αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ καὶ ἔτι ὀφείλουν, ἐψηφίσαντο τὸν βουλόμενον τοῖς γεωργοῖς δανεῖζειν ὥς ἐργάσωνται, ὥς πρώτοις αὐτοῖς ἐσομένης τῆς κομιδῆς ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐκ τῶν λειπομένων. On the words, τὸν βουλόμενον, &c., Mr. Göttling says "Non opitulantur codices: ὥς ἔργα ὥς τοῖς πρ. V F L. Nam deesse aliquid juraveris, vel μὴ δεῖν δεδιδέναι, vel μὴ ἀπολλύναι καιρόν, vel μὴ μέλλειν, vel tale aliquid. Sed ψηφίσασθαι hic significare videtur plebiscito

impellere." We do not find any difficulty except in the last words. The territory of Abydos having been left untilled on account of domestic sedition, and the resident aliens refusing to advance money while their former loans were unpaid, a decree was passed that any person who would lend money to the cultivators in order to enable them to till their lands, should be repaid out of the first proceeds of the harvest, and that the remainder should go to *the others*. Whether by *the others*, the resident aliens, or the other citizens are meant, does not clearly appear.

P. 25. 11. *πάλιν τε δεηθεὶς χρημάτων ἐκέλευσεν ἀπογράφασθαι [χρήματα] πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσοι οἴκοι εἰσὶν ὀρφανικοί· ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ πολλῶν τὰ τούτων χρήματα ἀπεχρᾶτο, ἕως ἕκαστος εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθοιεν*. We would expunge the word *χρήματα* which we have inclosed in brackets, and would read *οἴκοι εἰσὶν ὀρφανικοί*. *ὀρφανικός* is not a substantive but an adjective. See Böckh's *Economy of Athens*, Book iv. Note 271. It is quite clear to us that in the next clause, the construction is *ἀπεχρᾶτο τὰ τούτων χρήματα*, like p. 26. 14. *Μενδαῖοι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ λιμένων—ἔχρωντο*, although Mr. Göttling thinks otherwise, and although *ἀποχρῶμαι* is used in two other places with the dative, p. 26. 20. *ἀτόκοις τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀποκεχρημένοι*, and p. 30. 11. *ἵνα τοῖς ἐκεῖ στρατιώταις σχῇ—ἀποχρήσασθαι*.

P. 25. 25. Dionysius of Syracuse being pressed by the citizens to repay the money which he had borrowed from them, ordered every person on pain of death to deliver up all his silver; *ἀνενεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπικόψας χαρακτῆρα ἐξέδωκε τὴν δραχμὴν δύο δυναμένην δραχμὰς, τό τε ὀφειλόμενον πρότερον ἀνήνεγκαν πρὸς αὐτόν*. Mr. Göttling doubtfully reads *ὁ ἀνήνεγκαν*, to which we much prefer the conjecture of M. Raoul-Rochette, *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*, (Paris 1822), p. 74. *πρὸς αὐτοῦς* for *πρὸς αὐτόν*.

P. 26. 14. The Mendæans (it is stated) finding the harbour dues and other custom duties sufficient for the public administration, did not collect the taxes on land and houses, but kept a register of the occupiers; who were required to pay up their arrears when there was need of money for public purposes: *ἐκέρδαινον οὖν τὸν παρεληλυθότα χρόνον ἀτόκοις τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀποκεχρημένοι*: i. e. during the time

when these taxes were not collected, they (i. e. the land and house holders) gained the interest, or profit, on the money which ought to have been paid. On this last sentence Mr. Göttling has the following note. “Ἐκέρδαινον] Hinc sequitur democraticam fuisse rempublicam.” By what process of inference the learned editor arrived at this conclusion is to us quite incomprehensible.

P. 26. 20. πολεμοῦντές τε πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους καὶ δεόμενοι χρημάτων, ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἀνδραπόδων ἐψηφίσαντο καταλειπομένων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος, τὰ ἄλλα ἀποδόσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὥς ἐκδανεῖσαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας χρήματα. The mere existence of slaves was so necessary in a Greek republic that we suspect some word to have fallen out in this passage, such as πολλῶν ἀνδραπόδων. Afterwards we would read τὰ ἄλλα ἀποδόσθαι, ὥς ἐκδανεῖσαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας χρήματα τῇ πόλει. It appears to us that this passage affords a strong confirmation of the number of the slaves in the well-known census of the Athenian population, which has recently been questioned by Mr. Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* Vol. II. note 143. ed. 2. The ratio of the free population to the slaves according to the census of Demetrius is about 27 to 100, rather more than four to one. If the Mendæans, a small, feeble, and by no means opulent republic on the coast of Macedonia, straitened by financial difficulties in a war with a neighbouring state, and driven to force a sale of private property, thought that they must leave a male and female slave to every citizen, how much more can we believe that the luxurious, powerful, and mercantile state of Athens, crowded with wealthy foreigners, the centre of attraction to the Greeks, should have contained a number of slaves four times greater than the free population?

P. 26. 25. From a note on the last line of S. 21. and a reference to an irrelevant passage of Andocides, it appears that Mr. Göttling completely misunderstands the measure of Callistratus, which however had been correctly explained by Mr. Böckh, *Econ. of Athens*, Vol. I. p. 341. (Vol. II. p. 30. Engl. Transl.)

P. 29. 3. Chabrias advised Tachos the King of Egypt, when in want of money, to notify to the priests that their own number and that of the temples must be reduced on

account of the expense: ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι βουλόμενοι εἶναι, καὶ ἴδια αὐτοῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐδίδονσαν χρήματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντων εἰλήφει, &c. The emendation of Sylburg καὶ ἴδια ἕκαστος καὶ κοινῇ αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδίδονσαν χρήματα is founded on p. 34. 22. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἴδια ἕκαστος καὶ κοινῇ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ἐδίδονσαν. We propose, as nearer the MS. varieties, καὶ ἴδια αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερὰ ἐδίδονσαν χρήματα. Mr. Göttling thinks that αὐτοῖς may remain, signifying both Chabrias and Tachos: but it is plain both from the word εἰλήφει and the nature of the transaction, that the money could only have been paid to the king.

P. 29. 27. Ἰφικράτης Ἀθηναῖος, Κότυος συναγαγόντος στρατιώτας, ἐπόρισεν αὐτῷ χρήματα τρόπον τοιοῦτον. ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἦρχε προστάξαι κατασπείραι αὐτῷ γῆν τριῶν μεδίμνων. Mr. Göttling naturally takes offense at προστάττειν τινός, and proposes ἐκέλευσεν ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἦρχε. We would read ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἦρχεν ἑκάστῳ προστάξαι.

P. 30. 8. ἡξίωσε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας γε τῶν πολιτῶν, &c. Read ἡξίωσεν οὖν αὐτούς.

In p. 31. 4. ἐαυτῷ or αὐτῷ must be read with Sylburg for ἐπ' αὐτῷ, and in l. 8. αὐτοὺς for αὐτοῖς with Camerarius.

P. 31. 6. In §. 27. several fraudulent contrivances of Memnon are described, the two last of which were these. He withheld the pay and provisions of his mercenaries on the exemptile days (ἐξαιρέσιμοι ἡμέραι) on the plea that on those days they did no work and were put to no expense: and, having been accustomed to pay his soldiers on the second day of the month, on the first month he skipped three days, on the second five, and so on till he gained a month; that is, as we conceive, he paid on the third day of the first month, on the fifth day of the second month, on the seventh day of the third month, &c., by which means he would have gained 27 days in 13 months of 28 days each. These two measures (for such we understand them to be) are confounded into one by Schneider, nor does Mr. Göttling afford any explanation.

P. 32. 5. ἐπράττετο τὸ ἐπιτίμιον. Three MSS. have the right reading ἐπραττε. Compare p. 35. 5. τὴν δεκάτην ἐπραττε, with p. 35. 23. τοὺς φόρους πρᾶττεσθαι ἐκέλευεν.

P. 34. 11. τοῦ τε σίτου πωλουμένου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ δεκάδράχμου, καλέσας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἡρώτα πῶς βούλονται αὐτῷ ἐργάζεσθαι. For πῶς βούλονται Mr. Göttling prints πόσον βούλονται after Schneider: from which alteration he would probably have abstained if he had remembered the remark of Porson on Machon ap. Athen. xiii. p. 580. D. (Tracts, p. 152), where a similar use is pointed out in Aristoph. Eq. 478. Acharn. 768. Strattis ap. Poll. iv. 169.

P. 34. 26. Ἀντιμένης Ῥόδιος, ἡμιόδιος γεγόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ Βαβυλῶνα, ἐπόρισε χρήματα ὧδε. νόμου ὄντος ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ πάλαιου δεκάτην εἶναι τῶν εἰσαγομένων, χρωμένου δ' αὐτῷ οὐθενός, τηρήσας τοὺς τε σατράπας ἅπαντας προσδοκίμους ὄντας καὶ στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους τε πρέσβεις καὶ τεχνίτας κλητοὺς ἄλλους ἄγοντας καὶ ἰδία ἐπιδημοῦντας, καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ ἀναγόμενα, τὴν δεκάτην ἐπραττε κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν κείμενον. ὃ πάλιν πορίζων τὰνδράποδα τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὄντα ἐκέλευσε τὸν βουλόμενον ἀπογράφεσθαι ὁπόσον θέλοι, τελεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαύτου ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς ἀποτίσαι (ἀπὸ τῆς μνᾶς, Göttling), ἂν δὲ ἀποδράσῃ τὸ ἀνδράποδον, κομίζεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἣν ἀνεγράψατο. ἀπογραφέντων οὖν πολλῶν ἀνδραπόδων οὐκ ὀλίγον συντελεῖ ἀργύριον. εἰ δέ τι ἀποδρῶν ἀνδράποδον, ἐκέλευε τὸν σατράπην τῆς ἐν ἣ ἔστι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀνασώζειν ἢ τὴν τιμὴν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδοῦναι. We (as far as we have been able) have written this passage as the sense appears to us to require: on the corrupt word ἡμιόδιος we shall make a remark presently. The conjecture of Mr. Göttling ἀπὸ τῆς μνᾶς for ἀποτίσαι gives so high a rate of insurance, $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year, that it seems more probable that ἀποτίσαι is merely a various reading of τελεῖν, and that the words expressing the rate have fallen out of the text. For συντελεῖ, which would mean *paid* instead of *received*, either συνετελεῖτο with Sylburg, or συνελέγη with Schneider, or συνέλεγεν, may be read. The two last editors agree in finding a hiatus after τὸν σατράπην τῆς: we do not think this necessary, believing that the word σατραπείας may be supplied from the context: τὸν σατράπην τῆς ἐν ἣ ἔστι τὸ στρατόπεδον, “the satrap of the satrapy in which the army is stationed.” Lastly, we should mention that Mr. Göttling writes Στρατόπεδον with a capital letter, and understands the town in Egypt so called: he would

moreover read τὸν σατράπην τῆς Βουβαστίτιδος, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶ τὸ Στρατόπεδον. We conceive that the whole tenour of the narrative completely excludes these conjectures: nor were *parts* of Egypt satrapies: but the *whole* was the satrapy of Ptolemy.

With regard to the person signified in this relation, Niebuhr, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 415. proposes to substitute for Antimenes (whose name occurs nowhere else), Antigenes, the well-known general of the Argyraspides. This emendation is approved by Böckh, *Economy of Athens*, Vol. i. p. 100, and it certainly has a specious and imposing appearance. Mr. Göttling however raises some objections to this conjecture, which appear to have much weight. 1. It is not likely that the commander of the Argyraspides should be a Rhodian. It is far more probable (although not distinctly asserted) that he should have been a Macedonian. 2. How could the commander of the Argyraspides possess the power to enforce these arrangements? This Rhodian officer (as Mr. Böckh expresses it) compelled the governors (σατράπας) either to return the slaves who had fled into their provinces, or to pay for them. In the other two methods of raising revenue (see p. 36. 13), a similar authority over the governors of other provinces is asserted. But the commander of the Argyraspides could have no such power in the lifetime of Alexander. Mr. Niebuhr supposes that the transactions might have occurred after the death of Perdiccas; that is to say, after the second division of the provinces made by Antipater in the year 321. B. C., which put Antigenes in possession of Susiana. But Antigenes had then no authority in Babylonia, which was given to Seleucus; and he was so far from commanding the other satraps, that in the year 318 he was himself under the orders of Polysperchon and Eumenes, (Plutarch. *Eumen.* c. 13. Diod. xviii. 59.). The terms, however of the narrative in the *Œconomics* appear to fix these transactions to the reign of Alexander. It is said that at Babylon τοὺς τε σατράπας ἅπαντας προσδοκίμους ὄντας καὶ στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους τε πρέσβεις, &c. This description, as it appears, can only mark the time when Alexander was at Babylon in 324, when, according to Arrian, vii. 15., παρελθόντι αὐτῷ

πρεσβείαι ἐνέτυχον, and expresses a state of things which could in no way apply to Antigenes satrap of Susiana. The next words again, ᾧ πάλιν πορίζων, seem truly understood by Mr. Göttling to refer to Alexander. Indeed it is difficult to perceive how any person, either Antigenes or any other, could after the death of Alexander have done what Antimenēs is here represented to have done. It appears therefore that this Rhodian was not the commander of the Argyraspides, but another person employed by Alexander in a financial or civil rather than in a military capacity; that he acted by the immediate authority of Alexander himself; that the three expedients for raising money were planned by him, but executed with the sanction of Alexander. In this case Ἀντιμένης (although we hear of him nowhere else) may stand, especially since his name occurs in both passages of the Œconomics without variation. The word ἡμιόδιος describing his office is obviously corrupt. The MSS. give no assistance: one has an empty space after ῥόδιος, another has γνώριμος in the margin. Perhaps the word might have been ἐπιστολεύς: which, although in the Lacedæmonian service it expressed only ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόλου διάδοχος τοῦ ναάρχου, as explained by Pollux and used by Xenophon, might possibly have another meaning among another people. It seems however not improbable that ΗΜΙΟΔΙΟΣ has been in some way corrupted from ANTIMENΗΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ: and that the following word has fallen out. In this case ἐπίτροπος would perhaps most nearly designate the office which Alexander appears to have entrusted to Antimenēs.

P. 36. 1. Πυθοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος Ἀθηναίοις συνεβούλευσε τὸν μόλυβδον τὸν ἐκ τῶν Τυρίων παραλαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ιδιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν. The conjecture of Sylburg, Λαυρίων for Τυρίων, confirmed by the arguments of Mr. Boeckh, seems to be put out of all doubt by the fact that the mining district of Attica abounds in veins of argentiferous lead-ore, according to the observations of Mr. Hawkins: Walpole's Memoirs relating to Asiatic Turkey, p. 426. See Boeckh's Econ. of Athens, Vol. II. p. 429. and 496.

P. 36. 21. For προσπορευομένου δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς the sense seems to us to require προπορευομένου δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς, the conjecture of Sylburg, "the month being advanced."

Although in the above remarks we have frequently been compelled to differ from Mr. Göttling, we nevertheless feel grateful to him for the purest text and best explanation of these *Œconomics*. If many corruptions and obscurities still remain, they can, we fear, only be removed by the discovery of better manuscripts than any hitherto collated.

G. C. L.

ON THE MESSAPIANS.

IN Niebuhr's History of Rome, in the Section on Iapygia, (Vol. i. p. 145), is the following summary of the traditions relating to the origin of the Messapians.

“The Messapians were supposed very generally, singular as the opinion sounds, to have been Cretans. In the earlier tradition their ancestors were Eteocretans, cast on this shore in the time of Minos, after the unfortunate expedition to Sicania: whether they had sailed thither with their king (Strabo vi. p. 279. a. 282. b); or, as another tradition related, he had gone alone in quest of Dædalus and had perished, and they had set out in the vain intention of avenging his death on Cocalus (Herodot. vii. 170). According to other legends they had been making an unavailing search after Glaucus (Athenæus xii. p. 522. f.): or they were a band composed of Cretans and the offspring of the Athenian youths delivered up as an expiatory offering to Minos (Strabo vi. p. 282. b. Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. 35, and Theseus c. 16.): or lastly, in a story which perhaps was confined to the Alexandrian poets, they were the adherents of Idomeneus, led by him, and joined by some Locrians and Illyrians (Varro fragm. l. iii. Antiq. rer. hum. p. 205: and Festus v. Salentini, who has evidently copied from Varro. Compare *Æn.* iii. 400.)”

The profound historian has not lighted upon a clue, which, it appears to me, will at least guide us to the original legend, upon which all these stories have been engrafted. Whether it will bring us nearer to the true history is a more doubtful matter.

There was a tribe called Messapians in Locris upon the western shore of the Crissæan bay (Thucyd. iii. 101). By the Crissæan bay I mean the small gulf upon which Crissa

stands, not the gulf of Corinth. Now Crissa is said to have been a settlement of Cretans, who came as ministers of the Delphian Apollo (See Müller's *Dorians*, B. II. ch. 1. §. 7. and Serv. on *Æn.* III. 332). But, according to the account preserved from Aristotle by Plutarch in his life of Theseus, the very Cretans who settled in Iapygia were youths who had been first sent to Delphi in fulfilment of a vow of consecration of the firstborn; and amongst them were descendants of the Athenians, who used to be sent as a human tribute to Minos, or, as Müller has shown, as sacred servants to the Cnosian Apollo (*Dorians*, B. II. ch. 2. §. 14). Besides all this, we find that the founder of Metapontum, which stood on the borders of Iapygia, is said, upon the authority of Ephorus, to have been Daulius the tyrant of Crissa (Strabo VI. 1. 15): or, as Müller interprets the legend, inhabitants of Daulis in the narrow valley of Parnassus, and Crissæans from the coast, had passed over to Italy in very early times. (*Dorians*, B. II. ch. 3. §. 7).

From a comparison of these scattered notices we are authorized to conclude, that the Messapians of Italy were at least supposed to be of the same race with the Messapians of Locris; and a colony from the sacred territory of Delphi. The notion of their Cretan origin depended upon the belief that the Crissæans and other subjects of the Delphian Apollo were originally Cretans. But the notion appears to have remained, when the ground of it was forgotten; and hence the various legends, which Niebuhr has collected, were invented to account for it.

H. M.

POEMATATA LATINA.

I.

TE, Plini, quisnam jucundior omnibus horis
Quot dominos habuit Caeciliana domus?
Quisnam Romuleae gentis cui tempore prisco
Ornabant bifidum rura supina lacum?
Prima nec apricam dum verberat ala fenestram
Musca magis laeta est aut operosa magis;
Nec canis injectum qui suscitatur amne bacillum,
Officiumque alto flagitat ore novum.
Sive plagis montes sive aequora cingere mallet,
Certe quaeque tibi risit amoena dies.
Unde fit? unde rogo? Trajanum ea saecula tulerunt,
Et claro melior nomine Caesar erat:
Non metuit doctos; non illo auctore vetabat
Scribere vera forum, scribere magna fames.

II.

Si cui forte olus unctius, puerve
Staret comptior, aut novus grabatus,
Extemplo Juvenalis atriorem
Dentem strinxit, amarus impudensque:
Surdam luscinae daturus aurem,
Vesci immunditiis avem notaret.
Ah quanto satius sonante plectro
Centum Thebaidasque condidisse,
Et centum Thetidi extulisse natos,
Dum subsellia contremunt cachinnis!
Hunc noster sequitur Matho, feroque
Ductus rhetore longius decente
Nasum porrigit in graves odores.
Damnatus fugeret malum laborem,
Quem nunc occupat invidus, terendi

Prolixa tribula fimi: sed herbas
 Dum summas puer amputat bacillo,
 Vulgari haec putat haud agenda dextra,
 Et calcat pede firmiore campum.

III.

DE NICOLINI FOSCARINO TRAGOEDIA.

Auditis, juga Faesulana, plausum?
 Non scenis agitur hic Orestes,
 Non Medea, suis noverca natis,
 Non, fratrum tumulo superstes, ira,
 Nec, vivacior his, amor sororis.
 Jam primum Italia Italos dolores
 Toto pectore sentit; atque primum
 Hunc plausum accipit, hunc meretur unus,
 Unus posthabet exteros propinquis,
 Civis optimus, optimus poeta.

IV.

AD ITALUM DE ITALIS.

Vobis nil reliquum boni malive est,
 Rursum Insubribus in jugum redactis,
 Praeter flere patique! Restat unum,
 Quod non annumerare vis...mereri.

V.

AD HIPPOLYTAM ROVELLIAM.

Unica Comensis thalamo contenta pudico,
 Das animi casti pignora certa viro.
 Hippolyta! optatam tu stringis ad ubera prolem...
 Res nova! cur novitas una sequenda parum!
 Tristia natorum viderunt funera matres,
 Et lacrima externis, si fuit ulla, fuit.
 His dira ingluvie sus haurit viscera vivis;
 Deserti mediis hi moriuntur agris;
 Hi rediere domum, aversatique ora parentum
 Plorarunt reditus; hi periere fame.

Quam blandi incessus! quam suavia verba propinquis!
Ut tenera allectat sollicitatque lyram!
Ut toto effundit divinos pectore cantus!
Ut totam inducto nomine torquet amor!
Ut grata hospitibus, quamvis absente marito!
Ut vero impatiens sanguinis ipsa sui!
Quem perhibent pictis morem viguisse Britannis,
Cum Druidae populo jura dedere truci,
Exercent Itali procures commercia lecti
Libera: libertas unica gentis, ave!
Nulla sedet primo nisi quae sit adultera coetu,
Et numero quaeque est nobilitata virum.
Hinc, quamvis vitae fuerit melioris, honestum
Quis genus aut certos quis numerarit avos?
Cura novae sobolis procul est mandata colono,
Et teneros artus fascia dura ligat.
Risibus (heu raris!) nunquam arrisere parentes,
Et nunquam ejectis mors inopina venit.
Illo quo fuerant orbae nos vidimus ire
Per plateas matres perque theatra die:
Vidimus arentes subito componere vultus,
Et facili questus suppressere arte pios.
Linquite nunc pineta, ursae! spelaea, leaenae!
Urbibus ah quantum quod doceatis abest!
Unde venire queat reverentia justa parenti
Sic utriusque caret quum tener exul ope?
Inde mali mores, et nuda superbia cultu,
Pectoribusque feris omnis abacta fides.
Per fastos proavis insignibus ille tumescit;
Attamen offendunt limina prima pedes.
Inachus esse potest generis vel Dardanus auctor,
Nec magis est idem, qui putat esse, pater.
Ignotus genitor vicinis montibus errat,
Ingenuusque puer pascit egenus oves.
Anne peregrinum praeponet rustica nutrix,
Cum pallere videt, flere, sitire, suum?
Cumque recognoscent discrimina nulla potentes,
Anne suam dubitet nobilitare domum?
Hic multis madidus lacrimis, ubi volvitur annus,
A lare fumoso mittitur, ille manet.

At tibi, namque potest, meritam virtutibus, aevi
Perpetui laudem nostra Camoena dabit.
Anteferere aliis quotquot videt Itala tellus,
Quae soboli nescis esse noverca tuae.

VI.

Dic, ni sit grave, dic tuis
Apennine Aquilonibus,
His parcant violariis,
Nascentique roseto.
Et ficus maneant duo,
Semper religiosius
Tangendae, umbriferum caput
Conquassante senectâ;
Queis capros lacerum latus
Vidi confodere improbos...
Istisne improbiis
Eveli patiere?
Demonstra digito, pater,
Qua ducant melius viam,
In cognataque frigora,
Dotaesque pruinas.
Altâ voce furentibus
Exclama, Ite, voragines,
In chartasque Rosinias,
Corsinamque culinam.

VII.

Audisti; satis est, Amor; probasti,
Circum crura ligans tuam pharetram
Hirtam utrinque gravissimis sagittis,
Dura qualibet esse duriores.
Cur surgis? quid agis? reverterisne?
Ah quo nimbo adopertus evolavit!
Ut findit nebulas minor minorque!
Fallacissime! abominationum
Fons, ipsam Venerem irrigans venenis,
Quis credet tibi servietque posthac!

VIII.

Non ut ames, ut amere peto; da dulcis Ianthè!
 Est mihi, si merear plura, datura dies.

IX.

Mitis es, at metuo; nam mitior ante fuisti;
 Et quid eras posthac et quid eram memini.
 Fluminis herba notis atque imbribus horret obortis;
 Stare loco nescit, nescit abire loco,
 Atque iterum coelo quum rident prata sereno
 Haud ita praecipites palpitat inter aquas.

X.

Dilecta Moeri! non lavabis amplius
 Bathonianis fontibus flavam comam,
 Nec te dolebunt exteri sicut decet;
 Atqui dolebit semper ille quem prius
 Nunquam sinebas flere, ni tecum simul.

XI.

Custos deorum pervigil, manentium
 Per omne mundi saeculum iisdem sedibus,
 Me, Tibri, si juvena te coluit mea
 Tuosque, laeto conspicator lumine.
 Magno sequentur caetera omnia agmine
 Quaecumque gaudent nomine usquam fluminum,
 Quaecumque nymphas educant, atque urbium
 Florem sereno ferre gestiunt sinu.
 Olim reverso sic paternus Thamesis
 Canis capillis laurea haud carentibus
 Adsurget, et meae alluet musae pedes
 Urbem peragrans otiorum Sequana,
 Populiferisque dives insulis Liger,
 Rhodanusque lympa lurida volubilis,
 Et Rhenus ultor sanguinis sparsi diu.

XII.

AD FILIUM QUINQUENNEM.

O mihi nequicquam longos sperate per annos,
 Tune feres semper gaudia tanta patri?
 Aspiciam caros quo nunc ego lumine vultus?
 Has laudes avida serius aure bibam?
 Si, vice morosae fungens Natura novercae,
 Abstulit indignis commoda multa modis;
 Satque superque dedit quae te dedit illa dearum
 Maxima, nec peior sensit acerba queri.
 Sit licet instabilis, nunquam aversata viriles
 Est animos, nec amat discruciare diu.
 Cum veteres aedes, cum pascua laeta recorder,
 Cum nemora, hac ipsa pervia facta manu,
 Est levius fortes fortem liquisse Britannos,
 Et spem natalis vix retinere soli,
 Quam reputare, tibi procul istis finibus orto
 Posse aliquid patria carius esse mea.
 Non Arro in mentem veniet, gracilisve Tacaeae
 Prosiliet vernus per vada flava liquor:
 Non tibi versicolor riparum floribus Avon
 Risit inexpertos surripuitque pedes:
 Nescis, saxa rotans avulsaque ovilia, quanto
 Vortice montanas Hondius haurit aquas.
 Quanquam Rhaetaeas prospectat Larius arces,
 Auraque per cunas flavit ab Helvetiis,
 Quamque viam carpis pulcherrimus Arnus oberrat,
 Quasque Petrarcha rosas legerat, ipse legis,
 Quae fingat sobolem, quae sedula curet amari,
 Quae vigil observet, non nisi mater erit;
 Quae firmam assidua delectet imagine mentem,
 Quam petat et vivens et moriens, patria est.

W. S. L.

ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE LATINI

AS A PECULIAR CLASS IN THE ROMAN STATE,

AND

ON THE JUS ITALICUM,

FROM THE GERMAN OF SAVIGNY.

[It is one of the main objects of the Philological Museum to acquaint the English student of classical literature with the new views that have been taken, and the discoveries that have been made, of late years by the scholars upon the continent, that is to say, by a very pardonable synecdoche, the scholars of Germany. To this end the dissertations in which those views have been propounded, will sometimes be translated and inserted, so far as our limits will allow of it, at full length, while at other times we shall content ourselves with abstracts or extracts from them, according to the interest of the subject, and to the skill with which it is treated. Our selection begins with the following two dissertations by Savigny, which were first published in the Berlin Transactions for 1812 and 1814, and have since been reprinted, with some additions to the latter of the two, in the *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft*, Vol. v. pp. 229–267. The subjects discussed in them are so closely connected, that neither is fully intelligible without the other: and in each of them the author is the first person who has elucidated a question of considerable difficulty and no slight importance. The notions previously current on these matters were very far from the truth. Nothing can be vaguer and more incorrect than the account given of the *jus Latii* and the *jus Italicum* by Adam, whose work is the general classbook in English schools on the subject of Roman antiquities, though often it is little better than a mass of references huddled together indiscriminately, from which a scholar may indeed select such as are really to the purpose, but among

which a learner is almost as likely to go wrong as right. Even Heineccius did little more on these points than propagate the mistaken opinions originally broacht by Sigonius; who, extensive as his learning and sound as his judgement was with regard to such things as lay above ground and in sight, wanted the torch of criticism to guide him on his way when he got among the dark places of antiquity. Haubold indeed, in his very valuable *Epicrisis* to the work of Heineccius, briefly sets his author right on these as on most other questions: but it did not enter into his plan to discuss them fully; and so he contents himself with referring to the *pulcherrima*, the *luculentissima*, and the *classica disputatio* of Savigny. In the latter of these dissertations the nature of the *jus Italicum* seems to be made out as satisfactorily as our information will allow of: Gibbon at all events would not now have to complain, as he does when speaking of the privileges granted to Constantinople (Chap. xvii), that "it is not easy to ascertain in what the *jus Italicum* could consist, after the freedom of the city had been communicated to the whole empire." The difficulty here started is decisive against the old view of its nature, but only serves to confirm the truth of Savigny's explanation. With regard to the *jus Latii* there are still some points that need clearing up: so much new and unexpected light has recently been thrown on the relation between the Romans and their allies by Niebuhr in the second volume of his history, that all former views on such matters must needs be greatly modified by it; and Savigny's conjecture with regard to the twelve colonies, however ingenious and plausible, may perhaps be superseded hereafter by some more fortunate discovery. But alas! he who would have told us whatever can be known on this and on so many other subjects, has been taken away from us, just as he was pouring forth the treasures of his vast knowledge, and just as we were beginning to learn something from him. In this bereavement we can do nothing better than listen to his favorite and most highly esteemed friend. J. C. H.]

AMONG the various orders, the union of which forms a state, that which is invested with public authority, being constantly active and conspicuous, is the one the nature of

which is the most easily discerned: the constitution of the inferior orders is less exposed to view: indeed in all cases to give an accurate account of their character, and still more of their origin and growth, is one of the historian's most difficult problems. If an inquiry of this sort is to proceed on a sure footing, it is necessary in the first place to take some definite epoch from which it is to commence: where this epoch is fixt, whether in an earlier or a later age, is on the whole immaterial, provided that everything prior and posterior to that known point be connected with it in a critical manner. For nothing has created greater confusion, in Roman antiquities more especially, than the illusion that objects totally different from each other are the same because they bear the same name; as for instance in the case we are about to consider, nothing is more usual than to regard the citizens of the ancient Latin nation as persons of the same kind with the Latins whom Justinian suppress.

I select the age of Ulpian for the commencement of my inquiry, because the question is treated of in the fragments of that jurist with greater clearness and distinctness than by any other writer. His theory is as follows:

The free inhabitants of the Roman state consisted of three classes: *cives*, *Latini*, *peregrini*.

These classes were distinguisht by their greater or less capacity with regard to civil rights.

A *civis* was a person who had the highest civil capacity.

A *peregrinus* was incapable of entering into all the strictly Roman social relations, that is, was excluded from *connubium* and *commercium*, while he was capable of whatever is bestowed by the *jus gentium*, of buying and selling, hiring, and other contracts.

A *Latinus* formed an intermediate step between the two others. Like the *peregrinus* he was destitute of the *connubium*, that is, of the capacity of contracting a legitimate Roman marriage, and of the paternal authority and rights of *agnatio* founded thereon. Like the *civis* he had the *commercium*, that is the right of holding quiritary property, and of performing the actions connected therewith, *vindicatio*, *cessio in jure*, *mancipatio* or *nexum*.

As testaments were made by a *nexum*, a *Latinus* had the *testamentifactio*, like a *civis*; that is, he could himself (if there was no other obstacle) make a testament in the Roman form, could be constituted heir in a Roman testament, or could be employed as witness to one.

To these rules there were exceptions; inasmuch as a particular *Latinus* or *peregrinus* by a special dispensation might acquire a legal capacity, which he would not have had on the strength of his class; while on the other hand he might also be degraded below the level of that class.

These propositions are involved in the following passages from the Fragments of Ulpian: to the letter of his text I have merely added a few points which follow inevitably from it. Tit. 5. §. 4: *Connubium habent cives Romani cum civibus Romanis: cum Latinis autem et peregrinis ita si concessum sit.* Tit. 19. §. 4: *Mancipatio locum habet inter cives Romanos et Latinos colonarios, Latinosque Junianos, eosque peregrinos quibus commercium datum est.* Tit. 20. §. 8: *Latinus Junianus et familiae emtor, et testis, et libripens fieri potest: quoniam cum eo testamentifactio est.* Tit. 11. §. 16: *Latinus habet quidem testamentifactionem...*

If we inquire into the origin of these three classes, all trouble with regard to two of them is soon over. The *cives* are as old as the Roman nation itself: that is, the idea and the rights of this class arose at the union of the patricians and plebeians into one people. The *peregrini* on the other hand, in the sense assigned to them above, began to exist as soon as ever a state was subdued by the Roman people, without being admitted at the time to the rights of citizenship. Nay the same idea and the same rights were unquestionably attacht from the earliest times to the citizens of all foreign states with which Rome was united by a *foedus*. So that we have only to investigate the origin of the intermediate class, the *Latini*.

That name, used as the appropriate denomination of this class, we find for the first time in the year of the city 771, in the *lex Junia Norbana*. By this law the less regular forms of manumission were first rendered effective to confer real freedom: only a person so manumitted was to become, not a *civis*, but a *Latinus*. Nay, of the advantages belonging

to the franchise of the Latins, the most important were at the same time withdrawn from him by particular provisoes: for although he had the *testamentifactio*, he was yet specially precluded from making a will, from taking possession of an inheritance left him by the will of another, and from being appointed a guardian*. With a view of denoting these peculiarities by which he was distinguisht to his great detriment from every other *Latinus*, he was called a *Latinus Junianus*. One might be tempted to regard the whole regulation as a farce, since the chief and most important part of the rights bestowed in general terms on these *Latini* were taken away from them in detail. This censure however is groundless; for without doubt the law was designed for the descendants of the freedmen. These were freeborn, and had the full enjoyment of the Latin franchise; which such merely, as had themselves been slaves, were to have in a very limited manner. So that this Latin franchise was not a creation of the *lex Junia Norbana*, but on the contrary was a form so well known to the constitution at the time, that the name of it was even made use of to denote this new franchise, which however was not to be the same, but merely a modification of it.

In going further back to the time of Cicero, I must for the present separate the name of this franchise from the thing itself, and confine myself exclusively to the latter: I shall return to the name by and by. For the nature of this franchise and the rights belonging to it, such as they have just been represented according to Ulpian and the *lex Junia Norbana*, are found fully described in a very remarkable passage of Cicero (*pro Caecina* 35). Cæcina, in behalf of whom Cicero is pleading, deduced his title to an estate from the will of the former owner, in which he was constituted heir (c. 6). His adversary maintained that Cæcina was incapable of inheriting under this will (c. 7, 32), because he was a citizen of Volterra, and the Volterrans had been deprived of the Roman franchise by Sylla. To this argument Cicero replies: *Sulla ipse ita tulit de civitate, ut non sustulerit horum nexa atque hereditates: jubet enim eodem jure esse, quo fuerint*

* See Gaius i. 23. Ulpian Tit. 20. §. 14. Tit. 22. §. 3. Tit. 17. §. 1. Tit. 25. §. 7. Tit. 11. §. 16.

Ariminenses: quos quis ignorat duodecim coloniarum fuisse, et a civibus Romanis hereditates capere potuisse.

Consequently there was a very well known franchise enjoyed by these twelve colonies, of which Rimini was one: and this franchise was not indeed that of citizenship; but it comprehended the right of concluding a *nexum**,—which has been shewn above to be the main feature of the Latin franchise according to Ulpian,—as well as that of inheriting. From the generality of the expression *hereditates*, one might incline to suppose it meant not merely inheritance by testament, but by legal descent. The *hereditas legitima* however rested upon *agnatio*, while *agnatio* presupposes *connubium*: and if the Latins had possessed the latter, the Volterrans would not in fact have been deprived of any essential part of the civic franchise, which Sylla unquestionably meant that they should be. Besides in the case of Cæcina a testament is expressly mentioned. Consequently this capacity of inheriting, which the twelve colonies enjoyed, is equivalent to the *testamentifactio*, which was likewise specified above among the characteristics of Ulpian's Latin franchise. Among the commentators on Cicero's orations we find a jurist; Hotmann, who frequently delivers opinions on the very passages connected with jurisprudence, and on this among the rest, which are not only erroneous but utterly incomprehensible. Thus he refers the right *hereditates capiendi* mentioned by Cicero, not to the capability of being appointed heir in a testament, but to the right of entering upon the inheritance: this entrance, he says, was a solemn act, to wit, a *cessio in jure*. Now since, as he himself adds, it was requisite to every *cessio in jure* that there should not only be a person to acquire the thing ceded, but also a person to cede it, one must assume that the deceased got up out of his grave in order to assist at the performance of the ceremony.

The most remarkable thing in this passage of Cicero is the allusion to the franchise of the twelve colonies, of which Rimini was one: to these colonies must we look for the origin of Ulpian's Latin franchise, which occupied the intermediate step between the rank of the citizen and that of the alien. The only writer in whom I have found any conjecture with

* See Niebuhr, Roman Hist. Vol. 1. p. 566.

regard to these twelve colonies, is Manutius: he takes them to be those which were ordered to be planted by a *lex Livia* in 632, when the senate was striving to outbid C. Gracchus for the favour of the people. But as there is no evidence that these colonies were ever actually sent forth, and as Rimini was founded in 486, this conjecture cannot possibly be admitted. I will try to substitute another explanation in its stead, founded on a passage of Livy, xxvii. 9, 10.

In the second Punic war, in the year of the city 545, it came to pass that of the thirty Latin colonies, which were subject to the dominion of Rome, twelve refused to serve. This revolt excited great consternation at Rome; and much anxiety was entertained with regard to the other eighteen colonies. When these however made a declaration of their loyal attachment, the Romans thought they could not sufficiently display their pleasure and gratitude. After the ambassadors had been thanked by the consuls, they were conducted into the senatehouse to hear the praises of their fidelity resounding on every side; and to crown all they had to be presented to the people and to receive another public encomium. In this and two other passages (xxix. 15, 37) Livy speaks of the punishment inflicted on the disloyal colonies: the loyal ones he merely says were praised, without mentioning any reward. If we might suppose now that their reward consisted in the grant of the first step to the civic franchise, (the *commercium* with its consequents), we should have discovered the origin of Ulpian's Latin franchise, and the passage of Cicero would be fully explained.

The difference between the numbers in the two passages seems to militate against this explanation; since Cicero speaks of the franchise of the *twelve* colonies, whereas Livy says that *eighteen* colonies were faithful. Hence we must emend the number in Cicero, and put *duodeviginti* instead of *duodecim*: such a mistake in mere numerals (xii for xix) might arise with the utmost ease.

There are two reasons that plead in favour of my hypothesis, and consequently for the necessity of this emendation. In the first place Rimini, which Cicero cites as one of the colonies with this peculiar franchise, is expressly reckoned by Livy among the towns that remained faithful. In the second place the event

mentioned by Livy was of such importance, that it might well give rise to the institution of a new class, and might likewise dwell in the recollection of the people, so that Cicero needed only to allude to it as to a matter of general notoriety.

Assuming that this was the origin of the Latin franchise, I will now endeavour to trace it in its developement, pursuing a course opposite to the one I have trod hitherto. From the time of that event then the same three classes which are spoken of by Ulpian were already existing in Italy: the *cives*; the eighteen colonies that had the mere *commercium*; and the *peregrini*, that is, all the other Italians, whether they were Latins or not.

The first great change that took place was occasioned by the Italian war. By the *lex Julia* the Latins acquired the civic franchise, and soon afterward it was granted to the other allies; so that from this time, though many exceptions were to be found, there was on the whole but a single class throughout all Italy. On the other hand the rights formerly enjoyed by the allies were conferred by degrees on several of the provinces, first on a part of Gaul, then on Sicily; in both cases under the name of *jus Latii*, or, as Cicero calls it (*ad Att.* xiv. 12), *Latinitas*. This *jus Latii* is explained by Asconius in his commentary on the oration against Piso to have been the right of acquiring the Roman franchise by filling a magistracy in ones native town*; a right which in Italy itself, before the civic franchise was bestowed upon it, was enjoyed not by the Latins alone, but, generally speaking, by all the allies. The word *Latium* must therefore have been used in a wider sense, embracing the whole of the Italian states which had previously been merely confederated with Rome. Now as these had universally enjoyed a free civic constitution and the right of electing their own magistrates, a right of this sort may also have been granted to the provincials as a part of the *jus Latii*; though assuredly not with the same privilege which went along with it in Italy, before the time when the civic franchise was granted to every Italian.

What however was the relation between these concessions and the old franchise of the eighteen colonies, that is, the

* See Niebuhr *Rom. Hist.* Vol. II. note 161.

Latin franchise of Ulpian? That franchise was most probably included in them: so that the Sicilians for instance, when they obtained the *Latinitas*, acquired first the franchise just described, which was common to all the allies, and at the same time the peculiar one of the eighteen colonies, which merely affected the civil capacity of the individual citizens. Such was the case when the *jus Latii* was bestowed upon whole towns. When it was granted to individuals, of course the second and special part of it could alone be conveyed, since the former part could only be exercised by a community at large. And thus it was not unnatural that the *lex Junia Norbana* should apply a well-known name, like that of the *Latini*, to the freedmen. In this case too individuals alone, and consequently none but civil rights, were the object of the law: however even without a more accurate definition there was no fear of any misunderstanding, as this limitation from the above-mentioned reason was selfevident.

A state of things on the whole similar to this was still continuing at the time when Ulpian wrote his Fragments: for in a passage quoted above (Tit. 19. §. 4) the *Latini colonarii* are spoken of. In two points however a change had gradually been wrought. In the first place, as the monarchy gained ground, the political rights of the citizens had become more and more insignificant; so that of the two above-described parts of the Latin franchise the second alone, the *commercium*, seems to have been of any value, except so far as it was a step to the acquisition of the Roman franchise. And secondly the mode of passing from the Latin franchise to the Roman must have been altered in the interval; since Ulpian, though he treats in detail of the theory of such transitions (Tit. 3), makes no mention of any of the ancient modes which were suited only to communities.

A total change took place with regard to this whole matter when Caracalla issued his celebrated constitution extending the Roman franchise over the whole empire. This law, it is clear from all the circumstances of its publication, referred not to individuals, but to communities: that is, it converted all the towns in the empire, which were not so already, into *municipia*. Henceforward there were no Latin communities; and of the two parts of the Latin franchise, the second, which

appertained to individuals, alone continued to exist even according to the letter; being now applied solely to freedmen and their freeborn descendants. The very same fate befell the franchise of the *peregrini*, which in like manner continued among the subjects of Rome in the class of the *dediticii*.

Finally Justinian abolisht these relics of the ancient orders, so that nothing should be left, except, in a scale of proportionate descent, the emperor, the subjects of the emperor, and the slaves of the emperor's subjects.

I have assumed throughout the foregoing inquiry, that according to this classification there were never more than three classes. The common opinion on the contrary supposes that there was a fourth, having the *jus Italicum*, and standing between the *Latini* and the *peregrini*. If this were true, it would give a very different turn to our inquiry: but I trust that by examining into this point I shall only confirm the results already arrived at.

The *jus Italicum* is only mentioned in the following passages: in Pliny, H. N. III. 4, and 25, where it is stated that several towns in *Hispania citerior* and in Illyria enjoyed this franchise: in the first of these passages it is called *jus Italiae*, while in the second, and all those referred to below, it is uniformly termed *jus Italicum*:—in the title of the Pandects *de censibus* (Lib. I. Tit. 15), where several towns are enumerated as having the *jus Italicum*, and some are said to be without it:—in the Cod. Theod. XIV. 13. const. un. which renews the *jus Italicum* of the city of Constantinople:—and in the Cod. Justin. XI. 20. const. un. (interpolated from Cod. Theod. XVI. 2. const. 45), where Constantinople in addition to the *jus Italicum* is invested with the prerogatives of ancient Rome.

The explanation which Sigonius (*de Jure Italiae* Lib. I. c. 21) gives of this *jus Italicum*, has been adopted by the generality of modern writers. In his opinion it designated a peculiar class of persons, forming an intermediate rank between the *Latini* and the *peregrini*; so that on the whole there would be four classes: *cives*; *Latini*; *qui juris Italici erant*; and *peregrini*. According to this view

the *jus Italicum*, like the civic and Latin franchise, might be conferred on individuals as well as on towns; and the effect of its bestowal on the latter was, that the whole body of the citizens of such a town should acquire that franchise at once.

This explanation however I hold to be utterly wrong for the following reasons.

First, in all the abovesited passages this franchise is only spoken of as belonging to towns, not to individuals; whereas the *jus Latii* is mentioned more frequently, especially in the lawbooks, with reference to individuals than to towns.

In the next place Ulpian, who in the Pandects says a good deal about the *jus Italicum*, assumes most distinctly in his Fragments that there were only three classes: *cives*, *Latini*, and *peregrini*. Nay, even if one were to venture on the very improbable supposition, that in the Fragments he forgot to speak of the fourth class, yet in his very accurate system of the three classes no place whatever is left vacant for a fourth: it would be in vain to seek after any peculiar rights, by which the *jus Italicum* should be distinguished from the condition of the *Latinus* on the one hand, and from that of the *peregrinus* on the other. Sigonius was fully aware of this difficulty, of making out any peculiar features for the *jus Italicum*, but he did not get over it.

Thirdly such a *jus Italicum*, conceived as the condition of a class of persons, could in no way have subsisted along with the Roman or Latin franchise, so that the same person or town should enjoy both at once: it must always have been merged in those higher franchises: just as it is totally inconceivable that a *civis* should at the same time have been a *Latinus* or *peregrinus*, or that a *Latinus* should also have been a *peregrinus*. And yet in fact the *jus Italicum* was very often united with the Roman or Latin franchise. Pliny (III. 4), who at the end of the chapter relates that the whole of Spain received the Latin franchise from Vespasian, notices it however as a peculiarity with regard to two Spanish towns, that they had the *jus Italiae*. It is true, he also remarks in speaking of several other towns, that the Latin franchise had been specially granted to them: but he expressly calls these *Latini veteres*, and so does not forget to

point out by this epithet that their franchise was merely older than that of the other towns, and did not constitute any distinction between them and the rest with regard to their condition in his time. Moreover this franchise is spoken of as enjoyed by several towns long after the time of Caracalla, although Caracalla had bestowed the Roman franchise on all the towns of the empire. Finally in Justinian's time there had been no Latin towns for centuries; it was only among the freedmen that a sort of Latin franchise was still retained; and even this he abolished (Cod. vii. 6), in order to reduce all classes to the same level. Yet in his lawbooks we find regulations concerning the *jus Italicum* of a number of towns. This franchise therefore might subsist as a peculiar franchise of such towns as we know were at the same time possessors of the Roman franchise. Still more instances of such a union will be pointed out lower down.

There seem to have been two reasons which have had the greatest influence, partly in occasioning and partly in supporting and confirming the opinion here controverted.

First, the deceitful analogy of the name. The words *civis Romanus* lead us to think in the first place of an inhabitant of the city, *Latinus* of an inhabitant of Latium: yet each of these expressions was afterward used to designate a personal capacity, independently of any reference to place. How natural was it then on meeting with a *jus Italicum* to look for its meaning in the same way as for that of the others! It is perfectly manifest that what misled Sigonius was solely this similarity of name.

Secondly, we find the following passage in the commentary of Asconius on the speech against Piso: *Duo porro genera earum coloniarum, quae a populo Romano deductae sunt, fuerunt. Erant enim aliae quibus jus Italiae dabatur, aliae item quae Latinorum essent**. This passage seems directly to establish the truth of the opinion here impugned, the *jus Italiae* and the Latin franchise being spoken of in it as different species of the same genus. But in the first place it is totally inconceivable how Asconius, if such was his view, could assert that there were only two classes of

* See Niebuhr Rom. Hist. Vol. ii. note 161.

colonies. On the contrary in that case he must necessarily have laid down that there were three such classes; since it was quite impossible that he should overlook the first and most important kind, the *coloniae civium Romanorum*. This reason of itself would throw a strong suspicion on the passage: and when we come to examine it minutely, we find that the very words on which the question hinges are spurious. For the two Paris manuscripts (No. 7832, 7833), one in the Vienna library (ms. philolog. 151), and the one at Gotha concur in reading: *Duo...fuerunt itaque aliae Latinorum essent*. So that there is no trace whatever of the *jus Italiae*: but that there is a chasm in the text is quite clear. The same reading is found in the older editions, the folio one of 1477, and the Aldines of 1522 and 1547. The first edition in which the erroneous reading occurs is that of Hotomanus in 1551. In the preface the editor professes to follow an ancient manuscript scrupulously, and to be very sparing of conjectures: but luckily a note on our passage (p. 170) expressly states: *Jus Italiae dabatur] Deerant haec in manuscripto*. If one takes this note literally, all that was wanting in Hotmann's manuscript was the three words quoted: everything else was contained in it; and it must have read as follows: *Erant enim aliae quibus aliae item quae Latinorum essent**. This is the way Augustinus seems to have understood the note: for in an Italian letter to Panvinius, in 1558, he rejects Hotmann's restoration, and in its room substitutes: *Erant enim aliae quibus jus civitatis dabatur, aliae item quae Latinorum essent*. I conceive however that in supposing Hotmann to have exprest himself with so much accuracy we give him more credit than he deserves: when we find such a complete agreement in all the other manuscripts and printed texts, it is far more probable that Hotmann's manuscript had just the same

* Antonii Augustini Epist. Parmae 1804: p. 336. Panvinius, who was engaged at this very time about his work *De Republica Romana*, had no doubt asked his friend's opinion on the passage of Asconius: and in fact the interpretation he gives of it in that work (p. 694) is exactly that proposed by Augustinus: *colontiarum duo genera erant, ut tradit Asconius, quaedam civium Romanorum, et quaedam Latinae*. Sigonius does not seem to quote the passage of Asconius: at least it is not referred to in his work either where he is treating of the colonies, or of the *jus Italicum*.

words as the rest, and that he merely neglected to state with precision how far his restoration extended. If this was the case, the simplest and most probable way of supplying the deficiency in the text would be to read: *Duo porro genera earum coloniarum, quae a populo Romano deductae sunt, fuerunt, ita ut aliae civium Romanorum, aliae Latinorum essent*. Here I merely suppose that *ita ut* was corrupted into *itaque*, and that the three words *aliae civium Romanorum* were left out; for which omission the occurrence of the word *aliae* twice over furnishes a very natural explanation. Yet I know of nobody except Augustinus, who has disputed the correctness of Hotmann's text*: Cujacius in 1570 (*Observ. x. 35*)

* Since writing the above I have found a reading agreeing on the main with mine in the edition of Asconius by Paulus Manutius, Ven. 1563. *Duo—fuerunt, ita ut aliae Latinorum essent, aliae civium Romanorum*. There is no note on this passage, nor does the author in the preface speak of any manuscript; but he boasts of his emendations. [The very same reading, with the trifling exception of *Latinae* for *Latinorum*, is found in the edition of Cicero's Fragments which Sigonius publishes in 1559. This accounts for his not referring to the note of Asconius in connexion with the *jus Italicum*: a preceding sentence of the same note is however quoted in his chapter *de jure coloniarum*, and in that *de coloniis ante bellum Italicum deductis*. But after all is it absolutely necessary to suppose that something has actually dropt out of the text of Asconius? There is no trace of it apparently in the manuscripts, nor in the old editions. That of Beraldus (Luteciae MDXX) reads: *fuerunt, itaque aliae Latinorum etiam*: That of Lodoicus (Parisiis MDXXXVI) *fuerunt: Italicae, aliae Latinorum etiam*. Here we see the germs of Hotmann's blunder: the editor boasts of having emended more than four hundred passages, partly by his own skill, and partly by the help of Budæus and Alvar. If Asconius had been professedly giving an account of the Roman colonies, he would of course have mentioned both kinds of them. But he is only led to touch on the subject by a difficulty he finds in understanding how Cicero could term Placentia a *municipium*: the source of which difficulty is pointed out by Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist. Vol. II. note 161*). A colony, Asconius says, was sent thither at the beginning of the second Punic war: *deducta est autem Latina*. Then to explain this last expression, such colonies being no longer founded in his time, he adds: there were two kinds of colonies which the Romans used to establish: *itaque aliae Latinorum etiam*: and so one of the two kinds was one in which the Latins took part: or, if *essent* be the true reading, and so one of the two kinds would be the colonies of the Latins. It was needless to say more: for everybody knew what the other kind was: and the briefer expression is much more in keeping with the usual style of Asconius. Sigonius in altering

refers to this passage as one about which there is no question; and in all the modern editions, for instance in that of Grævius, and the Neapolitan one of Cicero's Orations, Hotmann's correction is silently adopted, as if there were no difficulty on the point. It is worthy of remark that this mistaken and very shallow alteration of this passage originated with a man like Hotmann, who has so many other gross blunders to answer for with regard to questions lying on the borders of philology and jurisprudence.

Having refuted the prevalent erroneous notion on this subject, I will proceed to give another explanation, with the grounds for it.

In all the passages cited the *jus Italicum* is ascribed to towns, and moreover to provincial ones. From its very name then it must have endowed these towns with rights, which were common to all the Italian towns, but of which the generality of the provincial towns were destitute. At the same time it follows from the reasons stated above, that these rights must have related to some other object than the personal capacity of the individual citizens.

Now this, I conceive, is the character of the following three rights, which accordingly must be looked upon as collectively forming the substance of the *jus Italicum*: first, the right of having a free constitution; secondly, the exemption from taxes; and thirdly, the title of the land to be regarded as quiritary property.

These three parts of the *jus Italicum* however do not all belong to it in exactly the same manner. The third alone,

Latinorum into *Latinae* seems to have been influenced by the notion that *coloniae Latinae* was the appropriate denomination of those towns. The genitive however is found very frequently in Pliny, and, where *coloniae* is not expressed, appears to have been the more usual form.

I may be allowed to remark here that in the Aldine edition of Asconius of 1522, as Niebuhr anticipated, there is no *gratia* after *petendi magistratus* in the former part of this same note. The whole text of Asconius is so corrupt, and such tricks were played with it by the early editors, that a scholar who would collate the manuscripts and publish a critical edition, would render a good service to philology. For amid the wreck of ancient literature Asconius has become a valuable writer, as he supplies us with a good deal of information which we cannot draw from any other source. J. C. H.]

that which relates to landed property, is attacht to it exclusively: the other two are also found in many towns of a different kind, and are only so far comprised in the *jus Italicum*, that a town, which did not possess them previously, and obtained the *jus Italicum*, thereby likewise acquired all these rights. This is the only apparent way of solving all the difficulties of the question.

In the first place towns with the *jus Italicum* possess the right of having a free constitution. That is, there must have been something or other in the constitution of these towns, which gave them a greater semblance of independence in comparison with the other towns in the provinces. For of course we cannot suppose that there was more than a mere shadow of political freedom: so that all the charm which the *jus Italicum* may have had from this point of view, arose solely from the universal fondness for rank and title which prevailed in the towns under the Roman empire. From possessing this semblance of independence, similar to that enjoyed by the Italian towns, and in particular from having the same magistracies which were found universally in Italy, the towns we are speaking of had the advantage, not indeed of the *liberae civitates*, with which in this respect they seem merely to have been placed on much the same level, but of all the other towns in the provinces, even of all the colonies and municipal towns in them. This privilege therefore was only so far a part of the *jus Italicum*, as every provincial town, not already possessing it, infallibly acquired it thereby.

The chief proof, establishing this first effect of the *jus Italicum*, is derived from a variety of coins, taken together with two passages of Servius. On the coins of a number of towns we find a Silenus standing with his hand lifted up. Most of these towns can be shewn to have possess the *jus Italicum*; and of the rest too the contrary at least cannot be demonstrated. Hence there must manifestly be some secret reference in this symbol to the *jus Italicum*. See Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. P. 1. Vol. iv. p. 493—496. Now Servius (on *Æn.* iv. 58) interprets this very image to be a characteristic mark of a free civic constitution. *Patrique Lyaeo: qui apte urbibus libertatis est deus: unde etiam Marsyas, minister ejus, civitatibus in foro positus libertatis indicium est, qui erecta manu testatur*

nihil urbi deesse. This is the reading in the Paris edition of 1600: in the older ones, such as the Paris one of 1507, the passage is not so complete, and especially wants the last clause: and this latter reading coincides exactly with the manner in which Macrobius quotes the passage: Saturn. III. 12. Again, on Æn. III. 20, Servius says: *Quod autem de Libero diximus, haec causa est: ut signum sit liberae civitatis. Nam apud majores aut stipendiariae erant, aut foederatae, aut liberae. Sed in liberis civitatibus simulacrum Marsyae erat, qui in tutela Liberi Patris est*. The mention of Marsyas here, instead of Silenus, need not occasion any difficulty: for these mythological personages were originally one and the same, as Eckhel in the passage referred to has shewn with reference to this very point*.

Eckhel however, who, merely following the authority of others, without any investigation of his own, assumes that the *jus Italicum* could not have any other force than that of conferring an exemption from taxes, is hereby led to call the explanation given by Servius incorrect. This however we are no way warranted in doing; since it is confirmed by two passages in the Pandects. The first is from Ulpian (L. 1. §. 2. D. de censibus): *Est et Heliopolitana, quae a Divo Severo per belli civilis occasionem Italicae coloniae rempublicam accepit*. Here the reference of the *jus Italicum* to the constitution is unequivocal. The second passage is from Paulus (L. 8. §. 3. D. de censibus): where it is said of two towns, that *juris Italici sunt et solum earum*. So that the *jus Italicum* must have comprised certain rights which did not refer immediately to the land.

In the second place the *jus Italicum* conferred an exemption from taxation. Under the empire a uniform system of direct taxation was gradually introduced in the provinces. Every landed proprietor paid a landtax; every other person, as a general rule, a polltax: Italy however was free from both. Now when a provincial town acquired the *jus Italicum*, it was placed on a level with Italy in this respect also, and was exempted from those taxes. And even after the time of

* See an Essay on this subject by Creuzer in the *Studien*, Vol. II. pp. 230—324.

Diocletian when Italy lost this exemption, the privilege was still retained by many of the provincial towns, and continued to bear the name of *jus Italicum*, though now no longer appropriate. This is the only thing that accounts for mention being made of a *jus Italicum* in the code of Justinian, at a time when the free constitutions of the towns, and even that shadow of them with which earlier ages may have cheered themselves, had long since disappeared, and the institution of quiritary property too was put an end to. So that this immunity was then the only remaining effect of the *jus Italicum*, as would be set beyond a doubt by the very circumstance that it is treated of in the Pandects under the title *de censibus*. The same immunity however had always been comprised in it: for Ulpian and Paulus also spoke of it in their books *de censibus*. It is true that both in Pliny and in the Pandects a distinction is made between the *coloniae immunes* and those *juris Italici*: but this agrees perfectly with our view, that this immunity originally was only one of three elements, the union of which made up the *jus Italicum*. The *liberae civitates* too had the same immunity: so that this privilege, like the former, cannot be regarded as a peculiar characteristic of the *jus Italicum*.

The third feature of the *jus Italicum*, and one which belonged to it exclusively, was, that it enabled land to become quiritary property, and thereby to be subject to *usucapio*, *in jure cessio*, *mancipatio*, and *vindicatio*, all which forms and rights could only have place with regard to quiritary property. All sorts of movables indeed might come under the head of quiritary property without any distinction: but it was not so with landed estates, except only such as lay in Italy; those in the provinces, as a general rule, were excluded from it. From this very rule however an exception was made in favour of the territory belonging to those towns which had been endowed with the *jus Italicum*. And this characteristic of that right, as has been remarkt already, was confined exclusively to it: this privilege was not shared by such towns with any others in the provinces, not even with the *liberae civitates*. In other respects indeed the rights of landed property varied very much in the different provinces. Where the right of conquest had been exercised in all its strictness, the Roman

nation was the proprietor of all the land; whence it necessarily followed that there could be no private property in it of any kind whatever. But in other cases private landed property, truly so called, subsisted in the provinces: only it could not be quiritary property, that is, property according to the Roman views, and connected with the same forms and effects as at Rome. In this incapacity of becoming quiritary property all the estates in the provinces accordingly partook, from the *liberae civitates* down to the *ager publicus*; and in no instance could it be removed except by a special grant of the *jus Italicum**.

It remains to shew that this main element of the *jus Italicum* did actually form a part of it; which however can only be done with regard to particular applications of the right, since the proposition in all its generality is nowhere expressly stated.

In the first place a *fundus Italicus* was *res Mancipi*; a *fundus provincialis* was not so. See Ulpian tit. 19. §. 1: Gaius 1. §. 120: Cicero pro Flacco 32 (80): Simplicius in Goesius, p. 76. Now it is true that among movable things a *res nec Mancipi*, as for instance coin, might become quiritary property, just as much as a *res Mancipi*, such as a slave; and the only distinction between the two lay in the different modes of transferring the right of property in each. Hence it might seem as if in land also one were not warranted in concluding that by being *res nec Mancipi* it was totally incapable

* Even among the classical Roman jurists we already meet with the doctrine, that in the provinces the Roman people, and subsequently the emperor, was supreme proprietor of all the land, naturally with the exception of what belonged to the *liberae civitates*. See Gaius II. §. 7 and 21. The incapacity of particular estates to become quiritary property is usually deduced from this proposition. But, whatever degree of correctness there may be in the general proposition (see Niebuhr Rom. Hist. Vol. II. p. 153), this deduction at least is neither necessary, nor in every case applicable. In the instance of the *liberae civitates* it assuredly was not so: and yet the Roman forms of *usucapio*, and the rest, were certainly inadmissible with regard to their estates, as is sufficiently proved by the circumstance that in such forms a *solum Italicum* was always required. The true and general principle of that incapacity lay in the very natural rule, which the French code (art. 3) expresses thus: *Les immeubles, même ceux possédés par des étrangers, sont régis par la loi française.*

of becoming quiritary property. But in movable property this very distinction was closely connected with the differences in its nature and destination. Certain sorts of things were *res Mancipi* without exception; and these were such as are immediately connected with agriculture, slaves, horses, oxen, mules, asses*. All other things were *res nec Mancipi*. How are we to explain then that landed estates were sometimes *res Mancipi*, sometimes *nec Mancipi*? although the nature and destination of the object were in this instance always the same, and always moreover of such a kind that from its immediate connexion with agriculture it ought properly in every case to have been *res Mancipi*. The circumstance therefore that estates in the provinces were *nec Mancipi*, seems to run counter to all analogy. It may be explained however with perfect ease according to our assumption.

For if estates in the provinces were totally incapable of being quiritary property, their mancipation is on this account utterly inconceivable: and hence they were *nec Mancipi* on very different grounds from such things as coin: this was *nec Mancipi*, because it could become quiritary property by a different process from mancipation, and with more ease; those estates, because they could not become so in any way, and consequently not by mancipation.

Again *usucapio*, that is, the acquisition of quiritary property by mere possession for a year or two, held with regard to all movables indiscriminately, but with regard to estates only when they were Italian estates, that is, either lay in Italy, or had been invested with the *jus Italicum*. See Gaius II, 46: pr. I. de usucapionibus (Instit. II. 6): L. un. de usucap. transformanda (Cod. VII. 31). This distinction was retained down to the reign of Justinian, at the beginning of which accordingly there was hardly such a thing as usucaption with regard to estates, since the whole empire at that time consisted merely of provinces: Justinian at length abolisht the distinction altogether. This difference again can only be accounted for by supposing that in the provinces no quiritary property in the soil could be acquired in any way, and consequently none by usucaption.

* See Niebuhr Rom. Hist. Vol. I. p. 447.

Moreover the *lex Julia de fundo dotali* laid down the principle that a *fundus dotalis Italicus* could not be parted with*. See pr. 1. quibus alienare licet (Instit. II. 8): L. un. §. 15. de rei uxoriae actione (Cod. v. 13). By the old law a husband had the uncontrolled disposal of the *dos*, and so by squandering it might put the future subsistence of his wife and children in great danger. With a view of lessening this danger the *fundus dotalis* was decreed to be inalienable. The limitation of the law to estates, without including movable property, is to be accounted for from the greater importance and permanence of the former. But the distinction made between estates in Italy and the provinces is not explicable from a similar reason, and can only be deduced from the difference in their legal character. The law spoke with regard to *alienationes*. Now this expression, as one may conclude from the classical age when it was enacted, was to be taken strictly, that is, it was to be taken in the same sense which Cicero in the Topics (5) gives of *abalienatio*. He there restricts the expression to the transfer of quiritary property, excluding every other right to which the word in itself might have applied. But if the *lex Julia* related only to quiritary property, and if its purpose was merely to secure such estates for the *dos* as came under that head, it could not speak of land in the provinces, because this according to our supposition could not be the object of quiritary property.

Finally the *exceptio annalis Italici contractus* was unquestionably another characteristic of the *jus Italicum*. See L. 1. C. de annali except. (VII. 40): L. un. C. de usuc. transform. (VII. 31). But as we know hardly anything of this privilege, except that it was confined to Italy, and was abolished by Justinian, it will not supply us with any new argument in favour of the view we have taken. Justinian did away all these legal peculiarities of Italian estates, and that too at the same time when he destroyed the distinction between

* It appears from Gaius (II. 63) that it was held for a time to be questionable whether this restriction was confined to Italian estates or not: this however no way affects our inquiry. Besides the passages from the law-books of Justinian referred to in the text shew that this doubt in aftertimes had vanished altogether.

quiritary and other kinds of property (Cod. vii. 25). This circumstance affords a fresh confirmation of our opinion, according to which it was not mere chance that these changes were contemporaneous, but arose from an internal and necessary connexion between them.

Of all former writers on this subject Trekell is the one whose explanation comes the nearest to mine: see his *Selectae Antiquitates* Cap. iv. §. 48, 49. But even he is too much disposed to give in to the prevalent errors; since he assumes that beside the *jus Italicum locorum* there was also a particular *jus Italicum personarum*, though we have not the slightest ground for such a supposition.

I will conclude with a few remarks on the relation in which the *jus Italicum* must be conceived to have stood, first to the various classes of towns, and next to the three well-known orders in the Roman empire; inquiries which hitherto have been totally neglected.

Now with regard to the relation between the *jus Italicum* and the classes of Roman towns, such as colonies, *municipia*, and so on, it is everywhere tacitly and without any proof assumed never to have been conferred on any but colonies. It is true indeed that in the Pandects and Pliny many towns enjoying this right are expressly stated to have been colonies; and this is what gave rise to that opinion. Such a ground however is far from enough to establish its truth; and the following reasons will rather lead us to reject it.

Utica, according to Paulus (L. 8. §. 11. D. de censibus), received the *jus Italicum* from Severus and Caracalla. But Utica was a *municipium*, as appears not only from several coins in Eckhel (*Doctr. num.* Vol. iv. p. 147), but also from a passage of Pliny (H. N. v. 3): *Utica civium Romanorum, Catonis morte nobilis*. As those coins however belong to the age of Tiberius, Pliny, I allow, is our latest positive authority for the municipal character of that town. Gellius (xvi. 13) mentions a speech of the emperor Hadrian, in which he expresses his surprise that many of the old municipal towns, and Utica among the rest, should wish to be changed into colonies. It is not added whether the Uticans gained their object at that time: but unquestionably this makes it very doubtful whether they continued to be municipals subsequently.

The instance of Stobi in Macedonia is much stronger. This town was a *municipium*, as we again learn from a passage of Pliny (iv. 17), as well as from coins, which in this instance however come down to the time of Elagabalus: Eckhel. Doctr. num. P. 1. Vol. II. p. 77. And this town also, according to Paulus (L. 8. §. 8. D. de censibus), had the *jus Italicum*. Now if the work of Paulus from which this passage is taken had been written in the time of Caracalla, we should here have a complete demonstration that the town of Stobi was a *municipium* at the very time when it possessed the *jus Italicum*. The treatise *de censibus* however was itself written under Elagabalus: compare Guil. Grotii Vita J. Pauli, in Schulting, p. 207, 208, along with Schulting's observations. Paulus in this very place twice speaks of *Divi Severus et Antoninus*, once of *Divus Antoninus*, and immediately after says *imperator noster Antoninus*. Now though the name of Antoninus is applied in other passages to a number of persons, *Divus Antoninus*, standing as the words do here, can only mean Caracalla; and the Antoninus then reigning (*imperator noster*) must needs be Elagabalus, whose proper and official designation this is known to have been. So that a possibility is still left that Elagabalus should have converted Stobi into a colony, and then further granted it the *jus Italicum*, after the date to which its latest municipal coins belong. However this at all events is extremely improbable, partly on account of the short time he reigned, partly because Paulus in this passage, when he speaks of recent grants of the *jus Italicum*, commonly mentions the emperor who bestowed it; so that, when he does not name its author, we may suppose that such towns had long enjoyed it.

Finally, as to the relation between the *jus Italicum* and the personal quality of the citizens possessing it, there are two questions to be determined: first, will the quality of the citizens of any town enable us to judge whether it had the *jus Italicum*? and conversely, will its having the *jus Italicum* enable us to pronounce on the class to which its citizens belonged?

The first question I think I must answer in the negative. For not only Latin towns, but even those which possessed the Roman franchise, might be destitute of the *jus Italicum*; since Pliny merely speaks of that right as a privilege peculiar to two towns

in *Hispania citerior*, though he says that thirteen towns in the same province had the Roman franchise, and the whole of Spain the Latin. In like manner it would not be stated of Stobi, a *municipium*, as something peculiar, that it had the *jus Italicum*, if this had been a matter of course for every *municipium*. Nor is there anything contradictory in a *municipium* not having the *jus Italicum*, any more than in the condition of any individual Roman citizen who settled in a provincial town. He likewise personally enjoyed a complete *commercium*, while the ground of his house and estate could no more become quiritary property than that of any other inhabitant.

As to the second question, the *jus Italicum*, abstractly considered, was compatible with any one of the three classes, so that even a town of *peregrini* might have been invested with it. Yet it is not credible that this was ever the case: for a present of this kind was assuredly designed for the particular benefit of the citizens of the town it was bestowed upon. But what advantage could those citizens have derived from a *commercium* in land, if they were *peregrini*, that is, from personal reasons totally destitute of the *commercium*? Accordingly one must suppose that the *jus Italicum* was never granted to a town of *peregrini*, but only to such towns as were already possessors of the Roman or Latin franchise.

ON THE SICELIANS IN THE ODYSSEY.

FROM THE GERMAN OF NIEBUHR.

ONE of the suitors in the Odyssey, in his anger at the vision and prophecy of Theoclymenus, advises Telemachus (Υ. 381)

τοὺς ξείνους ἐν νηὶ πολυκλήϊδι βαλόντες
ἐς Σικελοὺς πέμψωμεν, ὅθεν κέ τοι ἄξιον ἄλφοι.

On which passage the scholiast remarks: consequently Homer was acquainted with the Sicelians; and therefore it is not probable that Sicily should be the island around which Ulysses wanders*. That is to say, Thrinakia according to some was an island in the ocean, and so could not be Sicily.

Another mention of the same people is found in the passage where we read of the Sicelian old woman who took care of the aged Laertes (Ω. 389).

Now these Sicelians assuredly have always been supposed, as Strabo (I. p. 6. d) supposed them, to be those of Sicily: and even the discoverer of the geography of Homer, Voss, must have adopted the same opinion; for in the map which accompanies his Odyssey their name stands between those of the Sicanians and of the Giants.

Nevertheless, ever since I became thoroughly convinced that the Sicelians and Italians were one and the same people, and that the name of the former was not transferred to the country about Locri in consequence of its nearness to the island, as was the case in the time of the Lower Empire, and as at this day we still speak of the Two Sicilies,—but that having once been widely spread over Ænotria and

* This scholium is merely an abridgement of what Eustathius says. Ἐν τῷ, ἐς Σικελοὺς πέμψωμεν, ὅρα ὡς ἐγίνωσκον οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς Σικελοὺς. Διὸ εἶπερ ἐκεῖ πλανᾶσθαι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῦ ἱστορικῶς ἐδοξαζε καὶ ὁ ποιητής, εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐπισημῆνασθαι, καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸν ἐσίγησε, νῦν δὲ ἐκὼν τετρατευόμενος ποιητικώτερον ἐξετόπισε τὴν πλάνην.

Tyrrhenia it was at length narrowed and confined to that region in the south,—I have been looking for the Sicelians of the Odyssey no further off than in Italy. Perhaps however we shall find them in a country much nearer to Ithaca. For the scholiast on Odyss. Σ . 85 calls Echetus, the Epirot,—who is brought into connexion with Bucheta in Epirus, that town being said to have been built by his father,—king of the Sicelians. Marsyas and Mnaseas are cited as the authorities for the story in which this statement, so important for shewing that the Epirots and $\text{\O}$ enotrians belonged to the same race, occurs: and accordingly there can be no doubt that they are our sureties for this particular circumstance. Mnaseas, who was a scholar of Aristarchus, may be reckoned among the sound Greek antiquarians: and though we cannot decide whether it be the elder or the younger Marsyas who is here spoken of, both of them, having been Macedonians, are valuable witnesses with regard to the stock of a kindred people, and to the fact that the Epirots were anciently called Sicelians.

This scholium perhaps would never have attracted my notice, unless I had found it quoted in the papers which Voss left behind him, and which the friendship of his relations has allowed me to look over. They consist of extracts which the old man collected in the latter years of his life; and though he does not notice the connexion between this passage and the text of the Odyssey, it assuredly would not have escaped him, if he had lived to work up the materials he had got together. The Sicelians to whom the suitor wanted to sell the strangers, were no doubt the very people of Echetus to whom Antinous threatened to send Irus (Σ . 85).

That the ancients regarded the Phæacians as belonging to this same Sicelian or Pelasgian race, is a point on which I have not the slightest doubt. We find a reference to this view, or rather another way of expressing it, in the statement that the easternmost Pelasgian country on the Propontis was called Macris (see Rom. Hist. Vol. i. p. 33), which is also said to have been the oldest name of Scheria. For in tradition East and West, like all diametrical opposites, are the same thing: thus we have the Planctæ in the West, and the same “justling rocks,” under the name of Cyaneæ, in the East.

May I take this opportunity of speaking out upon a point on which I have given a hint in my History (note 801)? namely, that not only are the Homerids not to be regarded as Homer's descendants, but Homer himself was no more a historical person than any other hero, the eponymus of a house; that consequently he must necessarily be considered, according to what Aristotle, who always saw everything aright, wrote concerning his birth, as the son of Apollo and a nymph; and that every story which brings down his sacred name to the level of an ordinary mortal, is of the same stamp with the one concerning Romulus which I have tried to explode. And so the only objection to be made to those wonderworthy investigations in which the higher branch of criticism reacht its perfection, seems to be that Wolf from over-timidity allows Homer to retain a historical human personality, and stands up for his being the author of a part of the Iliad, of which indeed he seems to have imagined that he could pretty nearly mark out the limits. That the Iliad and Odyssey are separated by a wide interval, is a point on which there will soon be no difference of opinion, unless philology meets with some calamitous blight to cut off its present flourishing promise.

May the memory of Wolf be freed from all historical and anecdotal definiteness, and may he then be revered by afterages, according to the image presented in his masterworks, as the hero and eponymus of the race of German philologers!

The preceding remarks on the Homeric Sicelians are referred to by the author in his History (p. 56), and serve to complete the proof there given of the identity of the Italians, Sicelians, and Pelasgians. They also form a valuable accession to Homeric geography. As to the latter paragraphs, they are interesting as expressing the opinion of the most profound and eagle-eyed of all philologers on the question so much agitated of late concerning the origin of the Homeric poems. Nobody indeed could entertain a doubt as to the side which the historian of Rome would take in this controversy: but I am not aware that he ever spoke out on the subject anywhere else: and as his views are markt by his characteristic genial originality, it is only to be regretted that he was never led to unfold them more fully. J. C. H.

ILIADIS CODEX ÆGYPTIACUS.

DECENNIUM jam effluxit ex quo peregrinator impigerimus, idemque antiquarum litterarum callentissimus, Gulielmus Johannes Bankes, in Ægypto commorans, codicem antiquum in Elephantina insula servo suo* oblatum magno pretio redemit. Hunc codicem, in Angliam dehinc reportatum, in Musei hujusce usum conferendum præbuit vir humanissimus. Constat e papyro, quæ ex optimis, Plinio teste†, fuisse videtur, siquidem latitudinem x digitorum Anglicorum habet: longitudo est fere viii pedum Anglicorum. Continet ultimam Iliados rhapsodiam inde a versu; *χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ', ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν* (v. 127.); cujus libri prior pars in alia papyro haud dubie fuerat scripta. Columnas habet xvi, quarum singulæ circiter xliii versus continent, præter ultimam quæ in media pagina desinit. Litteræ formarum elegantia et nitore insignes, et continuo tenore, nullo vocabulorum intervallo, exaratae. Præfiguntur unicuique ῥήσει nomina personarum, v. g. *θετις* v. 128. *αχιλλεὺς* v. 139. et sic deinceps. Singulis versibus qui ῥῆσιν excipiunt præfigitur sigla hac forma $\overline{\iota\omicron\iota}$, *ποιητης* (monente Bankesio) significans. Notavit ergo librarius *διηγῆσεως* et *μιμήσεως* differentiam quam Plato in libris de Republica tam luculenter exponit. Centesimo quoque versu signantur versuum numeri, nulla ratione eorum qui omittuntur adhibita. Iota mutum semper omisit librarius, si unum tantum locum exceperis, ubi *πειραι* scripsit (v. 433.); et v. 390. *πειρε* perperam dedit pro *πειραι*. Hoc iota, simulque spiritum gravem fere constanter adjecit alius librarius, qui codicem emendavit, minore scribendi elegantia, et atramento longe pejore usus. Idem puncta, accentus, et elisionis notam aliquoties, spiritum lenem rarissime supplevit.

* Vide librum ejus, ab hero suo optime editum, ubi plura de hac re narrantur (*Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati*, Vol. ii. p. 357.)

† N. H. XIII. 24.

Duo versus (scil. 344. 558.) a primo librario omissos et varias quasdam lectiones in margine adlevit alia manus, ab ea quæ textum recensuit, ut mihi videtur, diversa. Spiritum gravem in litterarum serie, non supra lineam, posuit hic scriptor. Spiritus, accentus, elisionis et interpunctionis notas omnino ignoravit manus princeps. Omnium litterarum aliarumque notarum formam et dispositionem, emendationesque et supplementa quæ seriori scripturæ debentur, clare exhibet tabula lithographice exarata, quæ dimidiam fere codicis columnam accurate repræsentatam exhibet. Hinc de ætate qua codex scriptus est, iudicium ab iis tuto ferri potest qui ipsam papyrum haud inspexerint. Bankesii sententia est codicem circa ultimorum Ptolemæorum ætatem esse scriptum. Hujus opinioni multum tribuo, cum plurimas hujusce ævi inscriptiones propriis oculis usurparit, in Ægypto ipse versatus. Obstant quidem barbarismi, EI pro I longo, AI pro E, et H pro OI*, quarum litterarum confusio a prava pronuntiatione orta est, quæ tamen in Ægypto et aliis locis ubi Græca lingua indigena non erat, satis antike prævaluisse videtur. Ita inscriptio Ægyptiaca regnante Trajano posita κεχειλιαρχηκότων pro κεχιλιαρχηκότων exhibet†; Similiter AI pro E in alio monumento Ægyptiaco offendimus‡. Litterarum forma multum refert eam quæ in Philodemi tractatu περὶ κακιῶν inter volumina Herculaneisia Oxonii edito, extat: de quo tantum scimus eum ante A. S. 79 scriptum fuisse. Neque absimilis est scriptura codicis Ambrosiani, Iliadis fragmenta et picturas exhibentis, cujus specimen dedit Maius in libro Mediolani edito. Maxime me movet manus emendatricis scriptura ut codicem antiquissimum esse putem: videtur enim prima manu multo serior fuisse, ut quæ vocabula disjunxerit, accentus et puncta aliquoties addiderit, et omnino aliam habeat formam: eadem tamen aspiratum in serie litterarum ter exhibet, et accentus fere semper omittit. In textu quoque corrigendo aspiratum in mediis vocabulis aliquando addidit secunda manus, quem scribendi morem recentiores librarii non servabant: invenitur tamen in Iliadis

* Vide collationem ad vv. 137. 239. 259. 274. 308. 340. 390. 750, &c.

† Letronne, *Recherches sur l'Égypte*, p. 198.

‡ Ibid. p. 491. EI pro I, I pro EI, et E pro AI sæpius exhibet codex Iliadis Ambrosianus. Vide Buttmanni collationem, Schol. Od. p. 586.

codicibus Ambrosiano et Veneto*. Notanda etiam forma non emollita in voc. *φθενξαμένη* v. 170. *ἐνβαλέειν* v. 645. *ἐνκονέουσai* v. 648. et *ξύνβληντο* v. 709. et antiquior scriptura *ἐνιμμεγάροις*, *μ* duplicato, v. 603. 664. Forma litterarum C, E et Ω neminem morabitur, præsertim in papyro currente calamo scripta, post ea quæ Villosionus et Letronnius de hac re disputarunt†.

Quod ad contextum ipsum attinet, satis indiligenter versatus est princeps scriba, qui multa in codice post se emendanda et supplenda reliquit. Præter locos in quibus aberravit librarius, novas quasdam lectiones codex suppeditat: ut *δὴ σφιν* pro *οἴγε* in v. 784, quod hiatus explet, sensu tamen non expedito: et multis in locis meliorum codicum scripturam confirmat. Ita v. 215. quod codex habet *πρὸς* receptæ lectioni *πρὸ* haud dubie præstat. cf. δ. 156. et Knight. ad loc. Nullius grammatici recensionem sequi videtur: ita neque v. 241. *ὀνόσασθ'*. v. 347. *αἰσυμνητῆρι*. v. 486. *σοῖο*. v. 636. *πανσώμεθα* cum Aristarcho, neque v. 512. *στεναχῇ* cum Zenodoto, neque v. 253. *κατηφέες* cum Cratete exhibet. In v. 331. nimis curiosam Aristarchi lectionem intulit manus emendatrix. Quattuor versus a primo librario omissi, scil. 344. 558. 693. 790. quamquam ab antiquis codicibus haud dubie aberant, inter eos a grammaticis *ἀθετουμένους* non fuisse apparet; hinc in v. 344. Aristarcheam lectionem in scholiis servatam habemus, quæ cum ea quam corrector secutus est haud conspirat.

Restat tantum ut codicis collationem subjiciamus.

Codex Bankesianus cum Iliadis editione Wolfiana collatus (Halis 1794.)

Incipit *ὦ*. 127.

Versus 127—138. 144—157. 169. 174—176. 186—195. 217—219. 233—238. 278—283. 323—326. 368—370. partim mutili sunt. Injuriae magis obnoxium papyri principium erat utpote externam voluminis partem conficiens.

* Vide Maji coll. ad ξ. 427. et Villosion. Anecd. Gr. Vol. II. p. 119.

† Anecd. Gr. Vol. II. p. 158. sqq. *Recherches sur l'Égypte*, p. 11.

129. οὐδέ τι σίτου] ουτ...σειτου manus 1. σιτου manus 2.
 137. δέξαι] δεξε m. 1. Correxit (hoc est, in Wolfianam lectionem mutavit) m. 2.
 141. ἀγύρει] αγυρι m. 1. Correxit m. 2.
 147. κε] χε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 149. οἱ] σοι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 152. μηδέ τι οἱ] τι om.
 154. Ἀχιλῆϊ] Αχιλληι et ita constanter ubi syllaba secunda corripitur.
 157. γὰρ] γα m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 165. τῇν] τη m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
ibid. καταμήσατο] κατεμησατο
 170. φθεγξαμένη] φθενξαμενη
 178. ἰθύνοι] ειθυνοι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 179. ἥδὲ] ηε
 181. τοι om. m. 1. Supplevit m. 2.
 183. ὄγ'] οι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 190. ὀπλίσαι] ωπλισαι
 192. κεχάνδαι] κεχανδαι m. 1. κεχάνδη m. 2.
 193. Ἑκάβην] εκαβη
 200. Huic versui præfigitur < B >
 201. οἴχονθ'] οιχοντ
 207. ὄδε] ογε
ibid. οὐ σ' ἐλεήσει] ουσελεησει m. 1. ουκελεησει m. 2.
 211. ἐῶν] εων m. 1. εὼν m. 2.
 214. ἐμοῦ] εου m. 1. deinde μ superscripsit.
ibid. ἐπεὶ οὐ ἐ] επιουντι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 215. πρὸ] προς
 225. χαλκοχιτώνων] χαλκοκιτωνων
 231. καλά] λευκα
ibid. χιτώνας] κιτωνας m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 234. ὅ] το
 238. αἰθούσης] αιθουσσης
 239. ὑμῖν] υμειν
 241. ἦ οὐνεσθ' ὅτι] ηουνεσθοτε m. 1. η ὄνοσ εσθ' ὅτι m. 2.

241. ἔδωκε] ἔδωκεν
 243. δὴ ἔσεσθε] δησεσθαι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 244. τεθνηῶτος] τεθνειωτος
 247. ἔζω] ἐζω m. 1. εἰσω m. 2.
 250. Ἀντίφονόν] ἀμφιφονον m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 252. ἐκέλευε] ἐκελευσεν
 254. ὠφέλετ'] ὠσωφελ m. 1. ὠφελλετ' m. 2.
 256. λελείφθαι] λελειπται m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 258. θ' ὅς] τεος m. 1. τ' os m. 2.
ibid. οὐδὲ] ουτε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 259. ἔμμεναι] ἐμμενε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 263. ἐφοπλίσσασθε] ἐφωπλισσεῖτε m. 1. ἐφωπλισσασθε m. 2.
 264. ἐπιθεῖτε] ἐπιτειθε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 265. ἔφαθ'] ἐφατ
 267. πρωτοπαγέα] πρωτοπαγεα m. 1. πρωτοπαγη m. 2.
 273. ἐκάτερθεν] ἐκατερθερ m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 274. γλωχίνα] γλωχεινα
 282. ἔχοντε] ἐχοντες
 284. ἔπος τ'] τ' om. m. 1. Add. m. 2.
 287. τῇ] τη m. 1. τῇι m. 2.
 289. ὀτρύνει ἐπὶ] ὀτρυνεισεπι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 290. εὐχευ] ευχεο *ib.* κελαινεφέϊ] κελαινεφει
 292. ταχύν] εον m. 1. εόν m. 2.
 296. τοι] σοι
 300. Huic versui præfigitur < Γ >
ibid. ἐφιεμένη ἀπιθήσω] ἀφειεμενουδαπιθησω m. 1. (hoc est, ἀφίεμεν, οὐδ' ἀπιθήσω) ἐφιεμενη ἀπιθησω in marg. addidit recentior manus.
 308. Ἰδθηθεν] εἰδηθεν m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 311. μέγιστον] μεγιστος m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 318. εὐκλήϊς] ευκλειης m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 320. ὑπὲρ] δια
 322. γεραιὸς ἐοῦ] γερωνξεστου
 323. αἰθούσης] αἰθουσης
 325. ὀπισθεν] .π.σθε

331. In fine ζην m. 1. ζῆ fecit et ν' initio v. sequentis addidit m. 2.
335. ἔταιρίσσαι] εταρισσαι
340. ἔπειθ'] επειτ *ib.* πέδιλα] πεδειλα
341. μιν] μεν m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
344. Om. m. 1. In summa pagina addidit recentior manus
ἱων εθελει· τους δ' αὐτε και υπν.οντας εγειρει·
347. αἰσυνητῆρι] αισυνητορι m. 1. αισυμητηρι m. 2.
349. ἐπεὶ] επι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
- ibid.* ἔλασσαν] ελασσεν m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
354. νόου] ννου m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
355. ἄμμε] αμμα
358. δειδιδε] δειδια m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
360. Ἐριούνιος] εριουνος m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
361. ἐλὼν om. 1. add. m. 2.
- ibid.* προσέειπε] προσεειπεν
362. ἰθύνεις] ειθυνεις m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
363. θ' εὐδουσι] τευδουσιν
366. θοὴν] θον m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
369. ἀπαμύνασθαι] απαμυνασθαι m. 1. επαμυνασθαι m. 2.
- ibid.* χαλεπήνη] χαλεπαινη m. 1. χαλεπηνη m. 2.
370. κακά] κακα m. 1. κακον m. 2.
376. αἴσιον] αισιος m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
- ibid.* δέμας] μεγας
379. εἶπες] ειπας
384. ὄλωλε] ολωλεν
390. πειρᾶ] πειρε m. 1. πειραι m. 2.
391. πολλὰ] παγχυ
392. ὄπωπα] οπωπω m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
- ibid.* νηυσὶν ἐλάσσας] νηυσιπελασσας
396. γὰρ] μεν
400. ἔπεσθαι] απεσθαι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
401. Huic versui præfigitur <Δ>
402. μάχην] μαχη m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
403. οἶδε] οιγε

413. *δυωδεκάτη δέ οἱ ἦώς*] *δυωδεκατοιδετοιηδη* m. 1. *δυωδε-
κατη* m. 2.
415. *κατέδουσιν*] *κατεδουσι*
417. *φανείη*] *φανηη*
418. *ἐπελθών*] *απελθων* m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
421. *ἐν*] *επ*
422. *ἐῆος*] *ἑοιο* in margine recentior manus.
427. *ἐνὶ μεγάροισι*] *ενμεγαροισι* m. 1. *ι* post *ν* in ordine
literarum inseruit m. 2.
428. *ἀπεμνήσαντο*] *απομνησαντο*
- ibid.* *ἐν θανατοῖο*] *ενθαδετοιο* m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
430. *τε — δέ — γε*] *δε — γε — δε* m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
433. *πειρά*] *πειραι*
434. *Ἀχιλῆα*] *αχιλληα* m. 1. *αχιλληι* m. 2.
436. *συλεύειν*] *μωμευειν* m. 1. *συλευειν* in marg. m. 2.
- ibid.* *γένηται*] *γενοιτο*
437. *δ' ἄν*] *μεν*
439. *ἄν*] *εν* m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
441. *μάστιγα*] *μαστειγα* m. 1. *μαστιγγα* m. 2.
- 454, 5. *τρεῖς*] *τρεις* m. 1. *τρис* m. 2.
454. *ἐπιρρήσσεσκον*] *επερησεσκον* m. 1. *επειρήσσεσκον* m. 2
456. *ἐπιρρήσσεσκε*] *επείρησεσκε*
461. *ὄπασσεν*] *οπασσε*
467. *ὀρίνης*] *ορεινης*
469. *ἐξ*] *εξ* m. 1. *αφ* m. 2.
471. *ἰθὺς*] *ειθυς*
472. *ἐν*] *αν*
474. *ὄζος*] *υιος* m. 1. *οζος* in marg. m. 2.
475. *ἀπέληγεν*] *απηλήγεν* m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
479. *ἀνδροφόνους*] *παιδοφονους* in marg. m. 2
481. *ἐξίκετο*] *εξεικετο* m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
482. *εχει*] *εχεν*
485. *ἔειπε*] *εειπεν*
491. *ἐπί*] *επει*
500. *κτεῖνας*] *κτεινες*

501. Huic versui præfigitur <E>
 505. οἱ'] ου m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
ibid. βροτὸς ἄλλος] γενεταλλος m. 1. βροτος αλλος in marg. m. 2.
 507. ἴμερον] ειμερον m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 510. ἐλυσθείς deest.
 515. ἀνίστη] ανεστη
 521. ἐξενάριζα] εξεναριζε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 522. ἄλγεια] αλλαγε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 527. κατακείαται] κατακειαθε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 529. ἀμμίξας] αμμειξας
 533. τετιμένος] τετειμενος
 535. ἐπ'] ες m. 1. επ' m. 2.
 542. ἐνὶ] ενε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 544. Μάκαρος] μακαρος m. 1. μακαρων m. 2.
 545. Ἑλλήσποντος] ελλησποντον m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 550. τι om. m. 1. Add. m. 2.
ibid. ἐῆος] ἑοιο in marg. m. 2.
 554. κείται] κηται
 558. deest a m. 1. In fine v. 557 voc. κατ· (i. e. κατώ) a m. 2. et in ima columna add. m. 2. v. 558 ita scriptum, αυτον τε ζωειν και ὀραιν φαος ηελίοιο·
 563. γιγνώσκω] γεινωσκω
 565. κε] κεν
 566. οὔτε] ουδε
ibid. φυλάκους] φυλακας m. 1. φυλακους in marg. m. 2.
 568. ὀρίνης] ορεινοis m. 1. νης m. 2. in marg.
 578. εὐζέστου] ευσσωτρου
ibid. ἀπ'] επ
 580. χιτῶνα] γιτωνα m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 581. δῶη] δοιη
 584. ἀχυνμένη] αχυνμενοι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 587. χρίσαν] χρεισαν
 595. ὅσσ'] ως m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 600. φαινομενῆφιν] φαινομενηφι

602. Huic v. præfigitur <ζ>
ibid. σίτου] σειτου m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 603. μεγάροισιν] μμεγαροισιν
 607. ισάσκετο] εἷσασκετο
 611. κατθάψαι] καθθαψαι
ibid. Κρονίων] κρονειων m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 613, 619, 641. σίτου] σειτου m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 615. ἔμμεναι] εμμενε
 618. δῖε] δειε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 623. ὀβελοῖσιν] οβελοισι
 625. σῖτον] σειτον m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 627. προκείμενα] προκειμεθα
 635. κεν] και
 636. κοιμήθεντες] κοιμηθεντε
 642. λαυκανίης] λαυκανίης m. 1. λευκανιης m. 2.
 645. ἐμβαλέειν] ενβαλεειν
 648. ἐγκονέουσai] ενκονεουσai
 654. αὐτίκ' ἄν] αυτικαδ m. 1. αυτικ' αν in marg. m. 2.
 662. ὕλη] υλην m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 664. μεγάροις] μμεγαροις
ibid. γοάοιμεν] γοοωμεν
 667. πολεμίζομεν] πτολεμιζομεν
 670. τόσσον πόλεμον] πολεμοντοσσον
 672. δεξιτέρην] δεξιτερη m. 1. δεξιτερηι m. 2.
 673. αὐτόθι] αυτου
 676. δ' ἄρ] δε
 678. εὔδον] ηυδον m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 686. κε] κεν
 687. λελειμμένοι] λελιμμενοι
 688. γνοίη] γνωη
 693. deest.
 696. στοναχῇ] στεναχη m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 699. Ἀφροδίτῃ] αφροδειτη m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 700. εἰσενόησεν] εισενοησε

702. ἡμιόνων] ημιονω
 703. Huic v. præfigitur <Z>
 705. ζώνοντα] ζωνοντε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 709. ξύμβληντο] ξυνβληντο
 712. ἀμφίσταθ' ὄμιλος] ανφισταθομειλος m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 716. εἴξατε] ιξατε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 717. ἄσσεσθε] ασεσθαι
 719. ἐπεὶ] επι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 721. θρήνων] θρηνους
 724. ἀνδρουφόνοιο] ιπποδαμοιο
 730. ἔχες] ες
 731. γλαφυρῇσι] γλαφυρησιν
 736. χωόμενος] χωαμενος m. 1. χωμενος m. 2.
ibid. ὦ] ωτινι
 737. ἦέ] η
ibid. ἐπεὶ] ηκαι
 738. παλάμησιν] παλα m. 1. μησιν add. m. 2.
 740. κατὰ] περι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 748. ἐμῶ] ομοι m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 749. θεοῖσιν] θεοισι
 750. οἱ] η
 752. ἔλεσκε] ελεκε m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 754. ἐπεὶ] επι
 759. ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν] αγανοῖσιβελεσσιν
ibid. κατέπεφνεν] καταπεφνη
 760. ὄρινε] εγειρε
 767. οὔπω] ουπως m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 768. μεγάροισιν] μμεγαροισιν
 770. αἰεὶ] αιει m. 1. ηεν m. 2. in marg.
 772. ἐπέεσσι] επεεσσιν
 774. τίς μοι] μοιτις
 775. πεφρίκασιν] πεφρεϊκασιν
 784. τοίγε] δησφιν m. 1. Corr. m. 2.
 789. πυρὴν] πυρη
ibid. κλυτοῦ] κριτος m. 1. Corr. m. 2.

790. deest.

793. λευκά λέγοντο] λευκελεγοντο

798. κατεστόρεσαν] καταστορεσαν

800. εὔκνημίδες] ευκνημειδες m. 1. Corr. m. 2.

802. δαίνυντ' έρικυδέα] δαινυνπερικυδεα m. 1. Corr. m. 2.

804. Huic v. præfigitur < H >

In fine ιλιαδος ω

G. C. L.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

I.

On a Passage of Thucydides, III. 91.

THE twenty-sixth volume of the Transactions of the Turin Academy contains a conjecture by Professor Peyron on a passage of Thucydides (III. 91), a conjecture which acquires an additional interest from the country of its author. For the Italians, as might naturally be expected, have always known a good deal more of Latin than of Greek. They can boast of a long list of very eminent Latin scholars from Manutius down to Garatoni: the very air they breathe, the land they dwell in, seem to bring them into a more immediate contact with the ancient Romans: the ruins with which that land is strewn are so many relics and reminiscences of their ancestors: the affinity of their own language, pervaded as it is by a kindred genius, gives them a natural tact for the elegances of Latinity: so that a north-countryman, even though it be Gronovius or Ruhnken, and though he may surpass them in the accuracy of his information on a number of points, still has always somewhat of the air of a foreigner by their side, while they appear to be at ease and at home. In Greek on the other hand, where they have no such advantage at starting, the north-countrymen have fairly distanced them: an Italian seldom ventures out of his depth in Greek philology; and when he does, he stands a good chance of floundering and sinking. Professor Peyron however, who has lately been distinguishing himself in the newly opened field of Egyptian antiquities, and to whom we are indebted for some valuable morsels of Cicero, is a sound Greek scholar, and has engaged in the arduous task of translating the historian of the Peloponnesian war. In the dissertation referred to he argues, with as much brevity as can be looked for in a language the sweetness of which seems to lure one irresistibly into using as many words,

and especially as many long words, as one can contrive to bring in, that Thucydides can never have said that the Athenian fleet ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Μήλου—ἐπλευσαν ἐς Ὀρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς. A single glance at the map is enough to convince any one that Thucydides cannot have termed the country about Oropus on the Eubœan sea τὴν πέραν γῆν with reference to Melos: for that this is the Oropus in question is plain from the next sentence, in which the hoplites are said to have marched straightway against Tanagra; and as soon as they reembark they set about ravaging the coast of Locris. Dr Arnold can hardly be serious in throwing out the supposition that Thucydides may have had such “confused notions of the bearings of countries divided from each other by the sea”, as to blunder thus grossly with regard to places so near Athens as Oropus and Melos. Even in Homer he will not find anything parallel to it with reference to the geography of Greece. Davila’s description of the mouth of the Thames, which he quotes, might very well come from an Italian at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the south of Europe hardly thought it worth while to give itself much trouble about the north: but it will no way warrant us in ascribing such an error to the most painstaking and accurate of ancient historians. Dr Arnold likewise suggests that the words ἡ πέραν γῆ may mean *the border country*. In support of this conjecture he might have referred to a later passage of Thucydides (VIII. 10), where we read that Πειραιὸν τῆς Κορινθίας was a harbour ἑσχατος πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. The Περαία too which Stephanus Byzantinus describes as χώρα Κορίνθου, must probably have been the border country, either between Corinth and Epidaurus, or between Corinth and Megara: for here again the Corinthians had another Piræus: the Πείραιον attacked by Agesilaus in Xenophon (Hellen. iv. 5), it is clear from the context, lay on the Isthmus: and as we learn from Plutarch (Quaest. Graec. c. 17) that two of the five old Megarian κῶμαι were named the Ἡραεῖς and the Πιραεῖς (probably Πειραεῖς), it is extremely likely that the former were the people about what was afterward the Corinthian Ἡραῖον, the latter those about this second Πείραιον. Still it would seem that ἡ πέραν γῆ originally would rather be *the land over the borders*:

and the very nature of the country would almost be enough to prove that Oropus must originally have belonged to Bœotia, even if we had not the express testimony of Pausanias (i. 34. 1) on the point. For Oropus lay in the valley of the Asopus; whereas the range of the Parnes was the natural, and must have been the original, boundary of Attica: indeed the very expression used by Thucydides (ii. 23), Ὀρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, implies that Oropus even in his time was not considered as part of Attica: and the object of the alternative proposed by the Bœotian herald in iv. 99 is to obtain an acknowledgement that Oropia is not in Attica but in Bœotia. In that place Oropia is again said to belong to the Athenians κατὰ τὸ ὑπήκοον. Professor Peyron too refers to a passage of the Etymologicum Magnum, 391. 17, from which we learn that the Oropians spoke Doric, *perchè d'origine Beota*. Hence the name of *the country over the border* would suit their territory exactly; nor is it impossible that ἡ πέραν γῆ should have been used in such a sense: but transfers from the category of possibility to that of reality, though exceedingly frequent, are very fallacious, above all in language: and if those words were legitimately used in that sense, the notion occurs so often, that this instance would hardly be a solitary one. If the text be right, it seems that the words ἡ πέραν γῆ according to usage must mean *the opposite coast*. Now it is not impossible that the Athenians should familiarly have termed the northeastern coast of Attica ἡ πέραν γῆ with reference to their own coast: it was the opposite coast of that narrow neck of land on which their city stood. Thus an inhabitant of the northern Athens might perhaps be allowed to call Ayrshire ἡ πέραν γῆ. Thucydides (iv. 75) says that the Bithynian Thracians εἰσι πέραν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ: here πέραν does not refer to anything that has immediately preceded, but means *over the water, on the opposite coast*, with reference to Greece, where he is writing. Commonly indeed πέραν, as in this passage, is applied to the opposite bank of a river, or the opposite coast of a strait. In Thucydides, v. 6, when Cleon takes up his quarters at Eion, Brasidas encamps at Cerdylum, πέραν τοῦ ποτάμου, *on the opposite side of the Strymon*. The Delphians in Herodotus, viii. 36, send their wives and children πέρην (*across the Crissæan gulf*) ἐς τὴν

Ἀχαιῖν. In the same historian, vi. 44, the Persian fleet ἐκ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην (to the opposite coast) ὑπὸ τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο. Datis too (vi. 97) will not allow his ships to land in Delos, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ρήνῃ, but in the little isle of Rhenea opposite to it. Ἡ περαία γῆ is used in the same sense by Herodotus, viii. 44; where, to account for the absence of the Plataeans from the battle of Salamis, he says that, when the Greek fleet were off Chalcis, they landed ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς Βοιωτίας χώρας. This passage, taken in connexion with some others, might lead us to suspect that the coast of Greece opposite to Eubœa was appropriately known by the name of ἡ πέραν γῆ, or ἡ περαία. Thus the coast of Caria opposite to Rhodes bore the name of ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων περαία (Strabo xiv. 2. 1, 3. 1); the coast of the Troas opposite to Tenedos that of ἡ Τενεδίων περαία (Strabo xiii. 1. 46): Stephanus Byzantinus under Phrixus says ἔστι καὶ Φρίξου λιμὴν παρὰ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πόντου ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονίᾳ περαία: and the passage of Thucydides already quoted (iv. 75), when combined with this, might dispose one to suspect that even in his time the Asiatic side of the Hellespont may have borne the name of περαία or ἡ πέραν γῆ: Peræa too became the name of the country beyond Jordan. Even in Homer (Il. B. 535) we read that the Opuntian Locrians ναίουσι πέρην ἱερῆς Ευβοίης and in the Agamemnon (183) the Greek fleet is described as Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρόθοις ἐν Ἀυλίδος τόποις. Here πέραν is taken by Dr Blomfield for an accusative case: yet the adverb seems to agree better with the participle ἔχων: at all events Χαλκίδος πέραν means over against Chalcis, not beyond Chalcis, a description which would not accord with the situation either of Argos or of Athens. The old substantive πέρα however is used by Eschylus in the Suppliants (261); for there can be little doubt that the common reading Ἄπιδ γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας (from Naupactus on the opposite coast) is the right one. The transposition of Turnebus, though adopted by Wellauer, puts the words in a wrong order; and χώρας Ναυπακτίας sounds extremely awkward so close after χώρας Ἀπίας: while Jacobs in altering πέρας into πάτρας only follows his usual practice, in which he often displays no little ingenuity, of substituting something that the poet might have written for

what he did write: not to mention that he introduces a very questionable assertion in making Naupactia the native country of Apis; whereas Eschylus merely says that he came across the strait, on the authority no doubt of a tradition which recorded an ancient immigration into the Peloponnesus from that quarter. Unless indeed ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας may be rendered, as some of the passages quoted above seem almost to warrant, *from the coast opposite to Naupactus*: in that case the passage of Eschylus would be brought into agreement with the tradition concerning Apis recorded by Pausanias, II. 5. 5, and by Apollodorus, II. 1. 1, both of whom represent him as a native of Achæa.

The foregoing remarks have shewn that we are not absolutely driven to the alternative of altering the text of Thucydides, or else of assuming that when he got upon the water he did not know his right hand from his left, and thus fancied that the isle of Melos lay in the straits of Eubœa. If we were, it would be impossible to hesitate a moment: we should eagerly and thankfully adopt Professor Peyron's emendation. Even as it is, there is something very tempting in it; and he brings forward strong arguments in its support. In the previous passage of Thucydides where Oropus is mentioned (II. 23), we are told that the Peloponnesians, παριόντες Ὀρωπὸν, τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραϊκὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὀρώπιοι—ἐδήλωσαν. Now Professor Peyron contends that this γῆ ἡ Πειραϊκὴ καλουμένη is the very same country which in III. 91 we find termed ἡ πέραν γῆ· and he argues with great probability that Thucydides would give it the same name in the two places, and that in the latter therefore we ought to read ἐς Ὀρωπὸν τῆς Πειραϊκῆς. The change of ΠΕΡΑΝΓΗΣ into ΠΕΙΡΑΙΚΗΣ is extremely slight. A difficulty indeed is excited by our finding that Stephanus Byzantinus, in quoting the very passage which is the only authority for the name Πειραϊκὴ, reads Γραϊκὴ in its stead. On the strength of this citation several editors of Thucydides, even Gœller and Poppo, have introduced Γραϊκὴν into the text. But in so doing they have been overhasty, considering that the manuscripts of Thucydides, which are among the best we have of any ancient author, all exhibit Πειραϊκὴν without any variation; whereas our text of Stephanus is full of the grossest corruptions; and nowhere are they

more glaring and thickly strewn than in this very article on Oropus, on the authority of which the text of Thucydides is thus altered. Hence it is questionable whether Stephanus himself wrote Γραικὴν at all events he does not quote this passage of Thucydides in connexion with that in which he says that according to Aristotle Oropus used to be called Γραῖα; nor does he refer to it under the head of Γραῖα, or Γραικός, or Τάναγρα, where he again cites the same assertion of Aristotle: though this to-be-sure is not a decisive argument, considering the disjointed and mutilate state in which the abridgers of Stephanus have left him. But further the passage of Thucydides is totally misquoted by Stephanus. In our editions and in all the manuscripts it stands: παριόντες δὲ Ὀρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραϊκὴν καλουμένην—ἐδήωσαν in the room of which Stephanus has παριόντι Ὀρωπὸν τὴν Γραικὴν καλουμένην. Nor can we suppose that τὴν γῆν has dropt out of his text: for he evidently cites this passage as an example of the use of Ὀρωπός as a feminine. So that we have here a fresh proof that extreme caution is necessary before we change the text of an author on the strength of a different reading in an ancient reference to any passage. The common practice of critics indeed sets strongly the opposite way: for in the first place the great object of almost all editors, who are anything better than mere drudges, is to find as many flaws as they can in their author's text, and then to enjoy the satisfaction of mending them; nor do they much care whether they slide into the tiler's trick of making a dozen holes while stopping a single one. It is so much more flattering to our vanity to correct an author, than merely to work out what he means: how can I resist the temptation of doing a thing *meo periculo*, when I know very well I risk nothing or next to it? one very rarely sees a school-master endeavour to elicit and ascertain what a boy would actually say; if it be not just what he looks for, he will rap his knuckles, and bid him say something else: and it will often require a much more laborious exercise of thought to extract an author's meaning out of him, than to put our own meaning into him by pinching and twisting about his text. It is true, when an emendation is founded on a reference in an ancient author, we cannot plume ourselves so much on our ingenuity: still we have been the first to discover the reference, and

to apply it; and with the help of it we have set something right, which hitherto has always been wrong. Besides it is a natural fallacy to conclude that, because the author in whom we find such a reference lived in an age very much anterior to the date of our oldest manuscripts, he must therefore have had better texts than ours. Whereas the contrary is quite as likely to be the case: for our standard texts, at least in the best authors, are founded on a careful revision and comparison of all the manuscripts that remain: an ancient writer was mostly content with the first manuscript he happened to lay hands on, which might very easily be a bad one. Even such a learned grammarian and rhetorician as Dionysius used a text of Thucydides, which we may confidently pronounce to have been in many respects considerably worse than ours: and yet Thucydides was an author on whom he had bestowed great study. If then we cannot depend on the quotations of Dionysius from Thucydides, much less should we allow our judgement to be fettered by the authority of a quotation made by writers much less likely to be scrupulous about their editions. Besides everybody who is in the habit of making extracts, knows how difficult it is to transcribe an author's exact words: if one makes a quotation at a time when one is in the heat of composition, one is almost sure to commit several mistakes; some other word more in keeping with the train of one's own thoughts will unconsciously start up under one's pen. It should be remembered too that the ancient writers were quite as much in the habit of quoting from memory as we are; nay much more so, owing to the scarcity of books, the difficulty of unrolling them or turning them over, the want of divisions, of indexes, and the other mechanical aids of book-making. Nor did they scruple, any more than we do, to alter a word purposely at times, for the sake of making a quotation more applicable, or of giving it greater point. In a word, if a collection were made of the variations between the references in ancient writers to passages in the authors that remain to us, and the best text that we can get at by the help of our manuscripts, it cannot be doubted that at least in nine instances out of ten every good scholar would decide in favour of the latter. An editor ought always to keep in mind, what he is much too fond of forgetting, that possession is eleven points of the law.

These observations, evident as they may appear, cannot be quite superfluous, when we find such a sound and cautious scholar as Poppo, and so sensible a one as Gœller, acting in direct opposition to them; and, as it turns out, on no authority at all: for that of Stephanus slips from under their feet. If they choose to follow Stephanus, under the notion that his text of Thucydides was better than ours, they must write Ὠρωπὸν τὴν Γραικὴν καλουμένην, or rather τὴν Γραίην καλουμένην, as Salmasius recommends,—without troubling his head about all the absurdities which such an alteration brings into the passage: as if, even supposing there is any ground for the notion that Oropus is the Homeric Γραίη, Thucydides would say it was so called in his days, instead of saying, what itself is not at all after his way, that it had been so called of yore! as if the Peloponnesians could have taken Oropus, a place of considerable strength and importance, with an Athenian garrison in it (see VIII. 60), when they were merely passing by! as if Thucydides would have omitted to mention its recapture, when he evidently speaks of it as in the hands of the Athenians in III. 91! as if again Thucydides would have told us that Oropus was inhabited by the Oropians! Moreover it may fairly be questioned whether he ever applies νέμεσθαι to a town, unless it be in the sense in which Herodotus (III. 160) says that Darius gave Babylon to Zopyrus, ἀτέλεια νέμεσθαι, to receive the revenues of it without paying anything to government. In Thucydides, as Photius tells us, νέμεσθαι usually signifies πρόσδοον λαμβάνειν: his observation is confirmed by I. 2, 100: and the same no doubt is its meaning in this very passage. To the reading of Salmasius Dr Arnold's remark on the use of καλουμένην will not apply: but it certainly is an additional argument against the one adopted by Gœller and Poppo.

Whatever objections therefore to Professor Peyron's conjecture are founded on this passage of Stephanus, are of no weight. Perhaps however it might be argued that, the γῆ Πειραικὴ being spoken of by Thucydides as a district which the Oropians νέμονται, he would hardly call Oropus a town τῆς Πειραικῆς. Indeed he might be somewhat at a loss how to describe it: he could not call it a town of Attica; for it was only Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸ ὑπήκοον: and no Athenian would

acknowledge it to be a town of Bœotia. If ἡ πέραν γῆ can mean *the border country*, or *the country over the borders*, this would serve to designate it amply: for it was a place of great importance to the Athenians, as we see in the history of their negotiations with Philip, inasmuch as it enabled them to keep up their communication with Eubœa, without the necessity of doubling Cape Sunium. That it was a considerable mart of commerce appears from the abuse lavisht on it by Dicæarchus, who talks of the τελωνῶν ἀνυπέρβλητος πλεονεξία, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνεπιθέτω τῇ πονηρίᾳ συντεθραμμένη, and cites the following witty imprecation of Xeno against them:

Πάντες τελῶναι, πάντες εἰσὶν ἄρπαγες.

Κακὸν τέλος γένοιτο τοῖς Ὠρωπίοις.

The substitution of τῆς Πειραικῆς for τῆς πέραν γῆς in Thucydides is likewise suggested by Mr Cramer (*Ancient Greece*, II. 273); though at the same time he seems to lean toward the reading found in Stephanus, Γραική. Dr Arnold too says that the same conjecture had also occurred to him. It is rather curious that a passage, which seems to have been past over without the slightest notice by the critics of former times, should all at once have attracted the attention of three several scholars, totally unconnected with each other, and that they should all three have viewed it in the same light. This at all events is a welcome sign that it has been discovered in other countries as well as in Germany, that there are more things in Greek literature which require to be attended to than the words,—a conviction which for a long time seems to have been pretty nearly confined to such as knew little or nothing about the words.

II.

Savigny and the Edinburgh Review.

IN the singularly able and profound criticism on Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, by which the *Edinburgh Reviewers* have so brilliantly maintained their well established reputation for classical learning, we meet with the following passage.

“Niebuhr’s claims, extraordinary and extensive as they are, are fully and distinctly recognized by his friend, the learned and ingenious Savigny, who gravely affirms: ‘The discovery of *this fact alone* has enabled Niebuhr to penetrate deeper into the secrets of Roman greatness, than was ever done even by the Romans themselves, during the brightest period of their national literature.’ The reader must be curious to learn what *the fact* is; we subjoin it for his instruction, that by the assistance thereof, as by a diving-bell, he may descend at pleasure into the ocean of the past, and explore its long-hidden secrets. It is stated in these words: ‘No period within the bounds of historical inquiry is more interesting and attractive than that in which the intellectual powers and mental characteristics of the nations ceased to repine in listless inactivity, and came forth in all the freshness of new being, and in every form of a strongly renovated existence. Such times of regeneration form the earliest dates of authentic history, although the origin of each people unquestionably reaches beyond them.’ (No. cii. p. 366). Now as the object of this paragraph is to throw ridicule on a very great writer, some portion of which is to bound off on a still greater one, it may be worth while to shew that, on whomever that ridicule may or ought to fall, no part of it can fall on Savigny. For Savigny never said what is here ascribed to him: indeed being a man no less distinguisht for his admirable sense than for his great acuteness and knowledge, it is quite impossible that he ever should have uttered such tumid flaccid nonsense. The passage the reviewer had in his eye, though a goodnatured reader may perhaps be loth to believe it, must evidently be the following one from the preface to the History of Roman Law in the Middle-ages, which for the benefit of German scholars shall be subjoined in the words of the original. “Nichts ist anziehender in aller Geschichte, als die Zeiten, in welchen die Kräfte und Anlagen verschiedener Nationen zu neuen lebendigen Bildungen zusammenwachsen. Solche Zeiten der Wiedergeburt sind das ursprünglichste in der urkundlichen Geschichte, da die erste Bildung der Völker über dieselbe hinaufreicht. Durch Entdeckung eines solchen Zusammenhangs ist es Niebuhr möglich geworden in das Geheimniss Römischer Grösse tiefere Blicke zu thun, als in

der Zeit der gebildeten Römischen Literatur den Römern selbst vergöennt war." The main purpose of Savigny's great work is to trace the growth of the civil and constitutional law of modern Europe out of the two elements from the combination of which he proves it to have sprung, the Roman element, and the Teutonic. Thus he is naturally led to make the following very just remarks. "In every history there is nothing more attractive than those periods in which the powers and tendencies of different nations coalesce into new living formations. Such periods of a nation's second birth come the nearest to an original creation, of anything we find in authentic history; for the primary formation of a people lies beyond its reach. It is by the discovery of such a combination that Niebuhr has been enabled to dive further into the secrets of the greatness of Rome, than the Romans themselves in the literary age of Rome were allowed to do." The illustration lay so close at hand that Savigny could not help making use of it: as he himself was endeavouring to shew how and in what degrees the laws and institutions of the Romans had been fused into one body with those of the Teutonic nations in the various countries of modern Europe, so he could not but remember that the great discovery by which his friend Niebuhr had just been throwing an entirely new light and giving an entirely new form to the early history of Rome, was that of the primary and essential distinction between the patricians and plebeians; who were not an aristocracy and a rabble, as the writers of the Augustan age, and, as following in their wake, all the historians of modern times imagined, but two several nations, the one domineering, the other dependent, like the Normans and Saxons, to take an instance, during the first centuries after the Conquest, or like the English settlers and the native Irish. Of the fruitfulness of this great discovery the present is not the place to speak: all our views concerning the relations between the two orders in the Roman commonwealth have been newly modified by it: and the very learned and sagacious Reviewer will no doubt be thankful for having the meaning of what Savigny said pointed out to him; for notwithstanding all the time he must have spent in turning over the pages of Niebuhr's two editions, he never seems to have caught the slightest glimpse of

this, the leading idea contained in them. If he wishes to see how the same principle applies to and illustrates the history of other nations, he cannot spend half an hour better than in reading Dr Arnold's excellent first appendix to his Thucydides.

From one part however of the blame which may seem to attach itself to him, the Reviewer must in justice be exonerated. He has only tried to turn into ridicule what had already been turned into nonsense by another hand: for he clearly quotes, not from Savigny's original work, but from Mr Cathcart's translation of the first volume of it, which he takes an opportunity in another place to tell the world he has seen. It is to be hoped that this passage affords no sample of the way in which Mr Cathcart has executed his praiseworthy task. But though the Reviewer is not chargeable with this sin, he can scarcely be held to have acted warrantably in deriding a writer, who, he had evidently heard, bears a high reputation in his own country, while he had no better ground for doing so than a passage in a translation, and a passage too which he professes himself unable to understand. For, with reference to the latter point, there is great good sense in Coleridge's maxim: "until you understand an author's ignorance, presume yourself ignorant of his understanding." At all events it would be well if writers, and critics, as they call themselves, would abstain from censuring what at the very moment they acknowledge that they know nothing about. It is a hacknied trick of the fraternity to exclaim: *this is totally unintelligible! I have not the slightest guess what it can mean.* Be it so: then keep your ignorance to yourself: what is the good of proclaiming your stupidity to the world? rather would one expect you to wish that the world should not get the least inkling of it. If you can understand an author's ignorance, if you can explain how he was led into error, can detect the mistaken associations by which he was deluded, can point out the step in his reasoning at which he tript, you may do him a good, or at all events may promote clear thinking, which in itself is always one. But an empty exclamation has no more sense in it than a mob's hurrah, or an asses bray. Above all should such considerations have weight, when the passage supposed to be unintelligible occurs in the works of a writer whom we have either found ourselves to be an able thinker, or know to be esteemed as such

by competent judges. Even in such matters there is plenty of room for faith: and here as everywhere Faith goes hand in hand with Charity: each leans upon, each upholds the other. But to censure and ridicule a great writer on the strength, if strength it can be called, of a passage which seems unintelligible in another person's translation, is surely not very consistent with justice. Nothing is likelier than that the very sentence at which we take offense should wholly misrepresent the author's meaning, or at all events greatly distort it. For very few translators will take the pains, indeed it is almost impossible, to identify themselves so entirely with their author as to convey all his opinions with the precise degree of force which he meant to give to them. Often they may be ignorant of the exact point which he had in his eye: often they may take no interest in it, and so deem it a matter of indifference: it is inconceivable that their glance should embrace all the considerations which led him to say just so much, and withheld him from saying more: at times too the attention even of the most vigilant will flag. Moreover if the translator adopts the sluggard's course of rendering his author freely, and dresses up the wine he imports to please the English market, he will probably change its flavour so that the author himself would hardly know it again: he will be perpetually encumbering his author with opinions for which the latter is no way answerable: and as a critic is always on the look out for something to stumble against, the odds are greatly that he hits his foot against one of these excrescences, which jut out without any regard to form or proportion. Many instances of this might no doubt be produced with a very little trouble: but a single one, from an earlier number of the same review, may suffice. In an Article on Dante, in which there is a good deal of ingenious criticism, we find the following remarks: "The work of Mr F. Schlegel is another instance of the hazards of all peremptory criticism on the character of foreign writers. He is graciously pleased to represent Dante as the greatest of Italian and of Christian poets; but observes at the same time that '*the Ghibelline harshness* appears in a form noble and dignified. But although it may perhaps do no injury to the outward beauty, it certainly mars, in a very considerable degree, the internal charm of his poetry.

His chief defect is, in a word, *the want of gentle feelings.*' Now the opinion of Mr Hallam is directly opposite to that of this learned Theban." (Ed. Rev. No. LX. p. 332). It would seem almost unimaginable, but for the numerous instances one sees of persons passing a severe sentence of condemnation against the fault which they themselves at the very same moment are committing, that the Reviewer, while he is censuring Schlegel for venturing to criticize a foreign writer, whom at all events it is clear that he had studied with no little diligence, should himself be censuring a foreign writer, without even taking the trouble to ascertain what that writer had really said. The very sentence against which the Reviewer mainly levels his reproof is not to be found in Schlegel; nor is there a single word to answer to it: the whole is arbitrarily foisted in by the translator, who throughout the work has taken all sorts of liberties in disfiguring his author's opinions. Schlegel, after speaking of the harshness and bitterness of feeling which characterized the Ghibellines in Dante's age, adds: "This Ghibelline harshness, though in Dante it certainly does not appear in an ignoble, but rather in a lofty form, is still a fault in him, when we view him as a poet; since its chilling influence is not confined to the outward beauty and form of his work, but extends to its inward beauty and tone of feeling." The next sentence—"His chief defect is, in a word, a want of gentle feelings"—belongs entirely and solely to the translator, without a syllable in the original to warrant it: and by it Schlegel's remark, the truth of which every reader of Dante must feel, is converted into an assertion the utter erroneousness of which is equally glaring and indisputable. But such is the usual way in which free translators go to work: they disdain giving an author's words; it is a far nobler achievement to give his meaning: but as the meaning can only be expressed in the words, by overlooking the words they lose sight of the meaning: they pay no heed to those limitations by which alone the boundary line between truth and falsehood is drawn: and it being the fashion of the day to say everything as strongly as possible, they go to work pretty much as if a painter in copying a fine head were to deepen the white into chalk, the red into brickdust: his face will be made up of red and white like the original; but he will turn Raphael's

beauty into a caricature. In painting, such extravagances, being visible to the eye, are viewed with disgust: but in writing it is much less evident, though equally true, that the beauty of composition depends on the due mixing of light and shade, the proportionate blending of colours, into harmonious union.

It would be well if these examples would operate as a warning to reviewers, not to meddle with works which they cannot read in their native tongue. Did they set about their task honestly, had they any feeling of selfrespect, any regard for truth, any notion of the worth of fame, were their object in reviewing a book to give a fair estimate of it, they would never think of doing so. Common sense would deter them from it; common justice would deter them from it; the consciousness of their own incapacity would deter them from it. Not only are they utterly incompetent to judge of the merits of the translation, to discriminate between the translator's errors and the author's, and to award praise and blame where it is due, but the conception which any translation can give of the original must at best be very imperfect. Besides unless a person is pretty well acquainted with the literature out of which a work sprang, unless he is aware of the relation in which it stands to previous works, the knowledge which its author is entitled to assume in his readers, he will be destitute of the means requisite to frame a right judgement upon it. He may read it, if he is so disposed: he may talk about it: a literary dilettante, though one of the most unprofitable members of society, might be more mischievously employed. But let him leave the task of reviewing it to those who are competent to do so. If authorship, when it sinks into a trade, were not one of the most unprincipled and profligate of all trades, we should not so often see persons pronouncing judicially on matters of which they must be fully conscious that they are utterly ignorant.

III.

Hermann's Opuscula.

PROFESSOR Hermann has just published the fourth volume of his *Opuscula*, which completes the collection of his Latin dissertations down to the year 1830. May he live to add several more volumes to it! With the consummate mastery of the Greek language which he now possesses, a mastery unequalled by any scholar of his own, or perhaps of any former age, whatever he gives us, even if he sometimes disports himself rather too much in displaying his ingenuity and his power, is sure to be valuable, and to abound in remarks which, even when they do not reach the truth, lead us toward it. This new volume contains his treatise on the particle *ἀν*, which it is a good thing to see in a more readable form than it bore at its first appearance in the reprint of Stephenses Thesaurus; and this is followed by a variety of shorter dissertations on Coluthus, Hermesianax, the *problema bovinum* of Archimedes, the Prometheus Solutus of Eschylus, and sundry other subjects. It would require far more room than is left to us, to examine any one of them in detail: but the whole collection may safely be pronounced to be one of the richest repositories of profound and acute criticism that philology can boast of. It is much to be wished that the author would now make a similar collection of his critical dissertations written in German, and of the articles which he has from time to time contributed to the Leipsic and other Reviews. These might require rather more trouble to revise them; and a good deal perhaps might well be omitted: but a man of true genius like Hermann cannot write many pages together in which there will not be something worth preserving. Many of his reviews are admirable specimens of subtile critical analysis, and well deserve to outlive the works of which they treat. Hardly any of them is without valuable observations on some difficult passages, or some abstruse grammatical question: it was in a review of Butmann's grammar that Hermann first explained the distinction between the oblique moods of the aorist and of the present, one of the most important and fruitful discoveries which have been made in Greek grammar of late years: his review of Dissen's Pindar

contains some good remarks on the order of the Olympic games, beside an excellent view of the object and plan of the first Olympic ode: and notwithstanding all the volumes that have been written on the Homeric controversy, since the question was started by Wolf, Hermann has taken, as he always does, a new view of the subject in the last number of the Vienna Review; and his observations are among the most valuable that have been made, and among the likeliest to pave the way for a satisfactory close of the discussion. Yet unless these articles are collected together, it is impossible that they should be as generally read as they ought to be, even by scholars of our own times: and before long they would only be known to the hunters after literary curiosities.

IV.

Dobree's Adversaria.

IN the last volume, the fifty-fourth, of the Vienna Review there is an article by Hermann on the merits and characteristics of our scholars, from the time of Bentley downward, but more especially of Porson and his successors, in which he speaks of them with the utmost candour, and with an evident desire to say as much as he can in their praise. Indeed if he ever did manifest any inclination to underrate our labours in the fields of philology, if he ever did allow himself to be provoked into retaliation by the treatment he met with amongst us, such at all events is not the case now. He might more justly be taxed with unduly extolling English scholars, at least in comparison with his own countrymen, whom at the same time he somewhat unduly disparages. The Berlin school of philologists more especially, if they come across his path, are pretty sure to have all their weaknesses unsparingly exposed. But even to his own scholars he is not always over-indulgent: there is a very striking contrast for instance in the tone with which Elmsley and Reisig are treated in the notes on the *Edipus at Colonus*: though the latter was a man of no ordinary talents, and, had he lived, would probably have ranked ere long among the first scholars of the

age. But in this instance perhaps Hermann acted from kindness to his pupil, whom he knew to want curbing, and to find encouragement more than enough within himself. Of Dobree, who likewise now and then put in a blow at poor Reisig, Hermann says: "Learning has sustained a great loss by the death of that acute critic, Peter Paul Dobree, who was an enthusiastic admirer of Porson, and to whom we owe an edition of the *Plutus*, and of whatever Porson had left upon *Aristophanes*, along with some very valuable remarks of his own. May we soon see the fulfilment of our hope, that whatever observations this eminent scholar made on other authors will not be withheld from the public." This hope was fulfilled before it was uttered: at least the first part of *Dobree's Adversaria*, containing his notes on the Greek historians, philosophers, and the minor orators, had already issued from the press; and it will be speedily followed by those on *Demosthenes* and the other prosewriters. Professor Scholefield in editing them has taken the utmost pains, and has shewn a praiseworthy abstinence from expressing his own opinion: it must be difficult to withstand the frequent temptations of doing so which must arise when one is engaged in such a task: and yet it is desirable that the remarks which eminent scholars leave behind them should be published with as little admixture as possible. Of a work of this sort it is not easy to give specimens: and to discuss its contents thoroughly would require at least ten times as many pages as it fills. If an opinion however, formed on the examination of certain portions of the present volume, may allowably be expressed, it may be said that *Dobree's Adversaria* fully justify the high admiration entertained by those who were most intimate with him, for his learning and acuteness. Of all Porson's scholars none so nearly resembles his great master. His mind seems to have been of a kindred character: the same unweariable accuracy, the same promptness in coming to the point, the same aversion to all roundabout discussions, the same felicity in hitting on the very passage by which a question is to be settled, which were such remarkable features in Porson, are no less remarkable in Dobree. Both of them are preserved by their wary good sense from ever committing a blunder: both are equally fearful of going beyond their

warrant, equally distrustful of all theoretical speculations, equally convinced that in language usage is all in all. Nay even in his knowledge of Greek, of the meaning and force of all its words and idioms, Dobree is only inferior to Porson: his conjectural emendations too are almost always sound; and some of them may fairly stand by the side of the best of Porson's. This faculty indeed seems to be one with which our countrymen are peculiarly gifted: partly perhaps owing to our habits of composition in the learned languages, whereby we acquire a readiness in knowing what word to look for under certain combinations; and in part no doubt from the practical nature of the English mind, which, having been trained by freedom from the earliest ages of our nation, to act in every emergency on its own responsibility, has thus been trained to act with decision: for in conjectural criticism, in divination, as it is called, we do not proceed by any circuit of reasoning; we do not get at the truth by drawing lines round it, each nearer than the preceding; but we dart at it by a happy intuition; and it is only after we have seized it that we begin to look about for reasons. Now in this respect our English scholars are generally superior to the Germans: who mostly try to pierce into the causes of things, till their eyes grow dim and they can hardly see the effects. It is true, there are some splendid exceptions: in this as in almost all the other qualities of a critic, Hermann now stands alone: Lobeck, Seidler, Næke, who all three came out of his school, seem to have imbibed this quality from him, along with his learning and his spirit of sound and subtile criticism. But Wolf, whom the chief part of his countrymen do homage to as the prince of critics, was seldom happy in emendations, on which indeed he did not often venture: and it would be an easy, if it were not an invidious task to draw up a long list of able scholars, who in this point are remarkably deficient. The great Dutch scholars, though in Latin they can boast of Gronovius and Heinsius, seldom make much of their conjectures upon Greek authors, notwithstanding their vast learning: perhaps that very learning almost weighed them down; and while they were extending their reading over the whole compass of Greek literature, they failed to acquire that familiarity with any one particular

region, which alone enables one to see in a moment when anything is wrong, and how it ought to be set right. When the Dutch scholars make a successful conjecture, it is usually one they have been led to by the sense of the context, not one on which they have glanced in a lucky moment of divination. But in Porson, in Tyrwhitt, in Dobree, this of all their faculties is the most prominent, the one in which they shine the most above their fellows: and if the same be not the case with Bentley, it is only because the other qualities of Bentley's intellect were of so gigantic a cast.

Dobree's notes on the Greek prosewriters are to be followed by those on the poets. During his life he published but little: he was so fastidious, that hardly anything but death could loose his tongue, except his reverence for Porson. There may probably however be a few scattered articles from his pen in some of our reviews or journals; and if so, and they can be ascertained, it were much to be wished that they should be subjoined to this collection. It is not likely that he should ever have printed anything which was not valuable. After finishing this meritorious task, Professor Scholefield would confer a fresh obligation on all scholars, if he would undertake the labour of editing the unpublished portion of Porson's remains, the remarks on the Greek prosewriters and on Hesychius, which we have been told are of such great importance. It is worthy of the chair which he fills, to discharge this pious duty toward his predecessors in it: and he may cherish the pleasing conviction that he will hereafter find some one among his successors equally zealous in discharging the same pious duty toward him.

One wish leads to another; so naturally indeed, and by such an inevitable connexion, that having once begun one finds a difficulty in stopping. It is truly a blessed thing that we are not really possessed of Fortunatus's wishing-cap: one should never have a moment of calm and peaceful enjoyment: for, though it may seem a truism, it is a momentous truth, that the only way to be content is to be so. The foregoing remarks have suggested the recollection that very little has hitherto been published out of Elmsley's papers since his death: and yet so laborious and accurate a scholar must probably have left many important observations: it was even reported that

he had collated the manuscript of Hesychius, and read it very differently from either Musurus or Schow. It is to be hoped that some member of his university will ere long be induced to inquire into this point, and, should there be anything deserving to be placed before the learned world, will superintend its publication. A collection of Elmsley's reviews and scattered critical dissertations would also form a valuable volume. But even Bentley himself has never had justice done to him in this matter: his works have never been collected: many of his notes and conjectures have only recently seen the light: others perhaps are still lurking in some of our libraries: all these ought surely to be collected. Would that the weightier avocations of the distinguished person who has displayed such exemplary diligence and love of truth in recording the events of Bentley's life, would allow him leisure to erect this second monument to the honour of his hero, a monument which unlike the other would be wholly and solely to his honour.!

J. C. H.

ÆSCHYLUS. *Recensuit* JACOBUS SCHOLEFIELD, A.M.
Coll. S.S. Trin. nuper Socius, et Graecarum literarum
Professor Regius. Cantabrigiae, M.DCCC.XXVIII.

THIS edition is not one of much labour or research. The editor's notes are concise; and his text is, with little variation, a reprint of that published by Mr Wellauer at Leipsic. A scrupulous, we had almost said superstitious, reverence for the authority of the manuscripts, is the principle to which Mr Wellauer has uniformly adhered in his edition of Æschylus: and this principle, which under certain restrictions is an excellent and judicious one, has been adopted by Professor Scholefield with very slight modification or abatement. Both of them appear to us to have pushed it too far. We are no advocates for the licentious extravagance of those critics who make a display of their own skill and ingenuity at the expense of their author: but on the other hand great caution is necessary, lest in our zeal for the authority of the manuscripts we should assert it in defiance of the laws of the language. To the testimony of manuscripts so corrupt as those of Æschylus we must not hastily surrender the established rules of syntax and metre. The bulk of our modern grammars is already sufficiently discouraging to the juvenile student. But if every editor should adhere with the same tenacity as Mr Wellauer to the readings of his manuscripts, and those readings, which are at variance with rules, were to be added to the catalogue of exceptions, there is no solecism or irregularity for which we might not find a sanction; and the grammar of the language, instead of being simplified and reduced to more general principles as the language is more studied, would become almost a chaos of perplexity and confusion. In many instances where former editors have questioned the correctness of the received reading, Professor Scholefield has endeavoured to extract a meaning from it, which, unless the rules of syntax are to be

discarded, the words appear to us incapable of sustaining. For examples in illustration of this remark we would refer to his notes on the *Supplices*, vv. 225. 314. 531. 967. 979; in all which passages his interpretations are very harsh and constrained: and there are many similar examples in the other plays. In such instances he appears to us to have been misled by an excess of caution, and to have sacrificed the principles of the language to an undue deference for the authority of the manuscripts.

But we by no means wish to detract from the value of his interpretations in general. Some of them are ingenious, and many of them useful; and upon the whole, though we should have been glad if we had found more reason to say of this edition, coming as it does from the successor of Porson,

“Tis not the hasty product of a day,
But the well ripen'd fruit of wise delay,”

it will readily be allowed that the convenient size of the volume, the beauty of the type, and the judgement with which the editor has added explanations to the more difficult passages, fully justify the praise which he claims in the following words of his preface: “*Traditur in manus lectori Æschylus, et ita quidem concinnatus, ut, nisi me fallat spes, optimo cum fructu legi possit.*”

We shall proceed to examine the text and notes of this edition in detail, and we shall take the plays in the same order in which they have been arranged by Professor Scholefield, beginning with the *Supplices*.

vv. 53, 54. Professor Scholefield retains the common reading, *τά τ' ἀνόμοι', οἶδ', ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φανεῖται*, and observes “*Strophicis non omnino respondent: —ωνυμία δ' = τά τ' ἀνόμοι' = et ἐπε— = οἶδ' ἄ.—*” The passage is confessedly corrupt, and almost all the editors have attempted to restore it by conjecture. The only correction of any value is that of Porson, *Miscell.* p. 209, et apud Dobree, *Vesp.* 368, which has escaped the notice of the editors. Instead of *τά τ' ἀνόμοι' οἶδ'*, for which the Aldine edition exhibits *τά τ' ἀνόμια οἶδ'*, Porson has proposed to read *ἄτ' ἀνόμεν' οἶμαι*. This conjecture restores the uniformity of metre in the strophe and antistrophe, and removes much of the obscurity of the passage.

Part of it may admit of a doubt: but *ἀνόμενα*, which Porson has ingeniously extracted from the Aldine *ἀνόμια*, appears to be a certain correction. The termination *μενος* has been very often displaced by *μιος*. In this same chorus we have two instances of this error in the text of the Aldine edition. *θρεβομία* for *θρεομένα*, v. 104, and *πελομίων* for *πελομένων*, v. 115. In the Eumenides the same edition exhibits *αἰρούμιον* for *αἰρούμενον*, v. 161; *κέχυμίον* for *κέχυμένον*, v. 253; *σπενδόμια* for *σπενδόμεναι* v. 340; *τεταγμίω* for *τεταγμένω*, v. 906. See Porson l. c. and Wellauer Eumenid. 253. On the verb *ἄνω*, which has been often obliterated or corrupted by the transcribers, see Brunck and Dobree Vesp. 368; Valck. and Wessel. Herod. i. 189. vii. 20.

v. 95. *Αὐτόθεν ἐξέπραξεν ἔμπας, Ἐδράνων ἐφ' ἀγνῶν.* “*ἀφ' ἀγνῶν* in uno cod. reperit Spanh. quod recepit Both.” Wellauer. *ἀφ' ἀγνῶν* seems to be the true reading. Compare Hom. Odyss. xiii. 56. *αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἐδρέων*, and Schæfer's note on Theocrit. xxv. 170. *Ἄργεος ἐξ ἱεροῖο Αὐτόθεν.*

v. 108. *Ζῶσα γόοις με τιμῶ.* It can scarcely be doubted that the two last words of this line are corrupt. We have no correction to offer; but it may not be useless to remark that the sentiment expressed in it appears to have been the same as that in Agam. 1293, *εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν ἢ θρῆνον θέλω Ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς*; and that the opposition between the words *ζῶσα* and *γόοις* is similar to that which we find in Homer, Iliad, vi. 500. *αἱ μὲν ἔτι ζῶν γόον Ἐκτορα*, where see Clarke.

v. 174. *Καὶ τὰπὶ χέρσου νῦν προμήθειαν λαβεῖν Αἰνῶ φυλάξαι, τὰμ' ἔπη δελτουμένας.* This sentence is obscure and embarrassed. If with Professor Scholefield and Mr Wellauer we place the comma after *φυλάξαι*, the use of *φυλάξαι* for *φυλάξασθαι* is improper; if after *αἰνῶ*, as it stands in the old editions, the conjunction *καὶ* seems to be required before *φυλάξαι*. We suspect that *λαβεῖν* ought to be altered into *λαβών*. The words, *καὶ τὰπὶ χέρσου νῦν προμήθειαν λαβών*, will then be placed in opposition to *ναυκλήρῳ* in the preceding line; and *τὰμ' ἔπη* will be the accusative after *φυλάξαι* in the same sense as *ἐπιστολὰς φυλάσσειν*, Soph. Aj. 782.

v. 182. *Ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἀπήμων, εἴτε καὶ τεθυμμένος Ὠμῇ ξὺν ὀργῇ, τόνδ' ἐπόρνυται στόλον.* “Vulgo *τεθυμμένος*. Pors. *τεθυμμένος*, quod optime confirmat Platonis locus, Phædr. §. 8.

Τυφῶνος πολυπλοκώτερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιτεθυμμένον." Scholef. The reading of the Medicean MS. and the editions of Aldus and Robortellus is τεθειμένος. Τεθηγμένος, the correction of Pearson, which has been adopted by two of the editors, is not without claims to consideration: compare Eur. Hippolyt. 687, ὀργῇ ζυντεθηγμένος φρένας, with the note of Valckenær, and Soph. Aj. 584, Eur. Orest. 1642. But we agree with Professor Scholefield in thinking τεθυμμένος the more probable correction; because the change of τέθυμαι into τέθυμαι is a common error in the MSS. See Hemsterhuis on Hesych. i. p. 491; Ruhnken on Tim. p. 55, and 250.

v. 269. Μακράν γε μὲν δὴ ῥῆσιν οὐ στέργει πόλις. "γε μὴν δὴ Schütz. δὲ μὴν δὴ Both. γε μέντοι reponendum putat Herm. ad Soph. El. 1235: sed γε μὲν δὴ eodem modo supra v. 238, et ipso illo Sophoclis loco in omnibus libris legitur." Wellauer. The combination γε μὲν δὴ has met with rather hard usage. In *Æschylus* it occurs so often as to be beyond the reach of suspicion. Eumenid. 397. τιμάς γε μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐμὰς πεύσει τάχα. Agam. 644. ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ. 860. 1184. Theb. 583. Fragm. apud Polluc. vii. 33. Eur. Helen. 1258. διδούς γε μὲν δὴ, δυσγενὲς μηδὲν δίδου. That the citizens of Argos were not fond of long speeches we learn also from Pindar, Isthm. 6. 86: τὸν Ἀργείων τρόπον εἰρήσεταιί που κὰν βραχίστοις· where the Scholiast remarks, μακρολόγοι μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἴωνες, σύντομοι δὲ οὐ μόνον Λάκωνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι. Σοφοκλῆς Ὀδυσσεὶ μαινομένῳ. Πάντ' οἶσθα, πάντ' ἔλεξα πάντεταλμένα. Μῦθος γὰρ Ἀργολιστὶ συντέμνειν βραχύς. Compare also Soph. apud Stob. Tit. 74. p. 325. Ἀργεῖα γένος, Αἰς κόσμος ἢ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὰ παῦρ' ἔπη.

v. 283. Καὶ τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβρότους δ' Ἀμαζόνας. Mr Wellauer and Professor Scholefield have retained the corrupt reading κρεοβρότους. In the Eumenides 867, καρπὸν τε γαίας καὶ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ῥύτον, all the editors have adopted βοτῶν, the correction of Stanley.

v. 319. Δοκεῖτε δὴ μοι τῇσδε κοινωνεῖν χθονός. "δοκεῖτε μοι Ald. δοκεῖτέ γε μοι Rob. hinc δοκεῖτ' ἔμοιγε Glasg. Burgess. quod non displicet." Wellauer. Plato Republ. ii. p. 368. δοκεῖτε δὴ μοι ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐ πεπεῖσθαι. The reading in this passage also has without reason been called in question, although supported by all the MSS.

v. 329. ΧΟ. ὥς μὴ γένωμαι δμῶϊς Αἰγύπτου γένει. ΒΑ. πότερα κατ' ἐχθραν, ἢ τὸ μὴ θέμις λέγεις; ΧΟ. τίς δ' ἂν φίλους ὠνοῖτο τοὺς κεκτημένους. From the last of these three lines we can extract no satisfactory meaning. Mr Wellauer and Professor Scholefield pass over it without any remark. Mr Boissonade, if we remember rightly, has proposed to read ὄνοιτο instead of ὠνοῖτο and we believe ὄνοιτο to be the true reading. Compare v. 10, φυξάνορα Γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῇ τ' Ὀνοταζόμεναι. Hom. Iliad. N. 287. μένος καὶ χεῖρας ὄνοιτο. See Heyne there, and on Δ. 539. Herodot. II. 136. 167. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνους. The meaning which this correction gives to the passage may be thus paraphrased: τίς δ' ἂν τοὺς δεσπότας μέμφοιτο φίλους ὄντας; i. e. εἰ μὴ ἐχθροὶ εἶεν. φίλους refers to κατ' ἐχθραν in the preceding line, and τοὺς κεκτημένους to δμῶϊς in v. 329. Compare Homer Odys. VIII. 208. τίς ἂν φιλέοντι μάχοιτο.

v. 348. Ὀρῶ κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις κατάσκιον Νέον θ' ὄμιλον. The τε after νέον seems to be without meaning. For κλάδοισι we should perhaps read κλάδοις σέ. Compare v. 344. 381. 384. 418. 720. Eumenid. 135. Eur. Iph. 1069, et passim.

In v. 356 Professor Scholefield, from the interpretation of the scholiast, οὐ πτωχεύσεις, suspects that Æschylus wrote οὐ πένει. Mr Hermann has proposed the same conjecture, Praef. ad Eur. Ion. p. 14.

v. 392. Εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρίν, οὐκ ἄνευ δήμου τάδε Πράξαιμ' ἄν, οὐδέπερ κρατῶν καὶ μήποτε Εἶπη λεώς, εἴ που τι μὴ τοῖον τύχοι, Ἐπήλυδας τιμῶν, ἀπώλεσας πόλιν. 393 “μὴ eadem constructione qua v. 351.” Scholef. “μὴ καὶ ποτε ex Canteri emendatione Glasg. Schutz. Both. Burgess. Male. Vulgata bene se habet.” Wellauer. We confess that we are not satisfied with this reading, notwithstanding Mr Wellauer's decree in its favour. The change of καὶ μὴ into μὴ καὶ is easy, as the order of these particles has in other places been inverted by the transcribers. See Heindorf Plat. Theaetet. p. 388, and Æschyl. Pers. 534. But in this passage we suspect that the true reading is neither καὶ μήποτε nor μὴ καὶ ποτε but κού μήποτε. With the expression κού μήποτε εἶπη compare Eurip. fragm. incert. 96, κού μήποθ' ἀλῶ κακὰ πράσσων. Soph. El. 1029, ἀλλ' οὐποτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ γε μὴ πάθῃς τόδε. Eur. Helen 299. οὔτε μὴ σωθῇ ποτε. Herc. Fur. 718. οὐδὲ μὴ μόλη ποτε. Of

this use of the conjunctive of the aorist after οὐ μήποτε or οὐποτε μὴ our readers will find examples in Plato, Theaetet. p. 160, Phileb. pp. 15, 21, Phaedr. p. 260, Phaedo p. 105, Republ. II. p. 473, x. 609. Leg. XII. p. 942, Thucyd. iv. 95, Demosth. p. 309, and in many other passages. See Dawes Misc. Crit. p. 221; Wyttenbach Select. Hist. p. 263. (Herodot. i. 1. Ed. Gaisf.); Schæfer. Melett. p. 110; Heindorf. Plat. Phæd. p. 44; Elmsley Œd. Col. 177.

Such examples as the following are much rarer. *Æschyl.* Eumenid. 216. οὐτι μὴ λείπω ποτέ. (See the note of Wellauer; and to the instances which he has given of the use of the present, add Xenoph. Anab. II. 2. 12). Plato Crito p. 44. οὐδένα μήποτε εὐρήσω. Phaedo p. 66. οὐ μήποτε κτησόμεθα. *Æschines* p. 79. οὐ μήποτε ποιήσετε. Soph. Œd. Col. 176. Οὔτοι μήποτέ σ' ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐδράνων ὦ γέρον ἄκοντά τις ἄξει. 849. οὐκ οὖν ποτ'—ὁδοιπορήσεις. Electr. 1052. οὐ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαι ποτε. Philoct. 611. ὥς οὐ μήποτε πέρσοιεν. Eur. Phoen. 1584. οὐ μήποτε Σοῦ τήνδε γῆν οἰκοῦντος εὖ πράξειν πόλιν. In Soph. Œd. R. v. 870, the common reading is οὐδὲ μὴν ποτε λάθα κατακοιμάσει. Elmsley proposed οὐδὲ μὴ ποτε: and the truth of his conjecture has been placed almost beyond doubt by the Florentine MSS. all of which exhibit the conjunctive of the aorist.

v. 484. Πολλῶν τὰδ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἡζιωμένα, Αἰδοῖον εὖ ῥέοντα πρόξενον λαβεῖν. “Corrigebat Pors. εὐρεθέντα, quod post λαβεῖν vix aptum est. Vulgatam de oratione regis *benigne fluente* interpretatur Well. *prospera fortuna utentem* Heath. Vix potest esse *benigne loquentem*, ab Homericο ῥέω dico.” Scholefield. Mr Wellauer also rejects the emendation of Porson, because “abundat quodammodo, quum sequatur λαβεῖν.” This objection appears to arise from a misapprehension of the word αἰδοῖον, which is here used not in the passive sense αἰδοῦς ἄξιον, as in Homer Iliad III. 172, and many other passages, but actively, as in this play v. 28, δέξαιθ' ἱκέτην Τὸν θηλυγενῆ στόλον αἰδοίῳ Πνέυματι χώρας, and v. 189, αἰδοῖον Διός: compare Soph. Œd. Col. 1267. In these passages αἰδοῖος is nearly equivalent to οἰκτίρμων, *compassionate*; and the words αἰδοῖον εὐρεθέντα may be rendered, *qui benignus et misericors inventus est, quem benignum et misericordem experti sumus*. In this interpretation the word

εὐρεθέντα is by no means superfluous or unmeaning. On the use of the word αἰδῶς and its derivatives in the sense of *reverentia erga alios, clementia, misericordia*, see Elmsl. Heracl. 460; Reiske Ind. Demosth. αἰδεῖσθαι; Soph. Œd. Col. 237. 247. et passim. θράσος on the other hand often signifies *crudelitas, immanitas*, as in Prom. v. 42. ἀεὶ τε δὴ νηλὴς συ καὶ θράσους πλέως. In this passage Mr Dindorf has adopted εὐρεθέντα in his valuable and excellent edition of the Poetae Scenici lately published. If the words εὐρέοντα are to be retained we must understand them in the same sense as εὐροῇ, Pers. 604, ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροῇ, which may be rendered *votis secundet*. The word ρεῖν is used figuratively of persons as well as things. See Musgr. Eur. Hecub. 1031, and the notes on Demosth. p. 291.

With regard to the verb ῥέω *dico* we have been used to consider it as a fiction of the grammarians, only to be found in such respectable authors as the lexicons of Schrevelius and Hederic. The Attic dialect is also indebted to Professor Scholefield for the acquisition of the present tense ῥῶ. See his note on v. 979, κᾶωρα κωλύουσιν ὥς μένειν ῥῶ. We may add, that the words κωλύουσιν ὥς μένειν, which Professor Scholefield renders *manere non pati*, can scarcely bear this meaning, any more than *impedio ut maneant* could be used in Latin for *impedio quominus*. The Greeks say, κωλύω μένειν or μὴ μένειν. Ὡς μένειν is used in a sense directly opposite to μὴ μένειν, as in v. 922: τῶνδ' ἐφήλωται τορῶς Γόμφος διαμπάξ, ὥς μένειν ἀραρότως.

v. 591. Οὐ τινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου σέβει κάτω. “κάτω in κράτος mutari volunt Pauw. et Heath.” Well. Some mention should have been made of this conjecture, which has been adopted by Elmsley, on Soph. Œd. R. v. 2. and by Porson, Miscell. 209*, with the slight change of κράτος into κράτη.

* Neither Mr Wellauer nor Professor Scholefield has consulted the Miscellaneous Tracts, &c. of Porson, a book which has been styled “*plenus miraculorum*,” but which notwithstanding contains many conjectures and remarks well worthy of their author. In v. 965 of the Supplices Mr Wellauer detracts from the merit of Porson’s correction δορικανεῖ μόρω θανών, because he has not written the word δορικανεῖ with a υ instead of an ι. A French writer has said: “Aux choses les plus excellentes on peut toujours trouver un *mais*.” If however Mr Wellauer had

Porson cites the following passages in support of this reading. Agam. 249. ἤκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμνήστρα, κράτος. Soph. Antig. 166. σέβοντας εἰδὼς εὖ θρόνων αἰεὶ κράτη. Eur. Hipp. 5. τοὺς μὲν σέβοντας τὰμὰ πρεσβεύω κράτη. With the change of κράτη into κάτω, the reader may compare that of κάτει into κρατεῖς, Eur. Med. 1011. But though this correction appears very probable, we should hardly venture to remove κάτω from the text in defiance of all the MSS. The redundancy in the common reading, ἄνωθεν—κάτω, may be compared with that in Sept. c. Theb. 694. λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρου μόρου. Eur. Androm. 392. τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείς Πρὸς τὴν τελευτὴν ὑστέραν οὖσαν φέρει. Soph. Phil. 1100. τοῦ λώονος δαίμονος εἴλου τὸ κάκιον ἐλεῖν.

v. 600. Ἄλλ' ὥς ἀνηβῆσαι με γηραιᾷ φρενί. "Levem Tyrwhitti correctionem recepi pro ἂν ἡβήσαιμι." Scholefield. Mr Wellauer rejects this correction, the truth of which admits of no doubt, "quia aliud quid latere videtur." The change of ἀνηβῆσαι με into ἂν ἡβήσαιμι may be compared with that of ἀνιστορεῖς into ἂν ἱστορήσ in the Prom. v. 965. Soph. Œd. R. 578. Errors of this kind are very common. On the other hand there are passages in *Æschylus* which appear to require the separation of the syllable ἂν from the word it is combined with in the MSS. In the *Eumenides*, v. 256, ἀπὸ δὲ σοῦ Βοσκὰν φεροίμαν πώματος δυσπότου,

looked into p. 210 of the *Miscellaneous Tracts*, he would have found that Mr Kidd gives δορυκανεῖ μόρω θανῶν as the emendation of Porson. That Dr Blomfield should have written the word δορικανεῖ, Mr Kidd δορυκανεῖ, is not to be wondered at, as the correction probably fell from Porson in conversation, and Dr Blomfield always writes compounds of this kind with an ι. See his note on Agam. 115; and Lobeck on Soph. Aj. 255. "Forma per ιωτα in hujusmodi compositis probabilior est." Schæf. Demosth. p. 289. In the *Niobe*, fragm. 4, Professor Scholefield retains the common reading, θυμὸς δὲ ποτ' ἐμὸς οὐρανῷ κυρῶν ἄνω, and does not notice the correction of Porson (*Miscell.* p. 212.) οὐμὸς δὲ πότμος, which like almost all his conjectures upon *Æschylus* is no less certain than ingenious. On the *Prom. Solut.* fragm. 6, νεφέλην δ' ὑποσχὼν νιφάδι στρογγύλων πέτρων, Professor Scholefield remarks "Miror neminem in νιφάδι offendisse (ι ante στρ correpta) praeter Both. qui transponebat στρογγύλων νιφάδι. Vix ausim reponere γογγύλων." Γογγύλων had already been proposed by Porson, *Ibid.* p. 212; and this correction might without hesitation have been admitted into the text.

Καὶ ζῶντά σ' ἰσχνάνας ἀπάξομαι κάτω, the sense seems to require φέροιμ' ἄν in two words. In the Choeph. v. 396—*Boā* γὰρ λοιγὸν Ἐρινὺς Πάρα τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην Ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσαν ἐπ' ἄτη—Professor Scholefield has adopted λοιγὸς Ἐρινὺν, the correction of Hermann, which however, he intimates, is not altogether satisfactory. It appears to us much more probable that Æschylus wrote *βοᾷ* λοιγὸν Ἐρινὺς, *the Fury calls for slaughter**, than *βοᾷ* λοιγὸς Ἐρινὺν, *slaughter calls the Fury*. The latter reading would also require the future participle ἐπάξουσιν, instead of the present ἐπάγουσαν. We would propose to read without any change in the letters ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσ' ἄν ἐπ' ἄτη. In the same play, v. 989, the Aldine edition exhibits θίγουσιν instead of θιγοῦσ' ἄν. In the Supplices, v. 345, Professor Scholefield has justly adopted ἄν πέτρας, the ingenious correction of Dr Butler, instead of ἀμπέτρας, the reading of the MSS. See the note of Dr Blomfield on Æsch. Pers. v. 572. In the Choeph. 828, the MSS. exhibit ἀμφέρειν for ἄν φέρειν. With the two last examples compare συμφοίτω φρενῶν instead of σὺν φοίτω, Sept. c. Theb. 643. On the other hand, in Aristoph. Aves, v. 1337, γενοίμαν ἀετὸς ὑψιπέτας ὥς ἄν ποταθεῖην, we believe the true reading to be ἀμποταθεῖην in one word. Many similar errors still lurk undetected in the remains of the tragedians. In the edition of Sophocles lately published at Oxford we find εὐζαίμ' ἄν retained in the third fragment of the Creusa, a form no less barbarous than δύναίμ' ἄν, which has been removed from several passages of the tragedians.

v. 675. εὐφημον δ' ἐπιβώντων Μοῦσαι θεαί τ' ἀοιδοί.
 “Vulgo ἐπιβοῶεν contra metrum, nisi velis ἐπιβῶεν. Præbet MS. unus ἐπὶ βωμῶν, alii βώμοις, Ald. ἐπιβωμάν. Butleri conjecturam recepi.” Scholefield. “ἐπιβώντων conjecit Butler, quod mihi quoque verum videtur.” Wellauer. Neither Mr Wellauer nor Professor Scholefield has said any thing about the form of the verb ἐπιβώντων. We are not aware that any instance of a precisely similar contraction is to be met with in the tragedians. The regular Attic form βωόντων occurs in Aristoph. Acharn. 186: οἱ δ' οὖν βωόντων.

* See Schæfer on Eur. Phœn. 1170. βοᾷ Πῦρ καὶ δικέλλας ὥς κατασκάψων πόλιν.

We however find the Doric form *βωσάτω* in Aristoph. Pax, v. 1155; and *νένωται* for *νενόηται* is quoted from the *Ἑλένης γάμος* of Sophocles in the Etymolog. Mag. 601. 20. If any other examples of the kind occur in the tragedians, they have escaped our notice; and whether these are sufficient to defend the form *ἐπιβώντων*, we leave the learned to determine. In the Persae, v. 1011, *καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε, κάπιβόα τὸ Μύσιον*, Eustathius on Dionys. Perieget. v. 791 quotes *καὶ βόα*, instead of *κάπιβόα*. One of the critics gets rid of the anapæst by supposing a contraction in the two final syllables of *ἐπιβόα*. This opinion, and Dr Butler's conjecture on this passage of the Supplices, may perhaps mutually support each other.

v. 723. *Δορυπαγείς δ' ἔχοντες κυανώπιδας Νηᾶς*. The form *νηᾶς* for *ναῦς* is condemned by the grammarians, and is very rare in the Attic poets. It occurs however in Euripides, Iph. Aul. 240, as well as in Æschylus. Porson and Dr Blomfield have restored *ναὸς* instead of *νηὸς* in Eur. Med. 523, Sept. c. Theb. 62. Professor Scholefield retains *νηὸς* in the latter passage, and remarks: "Potuit Æschylus Ionicam formam retinere, etiamsi Euripides Atticam mallet. In Pers. 411 omnes in *νηῖ* consentiunt." He forgets that *νηῖ*, like *νηες* in the nominative plural, is the regular Attic form, the only one found in Thucydides and other Attic prose writers, who never use *νηὸς* in the genitive. See Thucyd. ii. 7, *δεχομένους μιᾷ νηῖ*, et passim. In support of *νηὸς* he might more correctly have quoted *νήϊος*, Æschyl. Suppl. 699; for which the Attic poets elsewhere use *ναῖος*, as in Pers. 328, *ναῖοισιν ἐμβολαῖς*, Eur. Med. 119. Iph. Aul. 260. 300, et passim, and *νηὸς*, Iph. Taur. 1385. *νηῶν*. 1486. There is reason however to suspect that these forms have been introduced by some transcriber more familiar with Homer than with the tragedians. In the Persae within the compass of two hundred lines some of the MSS. exhibit *νηὸς* for *ναὸς*, v. 305, *νευσὶν*, for *ναυσὶν*, vv. 362, and 440, *νηῶν* for *ναῶν*, vv. 375, 447, and 470, and so in many other passages of Æschylus and the other tragedians.

We now proceed to the Persae, which in Professor Scholefield's edition comes next in order to the Supplices.

v 96. *τίς ὁ κραιπνῷ ποδὶ πηδήματος εὐπετοῦς ἀναίσσων;*

“ἀναίσσων lectio est Turnebi. Ald. et Mss. quidam ἀνάσσω, quod miror praetulisse Wellauerum.” Scholefield. We confess that the reading of Wellauer appears to us the true one. Brunck and the other editors have had recourse to the figure antiptosis for an explanation of the reading adopted by Professor Scholefield, which without this expedient seems to be totally unintelligible: this figure is one of those unphilosophical shifts which the old grammarians found very helpful in cases of difficulty, but which critics of modern times have almost abandoned. The expression *πηδήματος εὐπετοῦς ἀνάσσειν*, *to be master i. e. capable of a successful leap*, may be compared with *ἐφόδων ἀνάσσεις*, Eur. Ion. 1049. Æschyl. Agam. 526, *πῶς δῆ; διδαχθεὶς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγον*. Shakesp. Midsum. N. Dream. II. 3. *I thought you lord of more true gentleness*. The words, *δεσπόζω, ἀνάσσω, δεσπότης*, and *ἀναξ*, are often used with great figurative boldness. Choeph. 170. Sept. c. Theb. 27. Soph. Phil. 140. Eurip. Teleph. Fragm. II.

v. 274. γὰρ ἀπ’ Ἀσίδος ἦλθ’ ἐπ’ αἶαν Δίαν, Ἑλλάδα χώραν. “Praebet MS. unus δαΐαν, unde Blomf. δάαν.” Scholefield. “δάαν Blomf. quod non displicet.” Wellauer. The editor has not noticed the deviation from the Homeric usage in the quantity of the word *Δίαν*, the final syllable of which in Homer is always short. Is there any authority for lengthening it? We have met with no example in Æschylus or Sophocles; but on the other hand we find no passage in their writings in which this word is used as a trochee. It is obvious that the quantity of the final syllable cannot be determined from such examples as Æsch. Suppl. 4. *Δίαν δὲ λιποῦσαι χθόνα*. *ibid.* v. 1043. In the Rhesus however we find the words *καὶ κάμψειε πάλιν*, in the antistrophe v. 235, corresponding to *ὦ δία κεφάλαια* in the strophe v. 226; and Mr Dindorf in the preface to his edition of the Poetae Scenici, p. 20, has endeavoured to introduce the word *δία* as a spondee into an unsound passage of the Iphigenia in Taur. v. 403; which, it appears to us, has been more successfully corrected by Elmsley: we do not consider either of these passages as decisive. We agree with Mr Wellauer in thinking that *δάαν*, the reading of Dr Blomfield, is more suitable than *Δίαν* in the mouth of a chorus of Persians; and we are by no means satisfied that it is not necessary to the metre. The

quantity of the final *αλφα* in substantives and adjectives of the first declension is one of the many questions in Greek criticism which still present a wide field for doubt and discussion. In v. 397 of the Sept. c. Theb. Professor Scholefield has, we think rightly, restored the old reading, *τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἡ ἀνοία τινί**, to which he has added the following note. "Vulgatam dubitanter reliqui. Blomf. *ἐννοία*. Semel tantum in Androm. 521. *ἀνοία* sine controversia ultimam producit. In Philoctet. 129. *ἄγνοια* ante *πρ* potest positione produci, potest etiam *ἀγνοία* legi." "*Ἀγνοια, ἀνοια, διάνοια, δύσνοια, δύσγνοια, ἐννοια, ἐπίνοια, εὐνοια, μετὰγνοια, μετάνοια, παράνοια, πρόνοια, σύγγνοια, σύννοια, ὑπόνοια*, all occur in the tragedians; and there are perhaps a dozen instances in Euripides in which the final syllable is necessarily short†.

But in addition to the three examples quoted by Professor Scholefield in which the final *α* of these compounds is long, we find in the Trachiniae, v. 350, *ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐξείρηκας ἀγνοία μ' ἔχει*, †—in the Tereus of Sophocles, fragm. vii. 5, (apud Stob. Tit. lxxviii. 283), *τερπνῶς γὰρ αἰὲν πάντας ἀνοία τρέφει*, —in a fragment of Aristophanes quoted by Eustathius, 1579, 30

* In this passage we should have written neither *ἡ νοία* nor *ἡ ἀνοία*, but *ἀνοία*, in conformity with the rule of Porson, "Articulus cum *a* brevi in *a* longum semper coalescit." That the Attic poets wrote *ἀνὴρ, ἀγών, ἄρχων, ἀντὸς, ἀρετή, ἀγορά, ἀλήθεια*, &c. might be convincingly proved from the multitude of passages in which we find the article omitted in the MSS. and the old editions, before nouns beginning with *a*.

† The following are we believe nearly all the instances in Sophocles and Euripides in which the final syllable of these compounds is necessarily short. *ἀνοια* Soph. Antig. 603. Eur. Hippolyt. 400. *δύσνοια* Soph. El. 654. Eur. Hecub. 959. *δύσγνοια* Eur. Herc. Fur. 1098. *ἐννοια* Eur. Helen. 1025. *ἐπίνοια* Soph. Antig. 389. Eur. Phœn. 419. *εὐνοια* Soph. Trach. 710. Eur. Troad. 7. *πρόνοια* Soph. Antig. 283. Ajac. 536. Œd. Col. 1180. Iph. Aul. 864. Orest. 1178. *σύννοια* Eur. Heracl. 382. Soph. Antig. 279. *σύγγνοια* Soph. Antig. 605. *ὑπόνοια* Eur. Phœn. 1149. We have not noted all the examples which occur in Æschylus, but we observe *εὐνοια* in the Prom. v. 444, *διάνοια* Eumenid. 967, and *παράνοια* S. C. Theb. 738.

‡ This instance from the Trachiniae has been already quoted by Dr Blomfield and Mr. Wellauer. Professor Scholefield, we suppose, adopts *ἀγνοία*, the reading of Triclinius, which has been justly rejected by Brunck and Hermann.

(where the reader will find additional confirmation of our remarks on the quantity of the last syllable of nouns ending in *οια* and *εια*), ὦ παρανοία καὶ ἀναιδεία—and in fragm. Soph. incert. 58, (apud Plutarch. de aud. Poet. 7), στενωπὸς Ἰδίου καὶ παλιρροία βυθοῦ. In the last of these examples the accent is erroneously placed over the antepenultima of παλιρροία even in the late Oxford edition of Sophocles. The final *α* of παλιρροία, the derivative of παλιρροῦς, ought regularly to be short, by the same rule as the last syllable of εὔνοια from εὔνοος, εὐπλοια from πλοῦς, and εὔσοια from σοῦς or σῶς. Æschyl. Suppl. 1030. τί ποτ' εὐπλοϊαν ἔπραξαν; Sophocl. fragm. apud Schol. Œd. Col. 390: ἐπεὶ δὲ βλάστοι τῶν τριῶν μίαν λαβεῖν Εὔσοϊαν ἀρκεῖ. But we need go no further than this same play of Æschylus for an example of a similar but still more unusual licence, which, if we remember rightly, all the editors have passed over without notice. We refer to the quantity of the last syllable of εὐκλείαν in Sept. c. Theb. 682, κακῶν δὲ καίσχρῶν οὔτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς. In this example also the accent is misplaced in many of the editions: even in that of Wellauer it stands over the first syllable of εὐκλείαν. We believe that no other instance will be found in tragedy, in which the final *α* of εὐκλεία or δύσκλεία is long; and we have noted more than a dozen in which it is necessarily short.

It is a well known law of prosody that the final *α* of substantives in *εια* derived from adjectives in *ης* is short, while that of the other form in *ια* is long, as in εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβία, and many similar examples. But to this rule also we find exceptions, as for instance ὑγίεια and πλουθυγίεια in Aristophanes. To determine with precision what licences the Attic poets allowed themselves with regard to the quantity of the last syllable of nouns ending in *α*, would require more time and space than we can afford. We shall only remark that great caution is necessary, before we can venture to condemn any deviation from ordinary usage in the quantity of this termination. In the Rhesus, v. 762, the true reading, ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς εὔνασ' Ἐκτόρεια χεῖρ, has lately been restored by Mr Dindorf. Ἐκτορέα χεῖρ εὔνασε, the reading of a single MS. had been admitted into the text, on the supposition that the final syllable of Ἐκτόρεια was necessarily

long. Mr Dindorf has quoted two examples in support of the common reading, Πολυδεύκεια χείρ Etymolog. Mag. 461. 45, and Διομήδεια γε Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. 1029. But though we are well aware that irregularities of this kind are not hastily to be condemned, we should scarcely venture to defend the common reading in the Sept. c. Theb. 692, φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρά μοι πατρὸς τέλει' ἀρά, which we believe cannot be supported by any similar example from the remains of the Attic poets. In this passage, τελεῖν, the reading of Turnebus, has been approved by Mr Hermann, and adopted by Dr Blomfield, but, as it appears to us, introduces a very harsh and unusual construction. We would propose to read, with the slight change of ε into α, φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρά μοι πατρὸς τάλαιν' ἀρά, comparing Eur. Hippolyt. v. 1236, ὦ πατρὸς τάλαιν' ἀρά.

Before we quit this subject, we have a few remarks to add upon a passage of the Choephoræ, v. 743: Οὐ γάρ τι φωνεῖ παῖς ἔτ' ὦν ἐν σπαργάνοις, ἢ λιμὸς, ἢ δίψη τις, ἢ λιψουρία ἔχει. Professor Scholefield passes over this passage without any remark*. Mr Wellauer also retains the reading of the MSS. and in his note says, "Mihi quidem forma δίψη propter analogiam verbi διψῆν toleranda videtur, quemadmodum πείνα et πείνη dicitur, vid. Lex. Seguer. p. 470." On the other hand Elmsley, in his note on Eur. Med. v. 480, maintains that δίψη is no less barbarous than γλώσση; and this form has also been condemned by Buttmann, Gr. Gr. Vol. II. 395, and by Dindorf Praef. ad Poet. Scenic. 26. For examples of the common form δίψα see Duker on Thucyd. VII. 85, and Dr Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 490. If any change is necessary in this line, we should prefer δίψ' εἴτις to any of the corrections hitherto proposed. But we cannot but think that the form δίψη, to which there are many similar ones, has been rather unfairly singled out for condemnation. In support of it we might alledge the gloss of Hesychius, δίψην δίψαν: but we suspect the true reading of that gloss to be

* In the next line but one Professor Scholefield has printed φαιδρυντρία with the accent over the penultima, instead of φαιδρύντρία, as it is correctly printed in other editions. The final α of verbal substantives in τρία is short. Aristoph. Nub. 42. εἴθ' ὥφελ' ἢ προμνήστρι' ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς.

διψῆν διψᾶν. In the De Republica of Plato, ix. p. 585, the reading of the old editions is πείνα καὶ δίψη: the modern editors retain πείνα, but for δίψη they have restored δίψα on the authority of almost all the MSS.

On the other hand we find πείνη in the Lysis p. 221, and the Philebus p. 52. Compare the note of Pierson on Mœris p. 183. But though we cannot produce any undoubted instance of the form δίψη, we have met with many other nouns which unquestionably possess the double termination in α and η: in some of these the transcribers have entirely obliterated all trace of the rarer or more ancient form, which has only been recovered by the sagacity of modern critics. It is well known that all nouns ending in α, which form the genitive in ης, shorten the final syllable of the nominative and accusative. In opposition to this rule we find πρύμναν with the final syllable long in the MSS. of Sophocles Philoct. v. 482, Aristoph. Vesp. 399; and we know of no example in any Attic author where the MSS. have preserved the form πρύμνη, which Dr. Elmsley and the later editors have restored, and no doubt correctly, in those passages, and which is recognized by Phrynichus, Anecd. Bekker. i. 66. In the Ion of Euripides, v. 1416, we have a similar offence against metre in the words ὡς ἔχει τι δεινὸν ἢ τόλμα γέ σου. In this passage Mr Hermann corrects ἢ γε τόλμα σου. Mr Dindorf, we think with more probability, has restored the form τόλμη, which is also recognized by Phrynichus l. c. but of which we believe no other example can now be found in the Attic writers, though it is not improbable that it may have been displaced in other passages by the common form τόλμα, the only one known to the transcribers. In the orators we find both εὐθύνη and εὐθυνα, see Schæfer on Demosth. pp. 17, 717.

v. 332. Τοιῶνδ' ἔ γ' ἀρχόντων νυν ὑπεμνήσθην πέρι. "Canteri emendationem ἀρχῶν receperunt Blomf. et Well. Sed neque ἀρχὸς vox admodum tragica est, et omnes MSS. in ἀρχόντων consentiunt. Jam, me judice, longe melius ad sensum νυν quam νῦν. De secunda in ὑπεμνήσθην correpta cf. supra 290." Scholefield. The word ἀρχὸς does not, we believe, occur in tragedy; but ἀρχῶν, the reading adopted by Dr Blomfield, comes not from ἀρχὸς but from ἀρχή. We have little doubt that this is the true reading, and that

ἀρχόντων is a gloss which has been introduced into the text by the transcribers. See Dr Blomfield on the *Agam.* 123. *μαχίμους ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας, Πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς.* In this passage also *ἀρχούς*, the interpretation of some grammarian, has crept into the text of two manuscripts. The reading of Professor Scholefield is we think inadmissible for more reasons than one. We know no example of a vowel remaining short before *μν*, at all like that which this reading introduces into the text: and it is incredible that *Æschylus* should have had recourse to such a licence, when he might so easily have avoided it by writing *τοιῶνδ' ἔγ' ἀρχόντων νυν ἐμνήσθην πέρι*, or *τοιῶνδ' ἔγ' ἀρχόντων ὑπεμνήσθην πέρι*. We do not indeed go so far as to assert with Brunck, in his note on *Soph. Aj.* 1077: "*Nuspian apud Atticos scenae poetas vocalis ante literas κτ, πτ, μν, corripitur, ne quidem in diversis vocibus;*" but we believe that there is not a single instance in the Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapaestic metres of tragedy, in which a vowel remains short before *μν* in the same word, except one in the spurious scene of the *Iphigen.* in *Aul.* v. 1573. *στρατός τ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ θ' ὁμοῦ.* Even at the end of a word a vowel very rarely remains short when the next word begins with *μν*. In the many thousand verses extant in the three principal metres, there are, we believe, but two instances of this kind in the tragedians; and in both of them the licence is employed in favour of a word which could not otherwise be admitted into the verse*. *Eurip. Iph. Aul.* 68. *δίδωσ' ἐλέσθαι θυγατρὶ μνηστήρων ἕνα*, and 847. *ἀλλ' ἢ πέπονθα δεινά; μνηστεύω*

* It is well known that the difficulty or impossibility of introducing a word into the verse without some violation of rule is the excuse for many, perhaps we may say most, of the irregularities in Greek prosody. Examples of this kind afford little or no sanction for the use of the same licence in favour of words which are admissible without this deviation from rule. The first syllable in *ἀθάνατος*, *ἀκάματος*, *ἀπάλαμος*, etc. which is naturally short, is lengthened by the poets, because the four short syllables in succession would have excluded these words from the Heroic and many other metres. One of the critics has erroneously quoted such instances as these in support of *ἀθεμίστως* with the first syllable long in *Æsch. Choeph.* 635: and to alledge the examples, *δίδωσ' ἐλέσθαι θυγατρὶ μνηστήρων ἕνα*, *Iph. Aul.* 68, *ἀλλ' ἢ πέπονθα δεινά; μνηστεύω γάμους*, *Ibid.* 847, in defence of *νυν ὑπεμνήσθην πέρι*, would be an error of a similar kind.

γάμους. In the Trachiniae, v. 1136, the MSS. have ἅπαν τὸ χρῆμ' ἤμαρτε, χρηστὰ μνωμένη. But here the sense as well as the metre requires μωμένη, the correction of Brunck, which has been adopted by all the modern editors. It is true that we find four or five instances of this licence in the choric metres, (in which we also find such words as ἄμπυξ and νύμφη with the first syllable apparently short;) but, to say nothing of the great uncertainty in which the text and metres of the lyric parts of tragedy are still involved, we believe that even in them such instances are confined to words which could not without great difficulty be introduced in their regular quantity: such as ὑμνήσω, ὑμνωδεῖ, μέμνησθαι. In Eur. Med. v. 441, the common reading is Ἑλλάδι τὰ μεγάλα μίμνει, where the first syllable of μίμνει appears to be short; but Porson has adopted μένει, the reading of one MS. and has been followed by the later editors. We are surprised therefore to find an irregularity of this kind introduced in the Iambic metre, in a passage where there is the greatest discord in the MSS. and in favour of a word which has not the plea of being inadmissible without the aid of this licence*. Professor Scholefield adds, "Jam me judice longe melius ad sensum νυν quam νῦν." We wish he had produced some instances of such a use of the enclitic νυν, which we suspect is without example in the Attic writers. In the Attic dialect νυν, we believe, is never used with the indicative in transitions or affirmative sentences, except in connection with μὲν or τοί. Used by itself the only moods with which it is joined are the optative, the imperative, and the conjunctive of the aorist after μή, and it always indicates a command, prohibition, prayer, or entreaty. In the Iphigen. in Aul. v. 412, where the old editions exhibit σκήπτρῳ νυν αὐχεῖς, σὸν κασίγνητον προδοῦς, αὖχει, the correction of Markland, has been with good reason adopted by the modern editors. Compare Eur. Hippolyt. 952, ἥδη νυν αὖχει, and Eur. Suppl. 504, ἥ νυν φρονεῖν ἄμεινον ἐξαύχει Διός†.

* We observe that Professor Scholefield does not object to a vowel remaining short before γμ, a licence of which, we believe, no instance is to be found in the Attic poets. See his note on Sisyph. fragm. 6.

† In interrogative sentences a few instances may be found of the use of νυν with the indicative, independent of μὲν or τοί, but in most of these the reading is doubtful, and we have not noticed any such in the Attic poets in transitions or narrations.

We shall take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the quantity of the enclitic *νυν*, illustrating its uses by examples. On the Sept. c. Theb. 231—Μή *νυν*, εἰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους Πύθηςθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἀρπαλίζετε—Professor Scholefield has the following note: “*νύν* Well. *νυν* Blomf. Negat hic particulae *μή* subjici *νυν* nisi encliticum; ille, *νυν* encliticum produci. Utramque regulam incertam puto, hanc autem minus: hic tamen et infra, v. 235, *νυν* propter sensum recepi.” That *νυν* the enclitic is always short, is an erroneous canon of the grammarians, which we did not expect to find revived in the present day. That this syllable is often long has been remarked even by Brunck on Acharn. 1230. So far from being always short, as the grammarians assert, in tragedy we find it as often long as short; and in Aristophanes it is always long. See Brunck, Ran. 321. Elms. Acharn. 1230. *Œd. R.* 644. Soph. Aj. 994, and Hermann’s note. Monk. Mus. Crit. No. I. p. 73. ad Alcest. 1096. Dobree, Aristoph. Plut. 976. We find *μή νυν* before a vowel, *Æsch.* Sept. c. Theb. 231. 235. Soph. Antig. 705. Soph. El. 324. Ajac. 1129. *Œd. R.* 644. 975. Aristoph. Vesp. 758. 922. Pac. 1050. Lysistrat. 285. 788: and in most of these passages the sense clearly requires the enclitic. We shall add a few examples of the several uses of this particle*, which we think will sufficiently prove that it may be used indifferently either as short or long.

1. *Æschyl.* Prom. V. 762. ὡς τοίνυν ὄντων τῶνδέ σοι μαθεῖν πάρα. Aristoph. Acharn. 819. τὰ χοιρίδια τοίνυν ἐγὼ φανῶ ταδί. Aves. 151. τουτὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἤδη ἔγω. Ranæ. 321. ἡσυχίαν τοίνυν ἄγειν Βέλτιστόν ἐστιν. The transcribers,

* We observe that in Soph. Trach. 441—Ἐρωτι μὲν *νυν* ὅστις ἀντανίσταται Πύκτης ὅπως εἰς χεῖρας—μὲν γ’ οὖν, the reading of one of the Florentine MSS. has been adopted in the late Oxford edition. These particles are very rarely, we had almost said never, combined by the tragedians. The MSS. of Stobæus, Tit. 63. 24, and some of Sophocles exhibit μὲν οὖν, which is a corruption of the true and common reading μὲν *νυν*. The particles μὲν *νυν*, μὲν οὖν, μὲν δὴ, are perpetually confounded: see Dr Monk, Hippolyt. 20. τούτοις μὲν *νυν* οὐ φθονῶ. Porson, Orest. 1215. σὺ μὲν *νυν*, σύγγον’ Ἠλέκτρα, δόμων Πάρος μένουσα, and the notes on *Æschyl.* Pers. 404. τὰ πρῶτα μὲν *νυν* ῥεύμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ Ἀντεῖχεν, Eur. Heracl. 834. τὰ πρῶτα μὲν *νυν* πίτυλος Ἀργείου δορὸς Ἐρρήξαθ’ ἡμᾶς, Aristoph. Plut. 728. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφήψατο. In the passage of the Persæ the common reading is τὰ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ.

supposing the metre to be defective, have in very many passages introduced γε after νυν and τοίνυν used long before a vowel.

2. Homer *Iliad*. Ψ. 485. δεῦρό νυν, ἣ τρίποδος περιδόμεθον, ἥε λέβητος. Aristoph. *Nub.* 644. περιίδου νυν ἐμοί, Εἰ μὴ τετράμετρον ἐστὶν ἡμῖεκτεον.

3. Eur. *Alcest.* 151. ἴστω νυν εὐκλεῆς γε κατθανομένη. Soph. *Electr.* 616. εὖ νυν ἐπίστω τῶνδ' ἐμ' αἰσχύνην ἔχειν. *Œd. R.* 657. εὖ νυν ἐπίστω ταῦθ' ὅταν ζητῆς, ἐμοί.

4. *Æschyl.* *Prom.* V. 82. ἐνταῦθά νυν ὕβριζε. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 1001. ἐνταῦτά νυν οἰμῶξι πρὸς τὴν αἰτρίαν. *Vesp.* 149. ἐνταῦθά νυν ζήτει τιν' ἄλλην μηχανήν. Plut. 724. ἐνταῦθά νυν κάθησο. In all these passages the sense appears to require the enclitic, as Dr Blomfield has printed it in that of *Æschylus*.

5. Eur. *Suppl.* 569. κάμου νυν ἀντάκουσον, εἰ βούλει, πάλιν. *Æschyl.* *Choeph.* 329. κλυθί νυν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐν μέρει. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1382. ἄκουσόν νυν ἐμοῦ. Plut. 976. ἄκουέ νυν — ἦν μοί τι μεираκίον φίλον. After ἄκουε or ἄκουσον, as in many other expressions, the Greeks use either δὴ or νυν indifferently. *Æschyl.* *Prom.* V. 634. ἐπεὶ προθυμεῖ χρὴ λέγειν. ἄκουε δὴ. Very often also they combine the two particles, as in Eur. *Hecub.* 831. ἄκουε δὴ νυν· τὸν θανόντα τόνδ' ὀράς;* *Iph. Aul.* 1009. ἄκουε δὴ νυν, ἵνα τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχη καλῶς.

6. Soph. *Trach.* 92. χώρει νυν, ὦ παῖ. Eur. *Androm.* 91. χώρει νυν, ἡμεῖς δ'. Eur. *Phœn.* 986. χώρει νυν, ὥς σὴν πρὸς κασιγνήτην μολών. *Orest.* 1695. χωρεῖτέ νυν ἕκαστος οἱ προστάσσομεν. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1114. χωρεῖτέ νυν· οἶμαι δέ σοι. Eur. *Bacch.* 1370. στείχε νυν, ὦ παῖ, τὸν Ἀρισταίου. *Orest.* 795. ἔρπε νυν οἶαξ ποδός μοι.

* Our younger readers must be careful to distinguish between δὴ νυν with an imperative, and δὴ νῦν, or νῦν δὴ with an indicative. Dr Elmsley has confounded the uses of these adverbs in his note on Soph. *Aj.* v. 994. Ὀδός θ' ὁδῶν πασῶν ἀνιάσασα δὴ Μάλιστα τοῦμόν σπλάγχχον ἦν δὴ νῦν ἔβην. In δὴ νυν after an imperative, νυν is always enclitic; in νῦν δὴ or δὴ νῦν with an indicative, it always bears the meaning of time. See Dr Monk, *Hippolyt.* 233. νῦν δὴ μὲν ὄρος βᾶσ' ἐπὶ θήρας Πόθον ἐστέλλου. Heindorf, on Plat. *Charmid.* p. 66. ἅ δὴ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, and on *Gorg.* p. 7. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐπηγγελλόμεν. As a general rule we may remark that νυν, when it is placed after the verb, is almost always an enclitic.

7. Aristoph. Vesp. 381. ἄγε νυν, ἣν αἰσθομένω τοῦτο.
430. εἰά νυν, ὦ ξυνδικασταί, σφῆκες ὀξύκαρδιοι.

8. Eur. Hel. 972. ἥ νυν ἐκείνους ἀπόδος ἐμψύχους πάλιν,
ἥ τήνδ' ἀνάγκασόν γε. Compare the note of Markland.
Suppl. 514. ἥ νυν φρονεῖν ἄμεινον ἐξάυχει Διὸς, ἥ θεοὺς
δικαίως τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπολλύναι.

9. Alcest. 750. ἔρροις νυν αὐτός, χῆ ξυνοικήσασά σοι.
Soph. Œd. R. 644. μή νυν ὀναίμην, ἀλλ' ἀραῖος, εἰ σέ τι
Δέδρακ', ὀλοίμην. Aristoph. Ran. 177. ἀναβιώην νυν πάλιν.
Lysistr. 531. σοί γ', ὦ κατάρατε, σιωπῶ ἔγω, καὶ ταῦτα
κάλυμμα φορούση Περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; μὴ νυν ζώην. Æschyl.
S. c. Theb. 399. τὸν ἀμόν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν Θεοὶ δοῖεν.
Aristoph. Lysistr. 285. μή νυν ἔτ' ἐν τετραπόλει τοῦμόν
τροπαῖον εἶη. Compare Vesp. 758. We will not deny that
in some of these examples it may be a question whether νῦν,
the adverb of time, is not as suitable to the sense, as νυν
the enclitic. If our readers will consult Mr Wellauer's notes
on Prom. v. 505, Sept. c. Theb. 224, 399, (in all which pas-
sages Professor Scholefield has properly restored the enclitic,)
they will see that this is a matter about which it is very easy
to cavil*. For this reason we have been perhaps rather pro-
fuse in our quotations; and though some of the examples
taken singly may be open to exception, we think that taken
together they establish the point we have been endeavouring
to prove.

v. 406. ὥς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν Ἡθροιστο. “Ἡθροιστο
Blomf. quia Ptolemaeus Ascalonita apud Eustath. 1387. 7.
tradit Attice ἄθροος dici—*ineptissime*.” Wellauer. The same
writer in a note on the Agamemnon, v. 97—ὥς ἂν δόλῳ
κτείναντες ἄνδρα τίμιον Δόλῳ τε καὶ ληφθῶσιν ἐν ταυτῷ
βρόχῳ θανόντες—says: quod Blomf. constructionem hujus-
modi esse (statuit) ὥς ληφθῶσιν δόλῳ τε καὶ ταυτῷ βρόχῳ,
id falsum esse et ordo verborum arguit, et sequens θανόν-
τες, quod ille *dolose* omisit. Since the times of Pauw and

* As a specimen of Mr Wellauer's style of criticism, we annex his
note on Prom. v. 505. μὴ νῦν βροτοὺς μὲν ὠφέλει καιροῦ πέρα. “μὴ νυν
auctore Porsono Blomf. male, loquitur enim chorus de iis quæ nunc
facienda sunt.” This is no bad sample of what logicians call a *petitio
principii*.

D'Orville, we scarcely know any scholar who has betrayed so great a want of charity and courtesy towards his brethren as Mr Wellauer. Against Dr Blomfield and Dr Elmsley* in particular we find him levelling his censure in almost every page of his *Æschylus*, with an asperity which we know not how to account for, unless we are to attribute it to jealousy of their deservedly high reputation.

Envy doth merit as its shade pursue,
And, like a shadow, proves the substance true.

We would remind him that the more a man knows, the more he finds he has yet to learn, and that an overweening self-confidence, and a contempt for the judgement of others, are proofs not of superior intelligence, but of ignorance and presumption. It would cost us but little time and pains to read Mr Wellauer an instructive lesson upon his own liability to err. The scholar who proposes to read ἡρέσω as the second person singular of the aorist ἡρόμην†,—who supposes that the first syllable of ἀράμενος is short‡,—who asserts that ἔσσεται is a form which occurs frequently in the dialogue of tragedy§, —who in one passage|| quotes τῆς δ' ἔστε βουλῆς against Dr Blomfield, and in another¶ censures Schutz for introducing this very reading,—who supposes that the common combination ἀν εἰ with an optative in the apodosis is equivalent to

* The union of great learning and acuteness, with equal modesty, candour, and fairness, was never more conspicuous than in the late lamented Dr Elmsley. Such a man should have been protected from harsh and contemptuous censure, not only by the great services he has rendered to Greek literature, but by his uniform forbearance towards the errors of others, and his ingenuousness in acknowledging and retracting his own.

† Eumenid. 204.

‡ Eumenid. 161. See Etymolog. Magn. p. 38. Porson, Miscell. p. 52. Elms. addend. Bacch. v. 344. Aristoph. Pac. 763. et passim.

§ Pers. 120. vide VV. D.D. ad Soph. El. 118. et Dawes, Misc. Crit. p. 276. Mr Wellauer perhaps means that the double instead of the single σ is frequent in the dialogue. This is rather a bold assertion; but allowing it to be correct, it goes very little way in defending the form ἔσσεται. Mr Wellauer, we suspect, forgot that the Attics do not say ἔσσεται but ἔσται.

|| Sept. c. Theb. 491.

¶ Choeph. 98. Mr Wellauer's *dolose* might here be retorted upon himself; but this is a weapon we should be sorry to borrow from him.

εἰ ἀν*,—who translates *παρὰντὰ similiter*†, and *σωφρονεῖν κεχρημένοι sapientia usi*‡,—who rejects the beautiful emendation of Porson, *Agam.* 1365 §, because “*verbum finitum desideratur*,”—who fathers upon Elmsley a correction which he never proposed, and then condemns him for proposing it||—who denies that a vowel can remain short before βρ or χρ in the middle of a word¶, and omits the final ν before a mute and liquid**, where it is necessary to the metre, notwithstanding the chastisement which Porson inflicted upon Wakefield for the same error, retaining it on the other hand before two mutes or a double consonant, where it is worse than unnecessary††,—who proposes as his own‡‡ a correction of Tyrwhitt, *Agam.* 475; of Elmsley, *Prom.* v. 577; of Hermann, *Suppl.* 90; of Blomfield, *Agam.* 139; (compare also *S. c. Theb.* 595; with the note of Dr Blomfield),—the scholar who has these and many equally glaring errors on record against him, has no right to be very severe in his censures upon the blunders or oversights of others.

ὁράτω τόνδε τὸν νόμον τιθείς,
μὴ πῆμ' εἰαυτῷ καὶ μετὰ γνοίαν τιθῇ.

* *Agam.* 336.

† *Agam.* 719. cf. *Eurip. fragm. Incert.* 76. *παρ' αὐτὰ δ' ἡσθεὶς ὕστερον στένει διπλά.*

‡ *Persæ* 815.

§ *Χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἡσσον ἢ διοσδότῳ γάνει Σπορητός.* This use of the nominative after *ὡς*, *ἢ*, and other adverbs of comparison, is very common, and has been amply illustrated by Porson himself, *Miscell.* p. 210.

|| *Suppl.* 923.

¶ *Pers.* 533. cf. *Eur. Med.* 1164. *στέγας, ἀβρόν βαίνουσα παλλεύκῳ ποδί.*

** *S. c. Theb.* 594. *θραυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσι φρενῶν βία*, et sic passim et consulto.

†† See his notes on *Agam.* 863. *Suppl.* 697. *Pers.* 622. We scarcely need add that the final ν is omitted or inserted at random in the MSS. with little or no regard to metre. See Heyne *Excurs. ad Iliad* II. 718. Porson *Collat. Cod. Harl.* p. 5. This is more especially true of the MSS. of *Æschylus*. See the various readings in Mr Wellauer's edition on *Suppl.* vv. 22. 368. *Prom.* V. 616. 688. *Pers.* 439. 563, and many other passages. We hope to recur to this subject again.

‡‡ We do not mean to accuse Mr Wellauer of intentional plagiarism. We quote these instances *οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος*, and only wish to prove to him that charges of fraud and deception are not lightly to be laid at the door of others, and that they are very apt to recoil upon their author.

To the list we have already given we might easily add many other proofs of Mr Wellauer's fallibility as a critic; but we have no wish to dwell on this ungrateful subject; and we trust we have already said enough to prove to Mr Wellauer that he will do an act of prudence as well as of justice and charity, if in the second edition of his *Æschylus* he expunges the harsh expressions he has used towards his contemporaries. *Desinat Maledicere, malefacta ne noscat sua.* We hope also to find a change in the style of his criticism. It would be well if he would accustom himself more to prove and reason, instead of being so prone to dogmatize and condemn. In almost every page of his edition, we find occasion to address him in the words of Terence; *Rem potius ipsam dic, ac mitte male loqui.* To return to the word ἠθροιστο—in his note upon it Mr Wellauer pronounces his opinion, as usual, *pro imperio*, and we are left to conjecture whether he is aware that some of the most learned critics, both in ancient and modern times, have concurred with Dr Blomfield in writing ἀθροίζω. If he is, we cannot but admire his presumption, in visiting so many distinguished scholars with so rude and severe a mark of censure: if he is not, let him look to himself, before he ventures to reproach others with ignorance. Our readers will find the authorities for and against ἀθροίζω in the notes of Pierson on Mœris. 19, Porson, Coll. Cod. Harl. Odyss. A. v. 27, Elmsley, Acharn. v. 26, Heyne, Iliad. B. v. 439, Ξ. v. 38, Schæfer, Demosth. 558. Mr Bekker, whose authority on a question of palæography is at least equal to that of Mr Wellauer, has always aspirated this word in his edition of Demosthenes; and we believe that he has been followed by Mr Dindorf. With regard to the passage of the Choephoræ, we greatly prefer the explanation given by Dr Blomfield on the Agam. 97, to that which he has since proposed, and to those which have been offered by other critics. We cannot but think that Mr Hermann must have changed his opinion about the use of τε for εἴτα in *Æschylus*. The construction in Agam. v. 97, λέξασα—γενοῦ τε, is neither uncommon nor peculiar to *Æschylus*: but the use of τε in that sentence differs we think entirely from its use after κτείναντες, in Choeph. 550. On these passages we hope to state our opinion more fully on some future occasion.

v. 535. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ νῦν Περσῶν Τῶν μεγαλαύχων.
 “Deest syllaba. Inseruit Blomf. μὲν ante Περσῶν. Fors.
 δῆ.” Scholefield. We should prefer inserting τῶν with
 Elmsley. The omission of the article in this and similar
 constructions is a very common error: see Bast. et Schæf.
 Epist. Crit. Append. p. 3. In the Supplices, v. 3, the MSS.
 exhibit, ἀπὸ προστομίῳ λεπτοβαθῶν. v. 954. βάζει λαῶν
 ἐν χώρῳ. Choeph. 468. Θεῶν κατὰ γᾶς ὅδ’ ὕμνος. In all
 these passages it is probable that τῶν has escaped from the
 text.

v. 542. Διὰ μυδαλέοις δάκρυσι κόλπους Τέγγουσ’, ἄλγους
 μετέχουσαι. “δια μυδαλέοις vulgo dicunt per tmesin dictum
 esse, pro διατέγγουσι μυδαλέοις δάκρυσι, sed vix in tmesi
 praepositio tam longe a verbo suo removeri potuit. Hac, ut
 videtur, causa permotus editor Glasg. διαμυδαλέοις dedit, pro-
 bante Blomfieldio in appendice. Sed ea vox nusquam legitur.”
 Wellauer. Διαμυδαλέοις has been adopted by Professor Schole-
 field. Διατέγω occurs, we believe, only in a corrupt passage
 of Eurip. Iph. Taur. 405: and διαμυδάλεος is a word nowhere
 else to be met with. We find however a similar form in
 Aristoph. Vesp. 328. ἥ με κεραυνῷ διατινθαλέῳ Σπόδισον
 ταχέως. But in that passage Porson writes διὰ τινθαλέῳ in
 two words, supposing διὰ to belong to σπόδισον, as in this
 verse of Æschylus it has commonly been referred to τέγγουσι.
 In the Nubes, v. 161, διὰ λεπτοῦ in two words has been pro-
 perly restored by Reiske. In this passage of Æschylus we
 see no sufficient reason for altering the old reading. Instances
 of tmesis occur in the tragedians in which the preposition is
 even further removed from the verb, as in Æschyl. Prom. V.
 880. ὑπὸ μ’ αὖ σφάκελος καὶ φρενοπληγεῖς Μανίαι θάλπουσι.
 cf. Agam. 1188. Soph. Trach. 130. ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πῆμα καὶ χαρὰ
 Πᾶσι κυκλοῦσιν. Eur. Orest. 341. ἀνὰ δὲ λαῖφος ὥς τις ἀκάτου
 θοᾶς Τινάξας. Iph. Taur. 832. κατὰ δὲ δάκρυν ἀδάκρυα, κατὰ
 δὲ γόος ἅμα χαρᾷ Τὸ σὸν νοτίζει βλέφαρον. Phœn. 169. περὶ
 δ’ ὠλένας Δέρμα φιλτάτα βάλοιμι χρόνῳ Φυγάδα. Suppl. 829.
 κατὰ με πέδον γᾶς ἔλοι, Διὰ δὲ θύελλα σπάσαι. Pind. Olymp.
 ix. 54. ἀπὸ μοι λόγον τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥίψον. If we write διαμυ-
 δαλέοις in one word, we are at a loss to know the meaning
 of the preposition in this compound. Διατέγω may be com-
 pared with διαβρέχω in Æschyl. fragm. apud Athenæum. ii. 67.

v. 640. Παντάλαν' ἄχῃ διαβοάσω. Νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου. We do not remember that any of the editors has noticed the barbarous form βοήσω in the former of these lines. The future of βοᾶν is βοήσομαι: βοήσω occurs only in this passage. But we do not mean to question the reading of the MSS. A note of interrogation after διαβοήσω will give a meaning to the passage much more in unison with the context; and thus βοήσω will be the conjunctive of the first aorist, instead of the indicative of the future. This use of the conjunctive in interrogations is almost too common to require illustration. See the notes of the editors on Eur. Med. 1272. παρέλθω δόμους. The meaning of the passage will then be: *Must I persist in proclaiming my sorrows? or does he already hear me from the regions below?* The preposition διὰ in the verb διαβοάσω may mean either διαρρήδην, *diserte*, or διὰ τέλους, *usque ad finem*. See Wolf on Demosth. Lept. p. 246, and Loewe on Homer, Odyss. iv. 215.

Dr Elmsley, in his note on Eurip. Iph. Taur. v. 342, has expressed his surprise that no one has drawn up a list of verbs, the present tense of which ends in ω, and the future in μαι. On this subject the grammars even of modern scholars are very defective; and few errors in criticism are so common as that of supposing the existence of an active future, where the middle is the only form in use. Thus we find one or more of the editors introducing διώξω in Æschyl. Prom. Solut. fragm. 6. ὑπερθορῶ, Suppl. 851. ἀκούσω, Eumenid. 599. Agam. 1406. θαυμάσω, Prom. V. 404. ἐκπλεύσω, Soph. Philoct. 381. ἀπαντήσω, Eur. Suppl. 774. ξυναρπάσω, Aristoph. Lysistr. 437. σιγήσω, Ran. 253. σπουδάσω, Demosth. p. 583. Of these forms the greater part are barbarous, and the rest less common than the form in μαι. Another error scarcely less frequent is, that of inferring from the active use of the middle future the existence or the active use of a present tense in μαι. See Dindorf on Thucyd. iii. 40. Maltby, Thesaur. s. v. γρύζομαι.

There are some verbs which possess two active futures, the one ending in ω, the other in μαι. Thus the Attics use in an active sense both,

βλέψω, Soph. Œd. Col. 1437; and βλέψομαι, Schæfer, Vol. I. No. 2. G G

Demosth. p. 799. ἀναβλέψομαι, Eur. Herc. Fur. 563. προσβλέψομαι, Iph. Aul. 1192.

ἐξαμήσω, Aristoph. Lysistr. 363. ἐξαμήσομαι, Eur. Cyclops 236.

ἐγκωμιάσω, Æschines, p. 88. ἐγκωμιάσομαι, Æschin. p. 18. Plato, Sympos. p. 198. Isocrat. pp. 86. 110. ed. Bekker, et passim.

ἐπαινέσω. Elms. Eur. Bacch. 1193. Æschyl. Eumenid. 800. Soph. Electr. 1044. Poppo Xenoph. Cyrop. p. 44. Schæfer Demosth. p. 583. ἐπαινέσομαι, Demosth. pp. 27. 538. Plato, Menexen. p. 236, et passim. The form in ω has sometimes (we think without reason) been changed by modern editors into the commoner one in ομαι, as in Plato, Sympos. 214.

ἐστήξω, Aristoph. Lysistr. 634. καθεστήξω, Thucyd. III. 37. 103. ἀφেষτηξω, Xenoph. Anab. II. 4. 5. ἐστήξομαι. Matthiæ. Gr. Gr. §. 205. and on Iph. Aul. 665.

ζήσω, Aristoph. Plut. 264. fragm. incert. 497. ed. Dind. and ζήσομαι, Kidd on Dawes, p. 3.

θίζω. προσθίζω, Eur. Heracl. 652. θίζομαι, Hippolyt. 1089.

θηράσω, Eur. Iph. Taur. 1427. Soph. Phil. 958. θηράσομαι, Eur. Bacch. 228. Iph. Taur. 1325. et passim.

θηρεύσω, Æschyl. Prom. V. 860. θηρεύσομαι, Plato, Sophist. p. 222.

κρύψω, Soph. Philoct. 915. οὐδέν σε κρύψω, et passim. κρύψομαι, Soph. Trach. 474. πᾶν σοι φράσω τᾶληθές, οὐδὲ κρύψομαι. Demosth. p. 273. τᾶληθές ἐρῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. p. 342.

κολάσω, κολῶ. Andocid. p. 143. Demosth. pp. 605. 676. Xen. Cyrop. VII. 5. 83. Anab. VII. 7. 24. Kidd on Dawes, p. 117. κολάσομαι, κολῶμαι, Aristoph. Equit. 456. Vesp. 244. Xenoph. Anab. II. 5. 13. Porson, Miscell. p. 33, who denies the use of the active form.

κωκύσω, Æschyl. Agam. 1286. κωκύσομαι, Aristoph. Lysistrat. 1222.

ναυστολήσω, Eur. Suppl. 474. Hecub. 634. ναυστολήσομαι, Troad. 1048.

ποθέσω, ποθήσω, Matthiæ, Gr. Gr. §. 177. Herodot. v. 93. ποθέσομαι. Heindorf, Plat. Phæd. §. 106.

παραινέσω, Soph. Œd. Col. 1181. παραινέσομαι, Plato, Menex. p. 236, et passim.

σπάσω, Eur. Orest. 1147. ἐπισπάσω, Sophocl. apud Hesych. s. v. ἀποσπάσω, Eurip. Heracl. 249. σπάσομαι, S. c. Theb. 1028. διασπάσομαι, Aristoph. Ran. 477. Ecclesiaz. 1077.

τεθνήξω and τεθνήξομαι. See the notes on Aristoph. Vesp. 654. Acharn. 325. 590. Æschyl. Agam. 1250. Heindorf on Plat. Gorg. p. 78. Thom. Mag. p. 835.

τεύξω from τεύχω, Matthiæ, Gr. Gr. §. 251. τεύξομαι. Æschyl. Agam. 1203. δίκην Ἀτῆς λαθραίου τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.

τοξεύσω, Aristoph. Nub. 944. τοξεύσομαι, Xenoph. Cyrop. I. 4. 4, et passim.

τέξω, Æschyl. Prom. V. 852. 871. Eur. Troad. 742. Aristoph. Equit. 1037. Thesmoph. 516. τέξομαι, Æsch. Prom. V. 770. Aristoph. Lysistr. 745.

φροντιῶ, Eur. Troad. 434. Aristoph. Nub. 125. φροντιοῦμαι, Iph. Taur. 342.

χέσω, Aristoph. Thesmoph. 570. χέσομαι or χεσοῦμαι, Aristoph. Vesp. 941. fragm. apud Polluc. vi. 3. ἐπιχεσοῦμαι, Lysistr. 441.

χορεύσω, Eur. Bacch. 372. 559, et passim. χορεύσομαι, Æschyl. Agam. 30.

χωρεῖν has no other future than χωρήσομαι. Eur. Hecub. 52. Androm. 1055. Suppl. 598. Electr. 875. Soph. Electr. 403, et passim. But its compounds have both the active and the middle form. ἐκχωρήσω, Herodot. II. 139. προσχωρήσω, Thucyd. II. 80. προσχωρήσομαι, ibid. III. 4. VI. 88. προχωρήσω, I. 129. ξυγχωρήσω, I. 140. Demosth. p. 84. Æschin. p. 44. συγχωρήσομαι, Eur. Iph. Taur. 742.

There are other verbs, which in the Attic dialect possess only the future in *μαι*, but of which the active future occurs in the other dialects, or in writers of a later date. Thus we find διώξω (which has been removed from Aristoph. Nub. 1296, Equit. 969, and other passages) in Pind. Olymp. III. 81. Isthm. VIII. 73:—σιωπήσω, in the letters attributed to Æschines, p. 680. ed Reiske:—ᾶσω and ἀείσω in several passages of Theognis, Theocritus, and Callimachus:—ἀκόνσω*

* ἀκόνσω was a form not altogether unknown to the earlier writers, if we are to believe the following note in Anecd. Bekker. 372. 14. ἀκουσέτην Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη, ἀκούσεσθαι δὲ Ἀριστοφάνους. But we have little doubt that

in Lycophron, and the Alexandrian writers: (see the notes of Schæfer on Epist. Phalarid. p. 25, and on Demosth. p. 281): οἰμῶζω in the Greek romances, Longus for instance, in p. 110. ed. Bipont:—κλαύσω in Theocritus:—γελάσω in the odes attributed to Anacreon: in all which instances the Attics, we believe, used only the middle future. In Eur. Alcest. 740, οὐκ ἐγγελάς γέροντα βαστάζων νεκρόν, Mr. Matthiæ supposes ἐγγελάς to be the contracted form of the active future. But this contraction, and the active form of the future, are equally unauthorized; and the sense admits, or rather requires, the present tense: compare ἐκφέρεις, v. 732, and the words καί με τόνδ' ἔα θάψαι νεκρόν, v. 745. Heindorf, on Plat. Phæd. §. 106, mentions πνέω as a verb possessing both forms of the future. He refers we suppose to συμπνεύσοντα in Demosth. p. 284, the only example we have met with of the active form πνεύσω; which has been justly condemned by the modern editors. The verbs which like βοᾶν possess only the future in μαι, are far more numerous than those of which the Attics use the active or the middle future indifferently. We shall perhaps take some other opportunity of giving a list of those which we have noticed.

v. 788. Εἰ μὴ στρατεύοισθ' ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήνων τόπον, Μηδ' εἰ στρατεύμα πλείον ἦν τὸ Μηδικόν. “Vulg. εἰ—ἦ quod inconcinne et audacter mutant in ἦν—ἦ*. Quod dedi nihil fere mutat, siquidem ι in fine vocis, sive subscriptum sive adscriptum, cum ν saepissime confunditur. Sane post εἰ στρατεύοισθε debebat sequi εἰ εἶη, quocum vim cognatam habet ἦν.” Scholefield. On verse 453 of the same play—Ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ' ὅπως † ὅταν νεῶν Φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ ἀκουσέτην is an error of the transcriber's. If Sophocles had used ἀκούσω, he would have written ἀκούσετον not ἀκουσέτην. Such forms as διώζω, ἀμαρτήσω, ἀπαντήσω, ἄσω, αἰίσω, ἀπολαύσω, and many others of the kind (which have been justly condemned by critics), occur sometimes in the MSS. of the Attic writers: but in such instances the verb is almost always in the second person singular, and is often followed by a word beginning with σ; as in Aristoph. Nub. 1296. οὐκ ἀποδιώξεις σαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας; We need not add what inference may fairly be drawn from this observation, the proof of which we hope to bring forward at some future time.

* This assertion is somewhat inconsistent with Professor Scholefield's remark on Eumenid. 225. “Multa docent quam librariis in proclivi fuerit εἰν et εἰ confundere.”

νῆσον ἐκσωζοίατο—he observes, “Pene mihi persuaseram, ut cum Elmsl. ὅταν in ὅτ’ ἐκ mutarem, sed audacius id videbatur; ὅταν igitur obelo notavi: quod vix credo cum optativo conjungi posse. Aliter censet Herm. ad Vig. §. 256. ad quod tamen confirmandum praeter hunc locum adducitur tantum Plato, Sympos. §. 42. ὁπόταν γοῦν ἀναγκασθείημεν, ubi Bekkerus, monito Codd. non paucos omisso γοῦν legere ὁπότ’ ἐν, subjicit *quod verum videtur*”. The use of ὅταν in the former of these passages is not hastily to be condemned. Compare Soph. Trach. 164: χρόνον προτάζας ὡς τρίμηνον ἥνικ’ ἂν Χώρας ἀπείη. We find ἥνικ’ ἂν prefixed to an optative in Demosth. p. 48. ὁπόταν, p. 609. ἐπειδάν, p. 865. ἕως ἄν, Andocid. p. 11; and in Aristoph. Plut. v. 119 Mr Bekker has lately edited ἐπεὶ πύθοιτ’ ἄν. The use and meaning of the optative with ἂν after adverbs denoting time has been defined and illustrated by Mr Hermann, Praef. ad Soph. Trach. and Mr Schæfer, ad Hesiod. Op. et Di. 131, and on the passages of Demosthenes. If our readers will consult their notes, they will allow, we think, that ὅταν in the passage of the Persae is correct, and that the omission of ἂν would give a different meaning to the optative ἐκσωζοίατο.

With regard to the use of the conjunctive after εἰ, this construction also is now almost universally recognized by scholars. See the note of Elmsley on Œd. Col. 1443. δυστάλαινά τάρ’ ἐγώ, Εἴ σου στερηθῶ. Praef. ad Œd. R. p. 28. We find four examples of it in Æschylus, Eumenid. 225, Suppl. 86, 394, and Pers. 788. In the last of these passages—μηδ’ εἰ στρατεύμα πλεῖον ἦν τὸ Μηδικόν—the correction of Professor Scholefield introduces a solecism in the use of the past tense ἦν in a future sense, instead of the optative εἴη.

Professor Scholefield justly remarks, that no confusion is commoner in the MSS. than that of the final ν and the ι subscript or ascript. In two other passages of Æschylus—Agam. v. 412, μάταν γάρ, εὐτ’ ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὀράν κ. τ. λ. and Choeph. 169, μῶν οὖν Ὀρέστου κρύβδα δῶρον ἦ τόδε—he has substituted the one for the other with much better success than in this line of the Persae: in the former passage he reads ὀράν, in the latter ἦν. In both instances we believe that he has restored the true reading. The use of ἦ, the third person of the conjunctive, after μῶν is a

solecism, and must not be confounded with such expressions as, *ποῖ τις οὖν φύγῃ*. Soph. Aj. 403; Aristoph. Plut. 438; *ἔρωτᾷ πῶς με θάπτῃ*. Plat. Phæd. p. 115; *ἀλλά σὺ εἶπέ, παρὰ τίνος ἔλθῃ Ἀθηναίων*. Menon. p. 92; and similar examples which are very common. In the two first of these passages *τις* is equivalent to *ἐγώ*. In the two last the first person of the verb would have been used in the direct or independent expression of the interrogation. The conjunctive in interrogative sentences always bears a meaning equivalent to *χρὴ* with the infinitive, and is never used either in direct or indirect interrogations, except where the verb in the direct expression of the question refers to the person of the speaker*. Thus the tragedians use indifferently in the same sense, *ποῖ χρὴ φυγεῖν*; *ποῖ φύγω*; and *ποῖ τις φύγῃ*; *ποῖ χρὴ τραπεῖσθαι*; *ποῖ τράπωμαι*; and *ποῖ τις τράπηται*; and so in many expressions of the same kind: but *ποῖ φύγῃς*: and *ποῖ φύγῃ*; in the second and third person would be contrary to the idiom of the language. A similar solecism has lately been removed by Mr Dindorf from the Herc. Fur. of Eurip. v. 1416, where the common reading is *πῶς οὖν ἔτ' εἶπῃς ὅτι συνέσταλμαι κακοῖς*;

v. 982. *ἔταφον, ἔταφον, οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς Τροχηλάτοισιν ὀπισθεν ἐπόμενοι*. “Valchenaerii emendationem *ἔταφεν*, h. e. *ἐτάφησαν* recipere dubitavi, quia *θάπτω* potest esse ex iis verbis, quorum aoristus secundus passivam vim induit; cujusmodi sunt *ἵστημι*, *σβέννυμι*, *ἀλίσκω*, *φύω*.” Scholefield. Mr Wellauer and Professor Scholefield appear to suppose that the only difficulty about the word *ἔταφον* is the passive use of the active aorist. But the word itself, if we mistake not, occurs nowhere else in the Attic writers; and we believe it to have been a form no less unknown to the tragedians, than *ἔσκαφον* from *σκάπτω*, *ἔρριφον* from *ρίπτω*, *ἔβλαβον* from *βλάπτω*, *ἔβαφον* from *βάπτω*, *ἔρραφον* from *ράπτω*, and the like, which are only to be found in the writings of

* The conjunctive has very often been introduced erroneously in interrogative sentences. In the Choeph. 587. *ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι*; Soph. Antig. 604. *τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι*; several distinguished scholars have proposed to read *λέγῃ* and *κατάσχη*, *malum, quod aiunt, malo sanantes*. The *conjunctivus deliberativus* is altogether inadmissible in these passages for more than one reason.

grammarians. In the Sept. c. Theb. 421, Professor Scholefield has adopted *πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δειν', ἃ μὴ κράνοι τύχη*, the reading of the later editors. The second aorist *ἔκρανον* from *κραίνω* we have little hesitation in pronouncing to be no less barbarous than *ἔχρανον* from *χραίνω*, *ἔκρινον* from *κρίνω*, *εὐφράνον* from *εὐφραίνω*, *ἔρῳρανον* from *ῥαίνω*, *ἐμάρανον* from *μαραίνω*, *ἐμίανον* from *μιαίνω*. The aorists of these verbs are *ἔκρανα*, *ἔχρανα*, *ἔκρινα*, *εὐφράνα*, *ἔρῳρανα*, *ἐμάρανα*, *ἐμίανα*, all which are to be found in the tragedians. Verbs ending in *ῥαίνω* possess only the first aorist active. In the Agam. v. 1602, Professor Scholefield retains the reading of the MSS. *πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ πῆσας μογῆς*: and remarks "Miror V.V. D.D. qui, quia Schol. ad Pindar. citat *παίσας*, hac sola auctoritate, quae nulla est, *πῆσας* in *πταίσας* mutant." We should have expressed ourselves with much less confidence in defence of the word *πῆσας*. *Ἐπησα* for *ἔπαθον* is at least as questionable a form as *ἔπεσα* for *ἔπεσον* (Monk Alcest. 476), *ἔλησα* for *ἔλαθον* (Poppo Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 6. 1. Schæfer. Demosth. p. 281), *ἦξα* for *ἦγαγον* (Elms. Soph. Aj. 1081), *ἔλειψα* for *ἔλιπον*, (Heind. Plat. Gorg. p. 201. Elms. Bacch. 1380), and many similar forms which have been expelled by modern critics from the text of Attic writers. Professor Scholefield appears to have forgotten that there were very few barytone verbs of which the first and second aorist active were both used by the Attics. See Matthiæ, Gr. Gr. §. 190. In the tragedians and Aristophanes we find both *ἔπεισα* and *ἔπιθον*, *ἔκτεινα* and *ἔκτανον*, *ἔθρεξα* and *ἔδραμον*, *ἔτεξα* and *ἔτεκον*, *ἔκλαγξα* and *ἔκλαγον*, and some moods of the two forms *ἦνεγκα* and *ἦνεγκον*, *εἶπα* and *εἶπον*: but it would be difficult to name many more.

We have neither space nor time to pursue this subject at present. We shall merely add that in the passage of the Sept. c. Theb. 421, Mr Dindorf has properly restored *κράνοι*, the reading of the Medicean and other MSS. and that in Agam. v. 1602 he retains *πταίσας*, the correction of Porson. In the Persæ v. 982, we have no doubt that the word *ἔταφον* is corrupt. *Ἐτάφην* the second aorist passive of *θάπτω* occurs frequently in the tragedians: see Porson Phœn. 986. Eur. Troad. 738. Suppl. 186: and in this passage Mr Dindorf reads *ἔταφεν*, the conjecture of Valckenaer, which had been admitted

into the text by Brunck and the succeeding editors, but has been rejected by Mr Wellauer, who doubts whether the contraction ἔταφεν for ἐτάφησαν is admissible in tragedy. To this objection we attach very little weight. The termination εν for ησαν in the third person plural occurs not only in Homer, Pindar, Theocritus, and the other Ionic and Doric poets; but in the Attic dialect αἶεν, εἶεν, οἶεν, for αἶησαν, εἶησαν, οἶησαν, are the common terminations of the third person plural of optatives ending in αἶην, εἶην, and οἶην. In the indicative also besides ἐκρυφθεν for ἐκρύφθησαν, which occurs in the dialogue Eur. Hippolyt. 1247, we find ἐκόρεσθεν in a hexameter, Aristoph. Pax. 1283, and κατένασθεν in the anapæstic metre, Vesp. 662. But ἔταφεν is not very satisfactory; and we suspect that the error in this word lies rather in the first syllables than the last.

We shall add a few remarks on the Prometheus, which Professor Scholefield places next to the Persæ.

v. 42. αἰεῖ τι δὴ νηλής συ, καὶ θράσους πλέως. “Blomf. αἰεῖ γε e correctione; Well. vulgatam αἰεῖ τε retinet et defendit, de qua tamen constructione dubito. Omnes fere MSS. vel τι vel τοι.” Scholefield. Τὶ here is wholly unmeaning; and the combination τί δὴ, like πῶς δὴ, Agam. 529, πότε δὴ, Choeph. 709, ποῦ δὴ, Eur. Helen. 1218, ποῖ δὴ, Choeph. 719, and many others of the same kind, is always interrogative, as in Pers. v. 713: καὶ τί δὴ πράξασιν αὐτοῖς ὧδ' ἐπιστενάζετε; In affirmations the order is inverted, as in δὴ που, δὴ ποτε, δὴ ποθεν, &c. and in the combinations ὧδε δὴ τι, οὕτω δὴ τι, ὥς δὴ τι, of which the reader will find examples in the notes of Schæfer on Demosth. p. 376, and Stallbaum on Plato, Republ. II. p. 366. In this passage Mr Dindorf has restored αἰεῖ γε δὴ, the correction of Brunck. We are inclined to agree with Mr Wellauer in preferring αἰεῖ τε, which has sufficient sanction from the MSS. With regard to the position of the particle τε, we would refer our readers to an excellent note of Schæfer, Ind. ad Poet Gnom. p. 367.

v. 116. Θεόσσυτος, ἢ βρότειος, ἢ κεκραμένη. We are surprised that Professor Scholefield should have restored Θεόσσυτος, with an anapæst in the second place, which is so easily removed by the correction Θεόσυτος. The tragedians

use both ἔσσυμαι and ἔσσυμαι, ἐσσύθην and ἐσύθην. The insertion of the second σ is a common error in the MSS. Κραιπνόσσυτον in v. 287, θεόσσυτον v. 614, λαβρόσσυτος v. 618, are the readings of the MSS. and in all these instances the metre requires the single σ. For δορυσσόοις, Sept. c. Theb. 118, Dr Blomfield reads δορυσσοῖς. Mr Wellauer and Professor Scholefield have erased the second σ. Compare the note of Dr Monk on Hippolyt. 573.

v. 362. Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς. “Vulgatum procul dubio corruptum in textu reliqui.” Scholefield. Of the conjectures hitherto proposed in this passage, the most probable, we think, is that of Wunderlich: Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀνέστη θεοῖς, which has been adopted by Mr Dindorf, who compares Hom. Iliad. ψ. 634. πύξ μὲν ἐνίκησα Κλυτομήδεα, Ἥνοπος υἱόν, Ἀγκᾶιον δὲ πάλῃ Πλευρώνιον, ὃς μοι ἀνέστη. A very ingenious correction has been suggested to us by a learned friend. He proposes to read θοῦρον ποσίν, referring to the description of Typhoeus in Hesiod, Theogon. v. 821, which bears a remarkable resemblance to the passage before us, and in which we find especial mention of the feet of this giant, in the words, καὶ πόδες ἀκάματοι κρατεροῦ θεοῦ.

v. 339. πάντων μετασχῶν καὶ τετολμηκῶς ἐμοί. In this line the dative ἐμοί is governed by the preposition μετά, the force of which extends from μετασχῶν to τετολμηκῶς. In Agam. v. 1418,—πιστὴ ζύνεunos, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων Ἰστοτρίβης—ισοτρίβης, the correction of Pauw, has been adopted by most of the modern editors. Professor Scholefield retains ἰστοτρίβης with Mr Wellauer, who justly remarks “Societatis notio ex praecedente ζύνεunos repetenda videtur.” Compare Soph. Antig. v. 537, καὶ ζυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας, with the note of Brunck, and Eur. Iph. Taur. v. 685, καὶ ζυσφαγῆναι καὶ πυρωθῆναι δέμας.

v. 489. ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων Χρεία κατεσκέλλοντο, πρὶν γ' ἐγὼ σφίσιν Ἐδειξα κράσεις κ. τ. λ. “πρὶν ἐγὼ Ald. quod reciperem, si mihi persuasum haberem πρὶν produci posse.” Scholefield. Mr Wellauer and Mr Dindorf have retained πρὶν ἐγὼ, the reading of the Medicean and many other MSS. In v. 789 the same editors have restored οὐ δῆτα πρὶν ἐγὼ γ' ἂν κ. τ. λ. which is also supported by the greater part of

the MSS. Mr Wellauer asserts that *πρὶν* may be used as a long syllable, referring his readers to his Comment. *Æschyl.* p. 68, where however he does not bring forward any other instance in proof of it. In Homer we find several passages in which *πρὶν* is long before a vowel, as *Iliad* vi. 81, *πάντη ἐποιχόμενοι πρὶν αὐτ' ἐν χερσὶ γυναικῶν*. In this line Heyne finds a prop for the metre in the *geminatio liquidæ*, an expedient which Brunck and some living critics have found very serviceable in similar emergencies. Again *Iliad*. ix. 403, *τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης πρὶν ἐλθεῖν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν*, and xvi. 322, *ἔφθη ὀρεξάμενος πρὶν οὐτάσαι*. In both these passages Heyne seems to think the metre rather lame, and regrets that the useful little particle *γε* has not stepped in to support it. *Odyss.* iv. 668. *Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε βίην πρὶν ἡμῖν πῆμα φυτεῦσαι*. We find *πρὶν* too very frequently long at the beginning of a line, where the poet does not often employ the *cæsura* to lengthen a short vowel. In the *Acharn.* of Aristoph. v. 176, the reading of the MSS. is *χαῖρ' Ἀμφίθεε. ἈΜΦ. μήπωγε, πρὶν ἂν στῶ τρέχων*. Brunck, Elmsley, Dindorf, and Bekker have all written *μήπω, πρὶν ἂν γε στῶ τρέχων*: but in his edition of the *Poetae Scenici* Mr Dindorf has restored the reading of the MSS. In *Lysistrat.* v. 1005, the Ravenna MS. and the old editions exhibit *ἔωντι πρὶν ἅπαντες ἐξ ἐνὸς λόγου*, and this reading also has lately been restored by Mr Dindorf. These instances may perhaps make it a question whether *πρὶν* is not a word *ancipitis quantitatis*, like the enclitic *νυν*, and the final syllable of the datives *ἡμῖν* and *ὑμῖν*.

647. *μή μου προκῆδον μάσσον ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ*. “*ὥς nam, siquidem*,” Scholef. “*ἢ ὥς Vienn. A. C. idemque a Turnebo in Cod. repertum receperunt Brunck. et Schutz. Herm. ad Vig. p. 720, vulg. ita defendit, ut ὥς pro ἢ positum esse exemplis contendat, cui assentirem si vel unum locum attulisset, ubi ipsum illud ὥς legitur*.” Wellauer. We have little doubt that Mr Hermann's interpretation is the true one: the words *ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκὺ* cannot, we think, bear the meaning assigned to them in the interpretation adopted by Professor Scholefield. The use of *ὥς* after comparatives is by no means so rare as Mr Wellauer supposes. See *Lysias* p. 109. *ἡγούμενος μᾶλλον λέγεσθαι ὥς μοι*

προσῆκε. p. 111. ἅπαντα προθυμότερον πεποίηκα ὥς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠναγκαζόμεν. In both these passages Taylor inserts ἢ before ὥς, which Mr Bekker has justly rejected. Thus also in Plato Republ. vii. p. 526. ἃ γὰρ μείζω πόνον παρέχει—ὥς τοῦτο. In iii. p. 410, we find ἢ ὥς in the same construction, μαλακώτεροι γίνονται ἢ ὥς κάλλιον αὐτοῖς. In the same way the Greeks use ἄλλο ἢ, ἄλλο ὥς (Eurip. fragm. Incert. 75), and ἄλλο ἢ ὥς (Plato Republ. i. p. 335). Our readers will find the use of ὥς and ἢ ὥς after comparative adjectives fully illustrated in the notes of the editors on these passages. Compare also Schæfer Theocrit. ix. 35, and Fritzsch. Quaest. Lucian. p. 89.

v. 730. ἐκηβόλοις τόξοισιν ἐξηρτημένοι. “ἐξηρτημένοι *suspensi*, ut Horatianum illud: *Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto*.” Scholefield. “Forsan quis suspicetur ἐξηρτυμένοι.” Blomfield. We need not remind the reader that such constructions as *suspensi loculos* are very common both in Greek and Latin. Compare Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. 494. πώγωνας ἐξηρτημένας, Æschin. p. 77. ἐξηρτημένος ἐπιστολάς, and the note of Villoison on Longus p. 82. But the use of the accusative in these passages cannot be compared with that of the dative τόξοισιν in the line of Æschylus: we doubt whether any example of a similar construction can be produced: and ἐξηρτυμένος has so often been changed into ἐξηρτημένος, that we cannot but think there is great probability in the correction suggested by Dr Blomfield. In Herodot. vii. 147, τοῖσί τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ, ἐξηρτημένοι is the reading of the Medicean and other MSS. The reader will find other examples of the same error in the notes of Schæfer on Schol. Apollon. Rhod. p. 205, and on Demosth. p. 123.

v. 956. ὃδ' οὖν ποιεῖτω πάντα προσδοκητὰ μοι. We should scarcely think it worth while to remark that in this and similar passages we ought to read ὁ δ' οὖν, if we had not observed many instances in which this use of the imperative after δ' οὖν and a pronoun has escaped the notice of scholars. Compare Soph. Œd. R. 669. ὁ δ' οὖν ἵτω, κείνῃ με παντελῶς θανεῖν. Aristoph. Acharn. 186. οἱ δ' οὖν βοώντων. Lysistrat. 491. οἱ δ' οὖν τοῦδ' οὐνεκα δρώντων ὅτι βούλονται. Æschyl. Eumenid. 217. σὺ δ' οὖν δίωκε. 848.

σὺ δ' οὖν μένοισ ἄν. Soph. *Œd. R.* 310. σὺ δ' οὖν—ῥῦσαι σεαυτὸν καὶ πόλιν. Incert. *Rhes.* 868. σὺ δ' οὖν νόμιζε ταῦτα. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 726. σὺ δ' οὖν ἴθ'. *Androm.* 258. σὺ δ' οὖν κάταιθε. Aristoph. *Nub.* 39. σὺ δ' οὖν κάθευδε. *Vesp.* 6. σὺ δ' οὖν παρακινδύνευε. *Ibid.* 764. σὺ δ' οὖν βάδιζε. In the *Choephor.*, v. 570—σὺ δ' οὖν, σὺ μὲν φύλασσε τὰν οἴκῳ καλῶς—Ὑμῖν δ' ἐπαινῶ γλῶσσαν εὐφημον φέρειν—Professor Scholefield has adopted *νῦν οὖν σὺ μὲν φύλασσε*, the correction of Dr Blomfield, which, we confess, appears to us languid and unnecessary. Σὺ μὲν is added in this passage, in order to mark more distinctly that the injunction is addressed to Electra alone, and not to the chorus also, to whom Orestes afterwards turns round with the words Ὑμῖν δ' ἐπαινῶ. The two lines are a repetition of the commands he had already given, v. 546, ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος· τήνδε μὲν στείχειν ἔσω, Αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμάς. We find a similar repetition of the pronoun σὺ after σὺ δ' οὖν in the *Ran.* v. 31, σὺ δ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὄνον οὐ φῆς σ' ὠφελεῖν, Ἐν τῷ μέρει σὺ τὸν ὄνον ἀράμενος φέρε. In this passage the pronoun is repeated, in order that the words σὺ τὸν ὄνον may be placed in immediate juxtaposition, as in the verse of *Æschylus* σὺ μὲν is added after σὺ δ' οὖν in order to mark the opposition between these words and Ὑμῖν δὲ in the next line but one.

v. 1034. Αὐθαδία γὰρ τῷ φρονοῦντι μὴ καλῶς, Αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς μεῖζον σθένει. “*Aeque ac nihil valet.*” Scholefield. Mr Wellauer's interpretation is much more precise: *Ipsa per se nihil, vel potius neminem superat.* Almost all the editors have, we think without reason, adopted *μεῖον* the correction of Stanley: οὐδενὸς μεῖζον σθένει, *nullam rem viribus superat*, is equivalent to πάντων ἔλασσον σθένει, *rebus omnibus (vel infirmissimis) infirmior est.* In support of *μεῖζον*, the reading of the MSS., the editors might have quoted the following passage of Demosthenes. Speaking of the soldiers of Philip, he says, p. 23. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ τινος ἤκουον—οὐδένων εἰσι βελτίους, that is ἀπάντων εἰσι χείρους.

We have now trespassed so long on the indulgence of our readers, that we must take our leave of Professor Scholefield for the present. We may perhaps be able to continue our remarks on his edition at some future time.

J. W.

ON THE AGE OF THE COAST-DESCRIBER, SCYLAX OF CARYANDA:

FROM THE GERMAN OF NIEBUHR.

IT was not till a late age that the Greeks learnt to separate their information concerning nations and countries from that which belongs more especially to history, and to embody it in works distinct from their historical narratives, to which, from the time of Hecataeus downward, as we still see with delight and with profit in Herodotus, it gave their principal charm. Chronology, and all those accurate investigations of particular points which we moderns deem so indispensable in history, were to their minds merely a secondary matter: and their prime aim was, what no doubt ought to be the prime aim of every historian, to give a living picture of the various nations that they could draw within the circle of their narrative, of their peculiar characteristics, their way of life and manners, their country, and the remarkable objects (*θαύματα*) with which nature or the hand of man had enriched it. Thucydides thinks it necessary to insert a description of Thrace, of Macedonia, of Sicily, when the course of his history carries him thither: and the same practice went on much later. Even after geography had been severed from history, so as to become a distinct branch of knowledge, in itself both important and interesting, connected with a mathematical measurement of the earth, and grounded upon its principles, historical works still continued to be the mines in which the geographer sought for his materials. Timæus indeed, whose history came out about twenty years before the work of Eratosthenes, the true father of geography, must be accounted as still belonging to the old historical school: but in a no less degree than his history did those of Polybius, of Agatharchides, and of Posidonius in a much later age, contain very valuable treasures of geographical information. Not so those of the

Roman historians: who, with the exception of Cesar, either presupposed a knowledge of the countries they had to speak of, or took no thought about it¹; or who, if they felt capable of making any additions to the stock of geographical information, did not bring them in by way of episode, but, as we see in the Germany of Tacitus, made them the subject of a separate treatise².

Long however before a mathematical knowledge of the globe was united by science with the historical knowledge of the surface of the earth, under its manifold physical forms, and with the still more varied knowledge of the nations that people it, long before the time when the earliest separate description of a country ever written, the *βίος Ἑλλάδος*, was composed by Dicæarchus, one of Aristotle's scholars, the mariner had felt a want of descriptions of the coasts along which he was to sail. As he steered from port to port, it was necessary for him to know all the capes, the rivers, the towns, the islands, in the order in which they followed one another, as well as the distances between them; and he felt an interest in becoming in like manner acquainted with the countries which his vessel did not visit. This was the origin of the descriptions of coasts, the *περίπλοι*; a large number of which are mentioned by Marcian of Heraclea, p. 63, and among others the work the true age of which I shall endeavour to ascertain in the present dissertation. Owing to the utility of such works, the kind seems to have been preserved in an uninterrupted chain from the time of the ancients down to our own: for the *portolani* which are to be seen at this day in the hands of the sailors in the Mediterranean, some of them written in Italian, others in modern Greek, may indisputably be

¹ The meagerness of the Roman historians on these subjects struck Strabo: iii. p. 166. It did not arise from any erroneous notion of what history ought to contain, but from their haughty indifference about all matters of the kind.

² The Arabians, who have done so much for geography, the fruits of whose labours are so invaluable, and whose great treatises on it are so far from being dry, that they are abundantly strewn with interesting pieces of chorographical and ethnographical information, very seldom insert this information in their historical works: the modern Persians on the other hand do so, more especially the Indians who have written in the Persian language.

regarded as the offspring of the ancient periplusses. Some of the most important sources from which we draw our knowledge of ancient geography, are works of this kind, such as the *Periplus* of the Erythrean sea, and the oldest geographical work now extant, the coast-description of Scylax, a native of Caryanda, a seaport of Caria. Its author, we see, was not a Greek; and his little work would be remarkable, were it merely as being the oldest that remains written by a foreigner in the universal language: whether its style bears any traces of its foreign origin, and how strong they may be, I will not venture to pronounce, more particularly as the corrupt state of the text is almost unexampled. The corruptions, by which the numerical statements more especially have been destroyed in a multitude of cases, are naturally the most incurable in the accounts of those very countries on which the information we should derive from a correct text would be the most desirable: and as yet at least I have never been able to succeed in overcoming the difficulties that spring from them, and making out a chart of the Mediterranean, such as Scylax must unquestionably have had before his eyes; a chart of the same kind with that which Aristagoras shewed to the king of Sparta (*Herod. v. 49*). But though it has thus become extremely difficult, and in several parts quite impossible, to turn this work to account in a manner at all proportionate to its original value, the extent of which, it seems to me, few have duly appreciated; for after the fruitless endeavours of Lucas Holstenius one can hardly venture to hope for the discovery of better manuscripts, than the single one from which our text is printed: still it is a document of such importance even in its present state, that an attempt to settle its age cannot with any justice be censured as a fond waste of time in mere literary trifling: for, till this question has received a satisfactory answer, it is impossible to make use of any historical document on those very points on which what it contains is peculiar to it. Hence the age of Scylax, after attention had been called to the great importance of his little work by Salmasius, Bochart, and Palmerius, furnished matter of discussion in the seventeenth century, the age when the study of ancient geography was in its prime, to several philologists: but they treated the question so superficially, that every new

opinion which was advanced was only a new form of error: indeed the perverseness was so palpable that no one of all those opinions has been able to keep its ground with anything like authority.

The primary cause of this confusion lay in an uncritical propensity for deciding a question by apparent external testimony, without regard, and even in defiance of internal evidence. Herodotus (iv. 44) speaks of a voyage of discovery down the Indus, which was continued along the shores of the Erythrean sea, till it reacht the point where the Arabian gulf is terminated by the coast of Egypt, that is, Suez. The voyage, he says, was undertaken by order of king Darius, the son of Hystaspes, with ships which he ordered to be fitted out; and among the persons engaged in it was Scylax, a native of Caryanda. This Scylax, a native of Caryanda, and a voyager, it was inferred, must needs be the author of our Periplus, which was drawn up for the use of future mariners out of information derived from former ones: for it was held to be too violent an improbability that two natives of the same small town, pursuing the same vocation, should be found in two different ages, bearing the very same name, and that too an uncommon one. That the author's name prefixt to the Periplus has not been assigned to it erroneously, is proved by Strabo, who quotes it: and a further argument for its great antiquity, and consequently for its being by the person mentioned in Herodotus, was deducible from Strabo's calling its author *ὁ παλαιὸς συγγραφεύς**. Finally it is stated in an anonymous account of Scylax, which without doubt was found in the manuscript whence the first edition was taken, that Ælius Dionysius had said that this work had been dedicated to king Darius³. This opinion, when the Periplus was originally publisht by Hæschel along with several geographical fragments in the year 1600, seems at first to have been generally

* Σκύλαξ ὁ Καρυανδεύς. xii. p. 566. xiii. p. 583. Καρύανδα—ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἦν καὶ Σκύλαξ, ὁ παλαιὸς συγγραφεύς. xiv. p. 658.

3 This scholium cannot be of an age anterior to the restoration of the grammatical school at Constantinople. The use of *φρόντισμα* for a book or treatise belongs to the later Byzantines. Some writings of Ælius Dionysius were in existence even so late as the twelfth century: Eustathius quotes them in such a manner that one cannot feel a doubt of his having had them before his eyes.

adopted: indeed it was quite in accord with the spirit prevalent in that age, which knew not how to deal critically with historical questions. Nobody reflected that a work written in those early times, when prose was only in its infancy, at least sixty years before Herodotus composed his history, must needs have been in the Ionic dialect: nobody attended to all the other marks of a much later age contained in the *Periplus*. Besides though, it is true, the name of Scylax is a singular, and might have happened to be a rare one, yet it seems that on this very coast it was quite common. Herodotus, v. 33, tells us of the fate that befell Scylax, a Myndian, and the captain of a ship, in the 68th Olympiad; so that this Scylax must have been a contemporary of the discoverer: and in Cicero (*de Divinat.* II. 42) we read of Scylax of Hali-carnassus, who was an astronomer, and a friend of Panetius, and therefore must have lived about the 160th Olympiad. Why then should the existence of a fourth Scylax be at all surprising or improbable? Strabo's expression, *an old writer*, proves nothing. All the writers anterior to Alexander were regarded as ancient in the time of Tiberius, and with good reason: for three centuries and a half had then elapsed since the date of even the most recent of them. Dionysius, who wrote thirty years before Strabo, calls Antiochus, who did not write above sixty or seventy years before the date assigned to Scylax by the following investigation, a *very ancient* writer: see *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 16. note 22. p. 180. note 526. We are under a delusion on this subject, from the habit of looking on the period between the age of the orators and of Aristotle, and that of Augustus, as a literary blank, owing to which the old authors are apparently brought very close to those of the latter age: whereas an enormous deal was written during those centuries; nor was this less read than the books of an earlier date.

Isaac Vossius, who published the second edition of the *Periplus* in the year 1638, perceived the absurdity of the date previously assigned to it, and saw that it contained evident marks of an age posterior to the Persian wars*, and prior to the Macedonian empire; which latter point had also been

* The mention of the long walls of Athens; and that of Amphipolis: see Thucydides I. 110. IV. 102.

noticed in the anonymous ancient account of Scylax. Nor did the mention of Callistratus escape him: but through an inconceivable and unpardonable piece of negligence*, though he was now so near the truth that with a very little looking about him he must have found it, he made a mistake about the orator of that name, called to mind that the Athenians once upon a time sent an unfortunate expedition to Datus—not however under the command of a Callistratus, but under Leagrus and Sophanes (Herod. ix. 75)—and thus imagined he had here discovered an additional reason for subscribing to the authority of Ælius Dionysius. Not perceiving that the latter must assuredly have been thinking of the Scylax mentioned by Herodotus, and finding it stated that the work had been dedicated to Darius, he assumed that, as it was evidently written by a later Scylax, the Darius to whom it was dedicated must have been Darius Nothus, who, we know, died in Ol. 93. 4, some forty years before the banishment of Callistratus.

The elder Vossius went much more grossly astray. It seems in fact as if it had been the hatred of Salmasius that misled him,—and his son Isaac too subsequently in his notes on Mela, where Scylax is termed the Pseudo-Scylax—into endeavouring to destroy the character of a work which Salmasius prized highly and often extolled. But he is a remarkable instance of the way in which such as have been used to walk only in the leadingstrings of authority and positive outward testimony, totter and fall if they ever deviate from their nature and habits, and attempt to form a critical judgement upon internal evidence: for Vossius (De Histor. Graec. i. 19) pronounced the Periplus to be spurious and very recent, perhaps of the age of Constantine

* Isaac Vossius, it may be urged in his excuse, at the time when he published his Scylax was scarcely twenty-one. He does blunder however very strangely about Callistratus: having noticed that Scylax mentions Callistratus, *rhethorem Atheniensem*, he adds soon after: *Dario Notho regnante Callistratus exul in Thracia Datum condidit*. Can we suppose that his blunder was occasioned by a similar one in the Lives of the Ten Orators ascribed to Plutarch, viii. p. 844. b? where Callistratus the orator, the son of Callicrates, is confounded with Callistratus, the son of Empedus, the hipparch, who was killed in the Sicilian expedition, and accordingly was a contemporary of Darius Nothus.

Porphyrogenitus, being possibly made up of extracts from the ancient Scylax: an opinion which his son also afterward adopted: see his notes on Mela i. 16*.

Jacob Gronovius, when he published a new edition of the Periplus in 1697, took upon himself with his usual arrogance and shallowness to decide our question. Notwithstanding the contempt he bestows on Vossius, and not only on his later opinion, which hardly deserved a serious refutation, but also on his earlier one, he himself hovers to and fro in just the same state of indecision; and, though his conclusion is not quite so contradictory to his premises, yet it is drawn from a totally untenable argument, namely, that this Periplus must have been written before Thebes was aggrandized by the exploits of Epaminondas, because it is here termed a *τεῖχος*†. As if Thebes at the time he supposes was or could

* Even in the preface to his edition Isaac Vossius says: hunc autem Periplum Scylacis esse *ἐπιτομὴν* et compendium majoris operis nullus dubito. He can never have asked himself the question, what conceivable motive could have led any human being to make such an abridgement as this of the Periplus would be. For practical purposes such a work might be serviceable, especially if there was no better one: this however would be only so long as it corresponded to the actual state of things. But, though a roadbook a thousand years old would be a very curious and valuable document, its value would be exactly in proportion to its fulness: and nobody would ever dream of abridging it; for the parts which an abridger would leave out, would just be the most interesting and important of the whole.

† Gail says that with regard to Gronovius *errat Niebuhr*; but he does not tell us what the error is; and when any one charges Niebuhr with an error, the odds are greatly that the error is in the person who brings the charge. Dr Arnold in the preface to his Thucydides, in enumerating the characteristics of Niebuhr's mind, mentions "a precision that never allows him to misapprehend the meaning of a single word in a single sentence;" and having had occasion to refer to many hundred passages that he has cited, I may be allowed to attest the truth of Dr Arnold's statement: in ninety nine passages out of a hundred at the very least it was impossible to question the correctness of Niebuhr's interpretation. Those who have been at all in the habit of verifying the references they meet with, will feel that the rarity of such a merit is hardly inferior to its worth: and that worth is twofold; for it not only indicates a singular precision and clearness of understanding; it is also a sign of a hearty and patient love of truth, which does not hastily grasp at such phantoms as seem to favour a preconceived notion, but questions them, and puts them to the test, and forces them to disclose their real meaning. That Gail is not gifted with this quality in exactly the same degree, will appear

have been called anything but a town, by any writer whatsoever! and as if the passage he refers to (p. 23. ed. Huds.) were not palpably one of the infinite number of corrupt ones in which several words have dropt out of the text*!

Hudson's edition of Scylax, in the first volume of his collection of the minor Greek geographers, has a dissertation by Dodwell prefixt to it, the object of which is to shew that Scylax was a contemporary of Polybius. For by an unlucky chance there is an article on Scylax in Suidas, in which, beside the Periplus and other books, a work against the history of Polybius is ascribed to him. This was an opportunity which Dodwell could not possibly let slip, for setting his whole host of captious sophisms and chronological refinements in motion. The character of his dissertation is just such as might be expected from the absurdity of the undertaking. The fact that the Periplus, while it speaks of all the towns that perisht in the age of Philip and Alexander as still in existence, does

in the sequel. In the present instance what Niebuhr says of Gronovius is fully borne out by the fact. Gronovius does not attempt to determine the age of Scylax with any degree of accuracy: but the point in his discussion which comes the nearest to a definite argument, is, where he says that, because *Thebae adhuc τείχος tantum*, he therefore suspects that the Periplus was written *ante Epaminondam florentem et Thebas erigentem*.

* The difficulty about τείχος seems to have been successfully got over by Gail in his recent edition of the Periplus, where, merely changing the punctuation, he reads: Εὐριπος τείχος, Ἀνθηδών τείχος, Θήβαι, Θεσπιαί, Ὀρχόμενος ἐν μεσογείᾳ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις. For though Scylax in almost all cases adds the appellative πόλις to the proper name of any town he mentions, yet just before we find: ἔπειτα ὁ Πειραιεύς, καὶ τὰ σκέλη, καὶ Ἀθῆναι: and a little further back: ἐν μεσογείᾳ δὲ Κλεῶναι, καὶ Μυκῆναι, καὶ Τίρυνς. Besides in the passage about Thebes the word πόλεις in the last clause extends its influence over the preceding one. Moreover the general practice of Scylax is to subjoin τείχος and πόλις to the proper name, not to prefix them; which except under certain conditions would be contrary to the idiom of the language. What gave rise to the erroneous punctuation is manifestly that the editor supposed Εὐριπος must be the strait. Yet the context leads to an opposite conclusion: καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρῶτον ἱερὸν Δήλιον, Αὖλις ἱερὸν, Εὐριπος τείχος, κ. τ. λ. A *castellum* in *Euripo*, *castellum Euripi*, is spoken of by Livy, xxxv. 51; but this is on the Eubean coast. Scylax however may easily have given the same name to a fort on the opposite shore; and Gail shews from Strabo, ix. p. 403, that in his time at all events there was one there. In the Ἀναγραφὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ascribed to Dicæarchus too, v. 91, Εὐριπος seems rather to be a place on the coast, than the strait itself.

not mention a single one of the towns founded by those kings or their successors, and represents a very different state of the world, a state that had past away two hundred years before the time of Polybius, gives him no sort of trouble: for the whole book, he says, and all its details are compiled from earlier writers: the description of the western coast of Africa, which does not agree with that given by Polybius, is borrowed, he maintains, from Polybius, and that too by his adversary. Nay even the mention of Carthage and Corinth does not shake him, or convince him that this is impossible, though, as he himself cannot conceal, it proves that the book must have been written before the year 608; since assuredly the veriest compiler would never speak of cities as still existing, which had just been destroyed before the eyes of the whole world: whereas Polybius decidedly did not publish or write the concluding part of his history, which contained his geographical observations, till after the year when those towns were destroyed, and most probably not till 620. This dissertation is one of Dodwell's worst works on these subjects: I cannot however refrain from declaring generally that the authority of this dogmatizing chronological special-pleader is rated far too high throughout, and has propagated a number of errors. Few persons ever feel an inclination to go critically through his dissertations, composed as they are in the most wearisome of all styles: hence one is the sooner deluded by what seems the scrupulously conscientious accuracy of his conclusions, into taking them submissively on his word. But if one gets over the irksomeness of the task, and analyses his wiredrawn arguments, one meets at every step with inferences not borne out by their premises, and with facts placed in the most unnatural combination in order to extort conclusions from them, and at the same time with an utter want of sound judgement; so that one learns to regard his opinions with mistrust rather than with favour, and to look to his prolix works for nothing more than materials.

The untenableness of both the two extremes of opinion with regard to the age of Scylax, Dodwell's, and that which may be called the common one, Mannert saw with perfect clearness. He entered upon the right way of bringing the problem to a solution: he sought in the book itself for marks of its

age*. But he does not seem to have treated this question, which merely came in by the by in a work embracing a multitude of subjects, with all the care which was requisite in order to get at a positive result. An inquiry of this kind is only to be settled by a concurrence among all the unequivocal pieces of internal evidence: in a text so full of corruptions and dislocations no single passage can be considered as conclusive.

Had not Mannert overlooked the very passages which throw the most light on the point, he would not have been content with arriving at a result which in fact coincides with the opinion advanced by Gronovius. That he was influenced in this discussion by a preconceived notion that Scylax was, relatively at least, a very early writer, is too clear to be mistaken. Undoubtedly too there is something specious in the argument from which he infers that the author of the Periplus wrote about the time of the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war; namely, his not mentioning the town of Rhodes, which was founded in Ol. 93. 1, (see Diodorus XIII. 75), but giving the names of the three old towns. If the passage referred to were free from corruption, relating, as it does, to a maritime town of such importance, and one so near to the author's birthplace, it would be perplexingly at variance with all the unequivocal tokens of a much later age. But it is so palpably corrupt⁴,

* Geographie der Griechen und Römer, Vol. I. pp. 65—73.

⁴ "Ρόδος κατὰ τοῦτο· νῆσος τρίπολις, ἀρχαία πόλις. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις αἰδε· Ἰάλυσος, Λίνδος, Κάμειρος. The words ἀρχαία πόλις are evidently not right. [Gail, who says that Niebuhr thinks these two words are *omnino delenda*, evidently misunderstands Niebuhr's meaning, which is, that some mention of the town of Rhodes, something equivalent to καὶ "Ρόδος πόλις, lies hid under them. Καὶ Ῥοδία πόλις would come nearer the text, especially if written in capital letters; and Lucas Holstenius (in Bredow's Epistolae Parisienses, p. 13) says that from a long and diligent study of Scylax he has made out that all the errors in his text arise *ex literarum majuscularum confusione*. At all events it would be worth while to refer to the manuscripts for the sake of seeing whether they may not throw light on the true reading. Gail follows Vossius in rendering πόλις a state; but they neither of them observe that the main difficulty lies in ἀρχαία. Ἀρχαία πόλις for an ancient city might stand: but Rhodes was then a modern city: and ἀρχαία πόλις for an ancient state would not be warranted by any similar expression in Scylax, or probably in any other Greek writer: why too should Scylax select Rhodes from all other states to talk of its antiquity?]

that our finding no mention of the town of Rhodes is evidently owing to nothing but an error of the text, although I cannot suggest any easy way of correcting it: there are a vast number of other passages however in this work which are in just as bad a state. As to the giving the names of the other three towns, it proves nothing. So far were they from being destroyed with a view of strengthening Rhodes, that even at the present day there are still villages on the same spots, and the old names are still retained.

The marks by which the age of a work may be determined, are partly positive, partly negative: negative, whenever the writer omits to mention anything, which he must have known and spoken of, if he had lived at a time when it was subsisting, or after it had come into existence; positive, when any particular event is stated or alluded to. The latter are naturally on the whole the most conclusive. If any one asserts that the passages in which such marks are found have been foisted into the text by an interpolator, the burthen of proving his assertion lies with him. Since the revival of a learned school of criticism we have in our general principles come back from that rash levity which, during the period of superficial knowledge, was always smelling out interpolations everywhere: though in a work of this kind one might be readier to admit the possibility of them, since one may certainly conceive how they came to be inserted. Where however the passage on which the argument is founded is so closely connected with what precedes and follows, that this connexion can only be accounted for by the very bold assumption, that the whole context was rewritten for a considerable extent, in order to make the interpolation fit in, there the attempt to dispute its genuineness, being grounded on a mere prejudice, does not deserve to be listened to. If the *Periplus* has been interpolated, why was the west of Europe left so bare, when a later writer could so easily have filled up the sketch of it?

From negative evidence it is manifest that the assertion in the ancient scholium, that Scylax lived before the age of Alexander, and that he did not even come down to the verge of that age, is perfectly well founded. For not to speak of the celebrated cities built by Alexander's successors, Antioch, Seleucia (in Syria), Lysimachia, Demetrias, Cassandria, of which he

makes no mention, he talks of Tyre as an island; and not only does he not say a word about Alexandria, but he describes the Pharos as a desert island, with good harbours, where ships may be supplied with water from the lake Marea. In no passage do we find any trace of the great extent of the Macedonian empire; but the boundaries of Macedonia are on the Strymon*. It would be idle to dwell longer on this point, when there is nobody to argue against but Dodwell. So again it would be merely a needless accumulating of evidence, if one were to bring forward all the passages which carry the *Periplus* down from its supposed date in the age of the first Darius to about the hundredth Olympiad; such as the mention of Heraclea near the Siris (p. 5), and of the Greek colony of Issa (p. 8), which was founded by the elder Dionysius. It is solely for the sake of refuting those who are inclined to talk about interpolations, that such passages are worth enumerating; because they must all of them be weeded out along with the rest. Else in this place it is enough to note those passages which bring down the date of the *Periplus* below the hundredth Olympiad, into the age of Philip.

The Triphylians were among the subjects of the Eleans, having been so ever since the time when Lepreon, their chief city, being at war with the neighbouring Arcadians, applied to the Eleans for protection, and became tributary to them (Thucydides v. 31). In the *Birds* of Aristophanes, v. 149, Lepreon is called the Elean: hence at the time when this play was acted, Ol. 91. 2, that town must already have returned under the sovereignty of Elis, from which in Ol. 89. 2, with the assistance of Sparta, it had withdrawn⁵. This the

* Strabo, as Ukert remarks, tells us that Philip and Alexander made the Nestus the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace: vii. p. 331.

⁵ Herodotus, iv. 148, says that in his time most of the towns of the Triphylians were laid waste by the Eleans: this probably took place at the reconquest of the country after its revolt. It is certain that Herodotus did not complete his history, at least the edition which we read of it, till during the Peloponnesian war: indeed there is a reference to that war in the passage where he declares, in opposition to the common opinion which was hostile to the Athenians, that they were the saviours of Greece (vii. 139). Probably however the story of his reading his history at the festival of the 84th Olympiad is nothing but a groundless tradition. [The joke too in the passage of Aristophanes shews that Lepreon was then in a very desolate state.]

Spartans at the moment were forced to let pass: but after the Peloponnesian war, their supremacy being now undisputed, they did not long delay taking vengeance on the Eleans for their insults, by ravaging their country; and now the Lepreates revolted along with other tribes; and Elis at the peace was compelled to give up Triphylia, which then, in Ol. 95. 1, became dependent on the rule, or, as it was termed, the protection of Sparta: see Xenophon Hellen. III. 2. 30, where *Λεπρίναν*, a name never heard of, must be altered into *Λέπρεον**. When the power of Sparta however was upset by the battle of Leuctra, and the Arcadians coalesced into a nation, the Triphylians united themselves with them, and insisted on becoming Arcadians (Xenophon Hellen. VII. 1. 26. Ol. 103. 4). Now Scylax (p. 16) expressly reckons Lepreon as a part of Arcadia. As the Triphylians did not belong to the Arcadian race,—indeed Thucydides in the passage cited above makes an unequivocal distinction between the Triphylians and the Arcadians,—this statement cannot refer to the period of their transient independence, nor to any other period anterior to their voluntary and merely political union with Arcadia.

Again, not only were the Messenian people driven out of the Peloponnesus, but the very name of their country was abolisht, until Epaminondas gathered together such as were living scattered about in forein parts, and such as were in a state of bondage, and uniting them with volunteer settlers formed a new Messenian nation, for which he built a city in Ol. 102. 4. When the Athenians in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Ol. 88. 4, erected a fort on the ruins of the Messenian town of Pylus, the whole country was reckoned a part of Laconica (Thucyd. IV. 41). The town of Lepreon, of which we have just been speaking, is said by Thucydides, v. 34, to lie on the borders of Laconica and Elea. Indeed how,

* Ukert (Geographie der Griechen und Römer I. 2. p. 193) suggests that *Λεπρίναν* ought rather to be changed into *Λεπρίνους*: which conjecture seems likely to be right, inasmuch as *Λεπρίνοι*, καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι, καὶ Μαργανεῖς, are combined in exactly the same way in §. 25. Schneider had proposed *Λεπρίναν*, though acknowledging at the same time that the inhabitants of Letrina would not have been called *Λεπρίνοι* but *Λεπριναῖοι*. From Pausanias however (VI. 22. 8—10) it appears that *Λεπρίνοι* was the name of the town; and he uses *Λεπριναῖοι* for its inhabitants.

according to the usage of the ancients*, could the name of Messenia have been preserved, when the people had either been extirpated, or mixt up with the other Helots, and when the few towns that were spared, such as Asine and Methone, were accounted among the Laconian ones? see Thucyd. II. 25; Xenoph. Hellen. VII. 1. 25.

From the latter of these passages it is clear, that, notwithstanding the founding of the new city of Messene in Ol. 102. 4, Asine was a Laconian town four years after; and thus it is termed by Scylax, p. 16, along with Methone. Most probably these, as well as the other towns on the coast, continued till much later under the power of the Spartans: for although the battle of Mantinea was to them a defeat, inasmuch as it was not a victory, yet the result of it prevented all ulterior vigorous measures on the part of the allies; their league broke up; and the Spartans a few years later (Ol. 106. 4) threatened Megalopolis: as we see in the speech of Demosthenes for the Megalopolitans. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Messenians, on being reestablished as a people in the Peloponnesus, took immediate possession of the whole of the territory described by Strabo and Pausanias. Among the persons who have fallen into this mistake is Barthelemy; who gives a still more striking display of his estrangement from everything like a living acquaintance with the state of Greece at that period, when he makes his traveler embark in the last seaport of Messenia, and land peaceably in a town on the Laconian coast, no doubt under cover of a neutral flag. By the protection of the Macedonians, and still more by the unfortunate defeat of Agis before Megalopolis in Ol. 112. 3, the Messenians, whose existence had often been in great peril, were not only preserved, but became now relatively strong enough to deprive the Spartans, utterly fallen as they were, of a considerable territory, in possession of which, it is true, we find them at the breaking out of the Greek social war (Ol. 139). But previously to the battle before Megalopolis, that is, for the first forty years of their political existence, their state assuredly did not extend beyond, but exactly so far as the limits assigned to it by Scylax; who, in p. 16, speaks of the Messenians as a people,

* See History of Rome, Vol. I. p. 13.

and accordingly must have written after Ol. 102. 4, the year when Messene was built, and at the same time during the period when their territory was still exceedingly small.

A third passage, giving us a limit prior to which the age of Scylax cannot be placed, occurs in p. 27; where, in speaking of the coast of Thrace, he says "that opposite to Thasus, to the west of the Nestus, lies Datum, a Greek town, founded by Callistratus of Athens." It can hardly require a long discussion to prove that this Callistratus cannot have been any other person than the Aphidnean, whose eloquence first lit up the talent of Demosthenes: see Plutarch Demosth. c. 5. For not only is this Callistratus the only celebrated Athenian of that name, with the exception of the hipparch who perisht in the unfortunate expedition to Sicily (Pausanias vii. 16. 5): not only was he so celebrated among his contemporaries, that, even if there had been several persons of the same name, no reader could possibly have felt any uncertainty about him: but we also learn from the speech of Demosthenes against Polycles, p. 1221, that Callistratus in the archonship of Molon, Ol. 104. 3, being in banishment under sentence of death, was living in Macedonia, and at that very time wanted to sail over to Thasus. Consequently it must have been after that year that he founded Datum, and that Scylax wrote; who, as would be natural in speaking of a very recent settlement, thinks it worth while to mention the name of its founder*. The year in which

* That this Callistratus is the person alluded to by Scylax, may be regarded as set beyond a doubt by a passage of Isocrates *περὶ Ειρήνης*, p. 220 ed. Bekk. where, speaking (in Ol. 106. 1) of Thrace, he says: ὅπου Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Καλλίστρατος, ὁ μὲν ιδιώτης ὢν, ὁ δὲ φυγάς, οἰκίσαι πόλεις οἰοί τε γεγόνασι. This proves too that he built the town during his exile. Mannert (*Geographie* vii. p. 218) supposes that there must be some confusion in the text of Scylax,—which runs: Νεάπολις κατὰ ταύτην, Δάτον, πόλις ἑλληνίς, ἣν ᾤκισεν Καλλίστρατος Ἀθηναῖος—and that Δάτον is a gloss which has got into the text. This is not unlikely: or else Δάτον may have slipt out of its place, and ought to stand after Ἀθηναῖος. For of the two it is certainly much more probable that Callistratus should have founded Neapolis, a town never named in any earlier writer, than Datum, which seems to be mentioned by Herodotus (ix. 75). Or the expedition there spoken of may not improbably have been sent out with a view of founding a colony at Datum, and of executing the plan conceived by Histiaeus when he askt Darius to give him Myrcinus (see Herodotus v. 11, 23): unless indeed this expedition be the

Callistratus was condemned is certainly not positively known; nay the whole of his history is extremely obscure: indeed that of most of the Greek orators still requires to be disentangled much more than it has been by Ruhnken. Oropus was taken by Themiso in Ol. 103. 3, and was deposited in the hands of the Thebans: in consequence of whose dishonest conduct a capital impeachment was brought against Chabrias and Callistratus; but they were both of them acquitted, and Callistratus with the greatest glory (Plutarch Demosth. c. 5). This is the *περὶ Ὀρωποῦ δίκη* of Callistratus, of which we find such frequent mention. This trial can hardly be put earlier than Ol. 104. 1: but although Callistratus on that occasion was acquitted, yet

same which is spoken of by Thucydides, i. 100, when the Athenians were defeated at Drabescus; for Drabescus was not much above ten miles from Datum. At all events it would seem that Datum, which was taken by Philip in Ol. 105. 3, and had its name then changed into Philippi (see Diodorus xvi. 8; Appian de Bell. Civ. iv. 105; Ephorus and Philochorus cited by Harpocration under *Δάτος*) must already have been a flourishing town at the time when Callistratus went into exile. Had it not been founded till after Ol. 104. 3, it could never have become so renowned for its prosperity before it lost its name, that *Δάτος ἀγαθῶν* could have become a proverbial expression for a multitude of good things: see Strabo vii. Exc. p. 331; Eustathius on Dionysius Perieg. v. 517. Gail says: *Vossio callide objecit Sainte-Croix non a Callistrato, Demosthenis magistro, hanc urbem conditam fuisse, sed ab antiquiore quodam ejusdem nominis viro, qui ex Thaso insula coloniam huc incerto tempore adduxerat. Cui argumento neque adsentitur Niebuhr, neque id refellit.* It is hard however to say in what manner one can refute so cunning an objection, as that a place was founded nobody knows when, and by nobody knows whom, so well as by proving that it was founded by a well-known person, and at a determinate time: and that Niebuhr has done this, will hardly be disputed by any competent judge, after the confirmation his hypothesis receives from the above-quoted passage of Isocrates. The mention of Datum, if it be not a gloss, under its old name, and not under that of Philippi, which it received in Ol. 105. 3, adds no little strength to the various other arguments which fix the Periplus in the 105th Olympiad. If one wanted any additional authority in favour of Callistratus the orator, it might be found in the proverbs of Zenobius, iv. 34; where the expression *θάσος ἀγαθῶν* is said to apply to those who make grand promises: for that Callistratus, the orator, having been banisht from Athens, persuaded the Thasians (the sense of the passage requires *τοὺς Θασίους* instead of *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*) to settle on the opposite coast (*τὴν ἀντιπέραν γῆν οἰκίσαι*, not *οἰκῆσαι*), talking of its gold-mines, and of the abundance of land which was all excellent, and in short calling the place a *Thasus of good things*.

his condemnation must have taken place in the very next year; for in Ol. 104. 3 he was already at Methone. How Ruhnken, in opposition to the judicious doubt urged by Fabricius, could maintain that the orator Callistratus was the archon eponymus of Ol. 106. 2, it is difficult to comprehend: since we know that, when overpowered by his longing for his native country he ventured to return out of banishment, he was inexorably put to death: see *Lycurgus against Leocrates* p. 260. ed. Bek. Moreover from the time when the archonship began to be bestowed, not by election, but by lot, one must no longer look, as one does even down to the age of Aristides and Themistocles, for men of illustrious name in the Attic Fasti. An accident indeed might decide the lot in their favour: but such an accident must of course have been very rare.

The limit below which the age of the *Periplus* must not be brought down, cannot be made out with quite the same precision. The criteria would be the reverse of those by which I have shewn that it cannot have been written before the end of the 104th Olympiad,—the description of states in the manner in which they subsisted previously to some determinate epoch when any remarkable change took place in their political geography, and the mention of towns as existing, of which we know the time when they were destroyed. Of such criteria, as has been remarkt already, there is an abundance that leave no room to doubt the work's being prior to the age of Alexander. If one might assume that changes, which in history are ever memorable, must also have been known immediately to our writer, living as he probably did in the little seaport in which he was born, and that his information must have been so definite that he could not but take notice of them, his not mentioning the Bruttians, who make their appearance as a nation in Ol. 106. 1*, would settle the point in favour of the preceding Olympiad. We cannot however proceed quite so positively: yet at all events it is extremely improbable that their independence, and the great power they had acquired several years before the death of Philip, should have attracted so little attention, that a geographer, who is so careful in noting alterations in Greece however slight, could have altogether overlookt

* See *Hist. of Rome*, Vol. i. p. 96.

them. The description of the Macedonian coast also points, under the same restrictions, to the early part of Philip's reign. I will not lay very much stress on the mention of Pydna as a town, whereas it was taken by Philip, the first of his conquests, in Ol. 105. 3, and according to our history was destroyed: for the same Pydna is spoken of as a town nearly two centuries after (Livy XLIV. 45); and perhaps the assertion that it was destroyed is not to be taken literally. It is far more conclusive to find that Olynthus, which was destroyed in Ol. 108. 1, and the fall of which, as Demosthenes says, stunned the whole of Greece,—that Methone, which was destroyed in Ol. 106. 4,—that Apollonia and all the Chalcidian towns, mentioned by earlier writers on the Thraco-Macedonian coast, where Philip razed two and thirty so that no trace of their having existed was left (Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 117),—are all enumerated in their places. This may be deemed a sufficient proof that the *Periplus*, as it cannot have been written earlier than about the beginning of the 105th Olympiad, cannot have been written much later than the end of it, but may be confidently assigned to the first half of Philip's reign.

Beside the work of Scylax which is still remaining, and which is referred to by Strabo under his name, there was also another, which is cited by Aristotle, by Philostratus, and by Harpocration. Aristotle and Philostratus mention it in speaking of the Indians and India, Harpocration with reference to the Troglodytes¹². Now this work, it was thought, must be-
yond all question be by the old mariner, who visited those very countries on a voyage of discovery. And yet there is the highest degree of internal improbability that, in an age when so extremely little had as yet been written, in the age previous

¹² Aristotle Polit. VII. 14. Philostratus Vit. Apoll. Tyan. III. 14. Harpocration, ὑπὸ γῆς οἰκοῦντες. It is singular enough that something very like the observation concerning the Indians, which Aristotle quotes from Scylax, is related in our *Periplus* of the negroes: for the author follows the coast of Africa till he gets beyond Cerne, taking his accounts from Carthaginian journals. The identity between the two remarks however is not quite complete: and although the Africans, who were employed by the Carthaginians as leaders of their elephants, are sometimes called Ἰνδοί, and although the Indians of yore were accounted a branch of the Ethiopians, yet it seems to be far too bold to pronounce that this was the passage Aristotle had in view.

to the birth of Herodotus, a barbarian and a seaman should have composed a historico-geographical work in Greek, a periplus like that of Nearchus: besides how came Herodotus, if such a book was already extant in his time, to make no use of it, though Caryanda was in the immediate neighbourhood of Halicarnassus? Undoubtedly this too was likewise a work of our Scylax: for in criticism also are we bound to follow the metaphysical rule, not to multiply ἀρχαὶ unnecessarily. In the Periplus of the inner sea indeed he could never be led to speak of those countries: but he may have written a similar work on the outer sea. Not however that this is one of the works mentioned by Suidas: his Περίπλους τῶν ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἡρακλείων στήλων is the one which now remains, and which goes on a considerable way along the coast of Libya. That there was a union between the Erythrean sea and the Atlantic was matter of conjecture, but nothing more.

It is a very common practice with Suidas to club together the writings of different authors of the same name: and thus he has dealt in this instance with those of the Caryandian geographer, and of the Halicarnassian astronomer. Hence he describes the Caryandian as a mathematician, and makes him the author of the book against Polybius's history. Consequently it is only with hesitation that on such testimony we can regard the geographer as the author of the other two works which Suidas further ascribes to Scylax, the map of the earth (γῆς περίοδος), and the memoirs of Heraclides king of Mylasa. There are many strong probabilities however in favour of their being his rather than the Halicarnassian's. A map of the earth must have been an almost indispensable accompaniment for the two geographical treatises; whereas after the time of Eratosthenes, after whose works geography among the Greeks continued long at a stand, it would have been superfluous: but down to the Macedonian age, so long as geographical knowledge was constantly widening and becoming more definite, it was natural that, ever since that Ionian map, which is the oldest we have any account of, one general map would be followed time after time by an improved one. As to Heraclides of Mylasa, he was most probably the Carian general who, in the universal insurrectionary war kindled by Aristagoras of Miletus, fell upon the Persians on the road to Pedasus, and

routed them with great slaughter, as is related by Herodotus, v. 121; although Herodotus merely calls him a Mylasian, not king of Mylasa. Here again there is a greater probability in favour of the Caryandian: for a Carian writer would indisputably have stronger inducements than a Greek of Halicarnassus, to write the life of a Carian national hero: and in the age of Philip the Carians through the power of Mausolus and his family had acquired a national existence, which might carry their minds back to the deeds of their forefathers: a writer living two centuries later is manifestly much less likely to have chosen such a theme.

After the foregoing essay was completed, I was informed by Wolf that there is a dissertation on the same subject by Sainte-Croix in the 42d volume of the memoirs of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, pp. 350—380.

This dissertation, for anything that it is worth, might be past by without notice, if one could but reckon upon it that a literary work which is a total failure must necessarily die of its own emptiness without producing any effect. From this however the present treatise is preserved by the reputation of its author, be that reputation justly deserved or not: and it is a duty, though an unpleasant one, to deprive such works of their efficacy, and to disable them from doing any mischief, reluctant as one may be to swell out the mass of books for such a purpose.

From these considerations I trust I shall not be thought to act harshly toward the memory of a person recently deceased, whose name many hold in esteem, if I point out such passages as that in p. 369, where the three Punic wars are jumbled together, inasmuch as the author transfers the third to the date of the first, Ol. 129, and then applies a remark to it, which Polybius (III. 20) made with reference to the second;—or that in p. 370, where not only is the founding of Massilia confounded (as it has been by several modern writers) with the emigration of the Phoceans during the war against Cyrus, and placed in Ol. 60. 2, B. C. 536, but at the same time it is said to have taken place during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, that is, according to our common chronology, between B. C. 614 and 576, whereby a complication of blunders is produced which

involve an utter impossibility;—or the assertion in p. 373, that the town of Messene was destroyed by the Spartans,—that in p. 380, that Caryanda was a Dorian colony,—and that in p. 358, that the Barceans were sent away into Bactriana by the order of Cyrus in Ol. 68. 2: not to mention the barbarisms committed in the conjecture brought forward in p. 373, with a view of getting rid of the passage about Messenia, which is so at variance with the opinion maintained: here one stumbles upon ἔθνος Μεσσηνιακῶν, and Πύλος Μεσσηνίη, which the writer regards as exactly equivalent to “the Messenian Pylus,” and as conformable to the phraseology of Scylax.

For Sainte-Croix is a believer in the very ancient Scylax who lived in the time of the first Darius; and yet he has never even read the only classical passage about him, that of Herodotus (iv. 44), with due attention, though it is true he refers to it: for he commits the worst fault a critic can be guilty of, next to that of interpreting a passage to mean the reverse of what the words express; he quotes an assertion from it, about which it does not contain a syllable, namely, that the expedition of Darius into India* was undertaken in the last year of his reign.

* Niebuhr says *Die Entdeckungsreise den Indus herab*, that is, the voyage of Scylax down the Indus. But Sainte-Croix,—who is so intimately acquainted with the particulars of the life of Scylax, that he assures us that Scylax publisht his Periplus in Ol. 72. 1, and dedicated it to Darius, whereby Darius became acquainted with his merits as a navigator, and was thus led to employ him in the voyage down the Indus—says: “Hérodote rapporte à la dernière année du règne de Darius son voyage dans les Indes: celui de Scylax lui en avoit suggéré les moyens, et fait naître l’envie de l’executer” (p. 358). Here *son voyage* is clearly that of Darius, though it is certainly an odd way of rendering what Herodotus says: μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας, Ἰνδοὺς κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος. I should have introduced this correction tacitly, but that, as this is one of the very few exceptions I have ever met with to the remark made in a former page about Niebuhr’s invariable precision, it might have been deemed uncandid to disguise it. So far as Niebuhr’s argument goes, the inaccuracy is quite immaterial: for there is not a word in the passage referred to by Sainte-Croix, about the year in which Darius conquered India; and the assertion that he engaged in this expedition in the last year of his reign is so far from being borne out by Herodotus, that it is strongly at variance with the account given by Herodotus himself, vii. 1—4, of the manner in which Darius spent the interval between the battle of Marathon and his death.

Having previously made up his opinion he looks about for grounds for it, and tries to refute the objections brought forward by others against it. His arguments are:

1. (p. 352.) Because the Periplus says, p. 11, that the tribes dwelling in Epirus have no towns. Where however is any mention of any Epirotic town to be found anterior to the time of Alexander's successors*?

2. (p. 353, 354.) Because Triphylia is spoken of as a part of Arcadia—one of the very arguments which prove the Periplus to have been written later (see above p. 257). It has already been remarkt that, although Triphylia in very early times did not belong to the state of Elis, it did not join Arcadia till after the battle of Leuctra, and had previously been separate from it. Nor has Sainte-Croix even attempted to give any sort of proof that Triphylia in the age preceding the Persian war was not dependent on Elis, although without such a proof the whole argument avails him nothing†.

* Gail, repeating the argument brought forward by Sainte-Croix, says that we find Posidium, *Herodoto* (iii. 91) *urbem jam memoratam*, on this coast, along with Anchismus, Buthrotus, and other towns enumerated by Strabo; and that Thucydides (ii. 68, 80), though he calls the Chaonians and Thesprotians semibarbarians, *jam non amplius κατὰ κώμας incolentes refert*. Now the towns mentioned by Strabo of course prove nothing: but it would be strange indeed if Niebuhr had ventured to make so positive an assertion as that in the text, when it could be overthrown in a moment out of Herodotus and Thucydides. What however is the fact? The Posidium spoken of by Herodotus is a town on the borders of Syria: and Thucydides, while he calls the Chaonians *βάρβαροι*, does not say a syllable in the passages referred to about their living *κατὰ κώμας* or not.

† Here again Gail tries to bolster up Sainte-Croix's argument about Triphylia, by referring to a passage of Ephorus quoted by Strabo, viii. pp. 357, 358: in which, as Gail himself expresses it, Ephorus says that, *unius momenti regnum Elidis usurpavit Argivus vir Phidon, quem Elei, auxilio Spartanorum freti, pepulerunt: inde orta potentia Eleorum in Elide et in Triphylia usque ad Messeniae terminos*. The words in Strabo are that the Spartans, assisting the Eleans against Phidon, *συγκατασκευάσαι τοῖς Ἠλείοις τὴν τε Πισᾶτιν καὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν*. Surely no advocate ever had the luck to cite an authority upsetting his own argument more completely than this, which carries back the sovereignty of the Eleans over Triphylia to the reign of Phidon: for Phidon presided at the Olympic games in the 8th Olympiad, B. C. 747: see Müller Aeginet. pp. 63—65. But no: Gail's inference from the passage of Ephorus is, *desinente tertio Messeniaco bello, anno 456, Eleos regnum totius regionis obtinuisse, et totum litus usque ad Messeniam veluti absorbuisse*.

3. (p. 354.) Because the country of Pontus is called Assyria (p. 33), and the Chalybes are not termed Chaldeans. But in fact Pontus never was the name of a country till the time when the kingdom of Pontus arose: the Syrians on the Pontus bore this name even in the days of Alexander (Callisthenes in Strabo, xii. p. 542): and of course their country was called after them. For surely there is no need of arguments to shew that Syria and Assyria are the same word. As to the Chalybes, they appear under their ancient name in the Anabasis*.

* Gail brings forward the argument about the Chalybes in a somewhat different form. The Chalybes, he says, in the time of Xenophon are no longer to the west of the Tibarenians, but to the east, between them and the Mosynœcians; whence he infers that they had been transported thither by the latter from their ancient country. But the Tibarenians and Mosynœcians seem to have been merely tribes settled on the coast, while the mountains were inhabited by the Chalybes or Chaldeans as far as the Phasis and the borders of Armenia: see for instance the Anabasis iv. 5. 34, 6. 5. It is only to the west of Cotyora that the mountain-chain stretches down to the coast; and consequently it is only there that the Chalybes, as an independent tribe, came down to the coast, where they are placed by Scylax, around the Iasonian promontory: for the passage of Xenophon (Anab. vi. 2. 1) leaves no doubt that *Ἀσινεία* in Scylax (p. 33) ought to be changed into *Ἰασονία*. Now, as Xenophon embarks at Cotyora in the land of the Tibarenians, he has no opportunity of falling in with the Chalybes to the west of them. Those whom he had previously met with were merely a small branch of the nation (*ὀλίγοι* v. 5. 1), whom the Mosynœcians had conquered, and probably brought down into their country to labour at their ironworks for them. Gail adds another argument founded on the Anabasis, contending that the Cappadocian Syrians in the time of Xenophon had lost that name, and were comprehended under the general name of Paphlagonians. Now it is true that Xenophon (v. 5. 6. vi. 1. 1) calls the country in the neighbourhood of Cotyora Paphlagonia: but this is because it was at that time under the rule of Corylas, a Paphlagonian prince, who had made himself independent of the king of Persia, and with whom Xenophon had to treat. If the ten thousand had marched on to Heraclea by land, Xenophon would no doubt have told us the names of the various tribes through which he had to pass; but the Paphlagonians being the nation he had to deal with, are also the nation that he mentions. Subsequently these regions were subject to sundry vicissitudes, of which we have only very obscure accounts: but whatever dynasty they may have been under in the time of Scylax, it was natural that a geographer should enumerate the several nations, and not embrace the whole country under the name of the ruling one, any more than he includes all the nations subject to the Persian king under the general name of Persians. Letronne (*Journal des Savans* for 1826, p. 205) remarks that the order in which these nations are

4. (p. 357.) In the description of the coast of Thrace nothing is said of Byzantium: this is evidently the fault of the scribe. Sainte-Croix however fancies that the reason of the omission is, because Byzantium at the time when Scylax wrote did not exist, having been totally destroyed, he says, when the citizens, in Ol. 71. 1, fled before the Persians to Mesembria, and not having been restored till it was conquered by Pausanias. It ought not to have escaped him that, even allowing that the old inhabitants did not return during the interval, it was a place of considerable strength and importance when the Greeks appeared before it, and consequently must needs have been mentioned by a writer who enumerates every little castle on this coast. Nor should Sainte-Croix have failed to observe, that, if the reason why Byzantium was past over was its having been laid waste at that time, all the other towns on the Hellespont, beginning with Selybria and Perinthus, which are all of them named in the Periplus, ought to have been wanting for the very same reason; inasmuch as they were all of them burnt to ashes, as well as Byzantium, by the Phenician fleet in the same expedition: see Herod. vi. 33*.

arranged by Scylax,—the Mosynœcians, Tibarenians, Chalybes, Assyrians,—is the very same in which we find them in Apollonius Rhodius ii. 375—380, 946—1030; and in Dionysius Periegetes 766—772.

* Gail, who seems to think that an argument is not a whit the worse for having been knocked on the head, but that like Doodle and Noodle in the farce it may jump up again and be just as stout as ever, brings forward Sainte-Croix's argument about Byzantium in the very words of the original; merely adding: *inde nihil miror quod Scylax totam Bospori longitudinem silentio praetermiserit, et tantum ἀνάπλουςν laudaverit; quod ego non de urbe intelligo, sed de itinere pedestri secundum litoris crepidinem facto, ut naves versus Pontum traherentur.* The words of Scylax (p. 28) are: ἀνάπλουςν καλεῖται ὁ τόπος ἀνὰ Βόσπορον, μέχρι ἂν ἔλθῃς ἐφ' ἱερόν. About the meaning of the word ἀνάπλουςν there can be little doubt: it properly designated the going up a river against the stream; and as there is always a strong current setting down the Bosphorus from the Euxine to the Propontis, the sailing against this current was termed ἀνάπλουςν; and this name might easily be extended to the country along the coast. Though it may be questioned whether Scylax did not rather intend to say that a portion of the Bosphorus itself was termed the ἀνάπλουςν. This at least seems to be the meaning of the word in Eustathius on Dionys. Perieg. v. 140: τὸν δὲ Βόσπορον οἱ μὲν φασιν εἶναι τὰ κατὰ Χαλκηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον στενά.—οἱ δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἄνω πον τοῦ καλουμένου Ἀνάπλουςν.

5. (p. 377.) Scylax is an older writer than Thucydides, because the latter says the towns on mount Athos were inhabited by barbarians, whereas Scylax calls them Greek towns. This inference is quite incomprehensible: for in the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian war the Greek nation kept on continually extending its limits; nowhere was any place wrested from it by the barbarians. Rather therefore might one draw the opposite conclusion: even this however would not be warrantable. Thucydides (iv. 109) calls the inhabitants of these towns *βάρβαροι δίγλωσσοι*: that is to say, they spoke Greek in addition to their native language: for this is unquestionably the meaning of *δίγλωσσος*, the same which Ennius exprest by *bilinguis* (see Hist. of Rome Vol. i. p. 97). Now even if the Greek language had not in course of time become the only one prevalent in these parts—and there cannot be a question that it did so—still it might have been enough to make our geographer call these towns Greek, if the use of Greek was as general amongst them, as, to take an instance, that of Venetian in the Dalmatian seaports. Even from an ancient writer one must neither demand nor expect that all his statements and expressions without exception should be weighed with the most scrupulous precision.

Of the wretched shifts whereby Sainte-Croix, fettered by his prejudice, tries to evade passages clear as daylight in favour of a later age, a single instance will suffice: he asserts (p. 360) in direct contradiction to all history, that Themistocles had begun to build the long walls before the Persian war.

Nevertheless I feel indebted to his dissertation for informing me that a correct solution of our problem had already been given by Bougainville* (in a *Memoire sur le voyage de Hannon*, Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions xxviii. p. 266), a solution deduced from the mention of Tyre, Olynthus, and Messene. As the reason why this solution has been unregarded and almost unknown, is probably that, being only introduced incidentally, it was not fully developpt, the more

* Letronne (p. 80) says that Bougainville's opinion was taken from an unpublisht dissertation by Freret on the history of geography.

accurate discussion of the question in the foregoing pages will not be superfluous, although it merely gives the same result within somewhat narrower limits. Had Palmerius however completed his classical work, had he got to the Thracian coast and to the Peloponnesus, this inquiry, as is clear from the passage in which he speaks about Thronium* (Graec. antiq. p. 566, 567), would assuredly have been needless, and the truth would have been made so manifest, that it would long ago have been universally acknowledged.

The foregoing dissertation, which was read to the Berlin Academy in the latter part of 1810, at the time when its author was delivering his first course of lectures on Roman history, is, I believe, the first that Niebuhr ever wrote on any subject appertaining to philology. Even the earliest fruits however of such a mind are remarkable for their perfect maturity. Though his education had been mainly directed to fit him for practical life, and though his studies had been perpetually interrupted by the duties of a laborious office, yet even in this, his earliest production, we not only find the same

* It is to be regretted that Niebuhr did not himself investigate the point discusst by Palmerius about Thronium: for the passage in which Scylax speaks of that town seems to bring down the age of the Periplus somewhat later than any of those examined in the text. On the east coast of Greece, between the Locrians and the Malieans, Scylax (p. 23) places the Phocians, and gives them the towns of Thronium, Cnemis, Elatea, and Panopeus. Now it seems impossible to doubt that this passage must refer to that brief period of power which the Phocians enjoyed just before their utter ruin. According to Diodorus, xvi. 33, Onomarchus, in Ol. 106. 4, *Θρόνιον ἐκπολιορκήσας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο*: and Eschines (*περὶ παραπρεσβ.* p. 430. ed. Bekk.) tells us that a short time before Philip crusht them, in Ol. 108. 3, they offered to give up Thronium and other towns to the Athenians. So that, if our authorities may be depended on, their possession of Thronium seems to have been confined to the brief interval between Ol. 106. 4 and 108. 3: and the mariner who supplied Scylax with his latest account of Greece must have coasted it during that period. If we merely suppose that Scylax workt up several accounts, nearly, though not quite contemporaneous, this will explain the slight discrepancy between this passage and that about Datum, which seemed to infer an earlier date: even in our own times one never finds a roadbook in which there are not sundry similar inaccuracies. Or perhaps Philip may not have changed the name of that town till some years after he took it.

consummate overruling understanding, the same searching penetration, the same faculty of immediately discerning the points on which a question turns, and of stripping them of all unnecessary adjuncts, and the same power of giving life and substance to the fragmentary records of past ages, by which all his subsequent works are so distinguisht; but here as in them Niebuhr seems to be lord and master of the whole field of knowledge, and to stand on an eminence from whence he unceasingly surveys it as it lies spread out beneath him. From this commanding position he discerns and observes the bearings of the various points upon each other, and is thus led to detect combinations equally novel, important, and true. While his horizon too was ever widening before him, it never sank out of sight behind him: what he once possessed he always retained: what he once knew became a part of his mind, and the means and instrument of acquiring more knowledge: and he is one of the very few examples of men gifted with a memory so tenacious as to seem incapable of forgetting anything, who at the same time have had an intellect so vigorous as in no degree to be oppressed or enfeebled by the weight of their learning, but who on the contrary have kept it in orderly array, and made it minister continually to the plastic energy of thought. The History of Rome indeed is the work in which all these high endowments have left their most wonderful monument behind them: but an ordinary reader, who either wants the patience or the capacity to follow a long train of elaborate reasoning, and to watch the unparalleled skill with which thousands of insulated, and apparently unconnected statements are made to fit together and to form one vast harmonious whole, may perhaps be more struck with them in those shorter treatises, which at all events, to use Aristotle's untranslatable word, are more *εὐσύννοπτα*.

Niebuhr, as we see from his very interesting life of his father, had been trained from his childhood to take a peculiar interest in geography: and the influence of this training is perceptible in several of his earlier works, and even in the History of Rome. While he was engaged in his researches about the ancient nations of Italy, the age of Scylax, the earliest writer by whom some of them are spoken of, and who contains any precise information concerning the

regions inhabited by others, naturally became a question of considerable importance: indeed it would be interesting, were it merely on account of his being the first writer in whom we find the name of Rome. The importance of the *Periplus* with reference to the ethnography of ancient Italy may be seen from the *History of Rome*, Vol. I. notes 154, 184, 189, 216, 275, 284, 291, 293, 433, 440, 443, 493, 500, 597, 608, Vol. II. note 1141; and from the passages to which those notes are subjoined: the last more especially contains a beautiful explanation of a very obscure sentence, which had been strangely misinterpreted by Dodwell; and it is a happy instance of the way in which words, seemingly destitute of meaning, may not only be rendered perfectly intelligible, but made to throw light on other passages by critical ingenuity. The statements however contained in the *Periplus* could not be turned to the slightest account, till the time when it was written was ascertained; for its sole value consists in its representing the minute chorographical details of a particular period: and as this point, though frequently discusst, had been one on which the most contradictory conclusions had been confidently promulgated, Niebuhr undertook to bring the question to a final issue. Nor will any competent judge be disposed to question that he has done so, or at all events that he has demonstratively settled the age to which the main and most detailed part of the *Periplus* belongs.

Ukert accordingly, though he had previously been led by a declaration of Holstenius to look upon Scylax as a contemporary of Hecataeus, and though in 1814, before the publication of Niebuhr's essay, he had argued against his opinion briefly expressed in the first edition of his *Roman History*, yet in 1816 acknowledged himself a convert to it, and brought forward some new arguments in support of it: they are not however of such a kind as to throw any fresh light on the exact date of the *Periplus*, though useful for refuting those who place it in a very early or a very late age.

Gail on the other hand, the last editor of Scylax, who, treading in his father's footsteps, has devoted himself to the study of ancient geography, and has commenced a new edition of the minor Greek geographers, has come forward to stand up for the Herodotean Scylax, and, undismayed by the complete

overthrow that Sainte-Croix had received, has entered the lists as a champion of the same cause. It seems indeed as if there were some kind of intellectual affinity, which draws minds of a similar stamp to find consistency and force in those very logical processes, where minds of a different conformation can perceive nothing but weakness and incoherence. Larcher in a note on Herodotus, iv. 44, refers to Sainte-Croix's dissertation on Scylax, and adds: *les raisons de ce savant m'ont paru péremptoires*: and Gail, even after seeing them utterly demolisht, still persists in the same opinion. Of the new arguments by which he tries to support them, the reader has already had means of judging: the remainder are much of a piece with those which have already been examined; and it is useless to spend any further time upon them, more especially as the chief part have been satisfactorily refuted by Letronne in some able articles on the age of Scylax, in the *Journal des Savans* for 1826, pp. 75—89, 195—208, 259—269.

Letronne's own opinion however, which has acquired great additional weight from being adopted by Ottfried Müller (*Etrusker* Vol. i. p. 159), may well deserve a few observations: and even if it should appear that what is novel and peculiar in his view is not the soundest part of it, still some degree of ingenuity, it must be admitted, was requisite, in order to devise anything novel on a topic which has so often been sifted. He begins with asserting that the *Periplus* from its nature cannot possibly have been of any use to mariners, and concludes that it must therefore be regarded *comme une sorte de résumé, composé, soit pour l'usage de l'auteur, soit pour l'utilité de la jeunesse*, in some degree analogous to the abridgements made by Agathemerus and Marcian of Heraclea, and even to the poems of Dionysius Periegetes and Scymnus (p. 78). There appears however to be an essential difference between the work of Scylax and all these: in them, as must necessarily be the case in all books designed for instruction, some attempt is made to arrange the details of knowledge under certain general principles of classification: matters of importance are brought forward into a prominent light, while that which is trivial is thrown into the background, or totally rejected. In the *Periplus* of Scylax on the contrary

we find the very reverse: for in an itinerary such a selection is by no means equally indispensable: when traveling we want to know the distances from place to place, and every spot that may serve to mark them, and to give us some sort of notion where we are. In Scylax the little castles or forts on the coast, the *τείχη*, are objects of equally great moment with Sparta, and Corinth, and Athens. Had the *Periplus* been intended for the instruction of youth, much more would have been said about the large cities, while the greater part of the *τείχη* would never have been mentioned at all: and though it is impossible to speak with confidence about the caprices of individual taste, a person who wrote the *Periplus* for his own information or amusement, must at all events have had a very singularly constituted mind. On the other hand though a navigator of the present day would no doubt look with contempt on a work so defective and superficial, yet in the early stages of seamanship it was far otherwise: mariners as then were forced to content themselves with the best information they could get; and when there was nothing better, even our *Periplus* would be exceedingly welcome.

Again, Letronne agrees with Mannert and Niebuhr in supposing the *Periplus* to be a compilation from a variety of sources, and dwells at some length on the argument in favour of this notion deducible from the discrepancies in the statements with regard to distance, some being given in stadia, others in days voyages, while in other parts again nothing is said about the matter. In one point however Letronne diverges from his predecessors: while they conceive the materials which Scylax worked up, to have been seamens journals, he inclines to suppose that elaborate historical works, those of Ephorus and Theopompus for instance, were made use of. And yet the character of all the observations contained in the *Periplus* is exactly what one might look to find in a mariner's journal, while there is hardly a particle of such information as belongs more especially to history, though those authors abounded in it, and though no writer, however resolved to exclude it from his abstract, could have contrived to keep it from slipping in every now and then. Besides many of the details are of such a kind as no history would have supplied. The different degrees of distinctness in the descriptions of

various coasts may easily be accounted for, by merely assuming, what we know to have been the case, that the traffic with some was much more frequent than with others.

But Letronne further supposes that the materials out of which the *Periplus* was compiled, belonged to different ages: and he would make use of this hypothesis to account for any discrepancies that may be observed in its chronological features. That some of the journals may possibly have been drawn up a few years before some others, has already been admitted (p. 270). But that a writer, who, wherever we can trace him, is so accurate, should not, when compiling such a work, have tried to collect the latest accounts he could get, is, to say the least, exceedingly improbable; more especially when we consider the practical purposes for which it appears to me quite evident that the work was designed. Even on Letronne's own hypothesis however, no writer of ordinary judgement, in compiling a schoolbook, would voluntarily patch it up of the records of several ages, so as to produce a description describing nothing that ever actually existed, a picture, like that of Bacon presenting Newton to George the Third, in which different centuries are so startled at meeting that they jostle and tumble over, if one may not almost say that they play at leapfrog with each other. As to Italy Letronne agrees with Niebuhr that the accounts made use of must have been anterior to the appearance of the Bruttians in Ol. 106. 1: with regard to Greece too his difference is very slight: he notices Palmerius's remark about Thronium, which brings down the *Periplus* to Ol. 106. 4; and argues that, because Chalcidice is not spoken of as distinct from Macedonia, the passage in which it is mentioned must refer to a date subsequent to the conquest of it by Philip, and to the destruction of Olynthus and the other towns in those parts (p. 202). But the enumeration of those towns as still existing tells much more strongly, and indeed, as Niebuhr remarks, is absolutely decisive the other way: moreover Pallene is in fact described by itself, as a long slip of land jutting out into the sea, with sundry Greek cities upon it.

In the account of Asia Minor on the other hand Letronne conceives (p. 207) that he has detected two passages which refer to an earlier age: that about Rhodes has already been

discuss. Atarneus and the country round it are said (p. 36) to belong to the Chians: from Herodotus (i. 60) we learn that they received it, as the price of a base act of perfidy, from Cyrus. *Mais* (says Letronne) *il paroît qu'il étoit rentré sous la domination persane, lorsque les réfugiés de Chio s'emparèrent d'Atarnée en 409* (Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 2. 11. Diodorus xiii. 65). There is nothing however in the passage of Diodorus to warrant this assumption; and that of Xenophon proves that Atarneus was in the hands of the Chian exiles ten years after, in Ol. 95. 3. In later times, in the 107th and 108th Olympiads, we find Atarneus under the tyranny of Eubulus, and of Hermias, the friend and brother-in-law of Aristotle: but nothing is said touching the people it had previously belonged to; so that no inference can be drawn from hence with regard to the age of the Periplus.

Nor is Letronne's second argument more conclusive. According to Herodotus (iii. 91) Posidium was built on the borders of Cilicia and Syria; and he speaks of it as the frontier town of the latter. Now in the Anabasis (iv. 3. 1) Cilicia is represented as terminating at the gates of Cilicia and Syria, and Myriandrus, a town some way to the north of Posidium, is said to be in Syria: whereas Scylax places it in Cilicia. Hence Letronne contends that his account refers to some period between the time of Herodotus and that of Xenophon. Strabo however (xiv. p. 676) concurs with Scylax, and places Myriandrus in Cilicia: and the geographical character of the country, taken along with Strabo's account of the northern boundary of Syria (xvi. p. 749), will enable us to explain this discrepancy. The Amanus, a branch of the Taurus, ran down southward to the east of the gulf of Issus, till it terminated a little to the north of the mouth of the Orontes. This ridge in more than one place came so near to the sea as only to leave a very narrow pass: and one of these passes, not fifteen miles to the south of Issus, had been fortified, probably to protect the country against the inroads of the Cilician mountaineers: who at no period of history have ever been brought into regular subjection to any government, and against whom we may infer from Herodotus (iii. 90) it was necessary to keep a large body of cavalry on foot. This pass is what Xenophon calls the gates of Cilicia and Syria; and he makes Syria

begin immediately on the southern side of it. An additional reason for doing so was that Myriandrus was a Phenician colony; and the Phenicians had perhaps made themselves masters of the lowlands about it: indeed the legend mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 91) is a proof that the Phenicians had formed settlements on the coasts of Cilicia in very early ages. But though Xenophon represents Cilicia as ending at this pass, and is followed by Arrian ii. 6, and by Pliny, ii. 112, who calls Myriandrus a town of Syria, yet Strabo agrees with Herodotus and Scylax in carrying Cilicia down to the extremity of mount Amanus, and making it include the whole eastern coast of the gulf of Issus. Mela too says (i. 12): *Orontes: tum mons Amanus, et ab eo statim Myriandros et Cilices.*

Letronne also thinks (p. 264) that there is an indication of an early age in the account of Egypt (p. 43), where Canopus is termed a desert island, and Thonis *y est donnée comme une ville encore existante*: whereas the town of Canopus is spoken of by Eschylus, Prom. v. 865; and Thonis, Letronne says, fell into decay after the building of Canopus. Now this passage of Scylax is exceedingly corrupt, and there seem to be several chasms in it: nor can the history of the towns of Canopus and Thonis be made out with any degree of certainty. It is by no means clear that Thonis in Scylax is the name of a town: the first mention of it has dropt out of the text, and we have only *ἐκ Θώνιδος δὲ πλοῦς*, without any descriptive adjunct. Nor is the mention of it in Diodorus (i. 19) more satisfactory: he merely tells us that there was said to have been an ancient mart *κατὰ τὴν Θώνιδα καλουμένην*. In Herodotus (ii. 113) *Θώνις* is the name of the person who was governor of the coast at the time when Menelaus came into Egypt: the name of Theonoe in the Helen of Euripides was no doubt founded upon it. Nor is there any passage in Herodotus which compells us to admit that there was any town of Canopus in his days. Canopus in ii. 97 may be an island, just as well as a town. So that we are left to the authority of Eschylus, which, valuable as it is even in his mythical geography, cannot be appealed to in a question of detail like this. If there was any town at the Canopic mouth of the Nile, Eschylus might call it Canopus: and if there was none, he might put one there: for it is

manifest that his reason for making it the birthplace of Hercules was the temple of Hercules, which, Herodotus tells us (II. 113), was of great antiquity and still standing there in his days. The physical exposition of the story of Prometheus in Diodorus (II. 19), where the Nile, which is threatening to desolate the whole country, is the vulture that preys on the heart of the provident king, till Hercules turns it back into its ordinary channel, must be of a much later date.

This passage about Canopus therefore will no way justify our coming to a conclusion at variance with the account of the Syrtes, and indeed with the whole description of the coast of Africa, which, as Letronne himself remarks (p. 261), points to a considerably later age than that of Herodotus. As these are the only marks which he conceives he finds of an earlier period, we may safely retain Niebuhr's opinion, and regard the Periplus as representing the coasts of the Mediterranean such as they were in the early part of the reign of Philip. Nor is there any valid reason for adopting Letronne's hypothesis that Scylax was the author of only that part of the Periplus which relates to Asia Minor: Suidas evidently regarded the whole as the work of the same pen, and so did the scholiast who quotes Ælius Dionysius. Besides the account of Asia Minor, if it stood alone, would have been almost too trifling a matter for the name of its author to have been preserved. The expression from which Letronne infers (p. 267), as Gail had done already, that the compiler of the Periplus must have lived at Athens—namely, his saying that the breadth of the isthmus, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ ἡμῶν θάλασσαν, is forty stadia,—might be used by any person living on the western coast of Asia Minor: for the isthmus of Corinth separated the waters of the Adriatic from those of the Egean.

In conclusion I may remark that Scaliger's piercing glance had detected the true age of the Periplus. For Lucas Holstenius, in a letter published by Bredow (Epist. Paris. p. 13), says that Scaliger had written in his copy of Scylax, that he lived in the time of Darius Codomannus: that is to say, Scaliger, though he did not reject the story about the dedication to Darius, saw from internal evidence that it could not have been dedicated to any Darius except the last. Valesius too in his notes on Ammianus (xxx. 4) had shewn in the

most satisfactory manner that the Callistratus who founded Datum, was the orator; and had illustrated the passage of Scylax by those of Isocrates and Zenobius. Every sincere and strenuous lover of truth rejoices when he finds that he has been anticipated in his discoveries: and no one ever felt this pleasure more strongly and more cordially than Niebuhr.

J. C. H.

ON THE FABLES OF BABRIUS.

A FABLE may be defined to be an analogical narrative, intended to convey some moral lesson, in which irrational animals or objects are introduced as speaking¹. This agrees with the definition of Eustathius on *Il. λ.* p. 855. ed. Rom. αἶνος λόγος ἐστὶ μυθικὸς ἐκφερόμενος ἀπὸ ἀλόγων ἢ φυτῶν, πρὸς ἀνθρώπων παραίνεσιν². It is uncertain whether all the stories of Aesop were fables in this sense of the word: some indeed would seem to have been mere jests or laughable stories, without any other object than amusement. Thus Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1259, speaks of an Αἰσωπικὸν γέλοιον, and v. 566, a dicast recounting his diversions says οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν μύθους ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' Αἰσώπου τι γέλοιον; and in v. 1401, a χαρίεις λόγος of this kind is related at length;

Αἰσωπον ἀπὸ δείπνου βαδίζονθ' ἐσπέρας
 θρασεῖα καὶ μεθύση τις ὑλάκτει κύων.
 κάπειτ' ἐκείνος εἶπερ, ὦ κύον, κύον,
 εἰ νῆ Δί' ἀντὶ τῆς κακῆς γλώττης ποθὲν
 πυρὸς πρίαιο, σωφρονεῖν ἂν μοι δοκοῖς³.

These stories were evidently of a lighter and more amusing description than those other fables of Aesop which Socrates, as we learn from the *Phædo* of Plato, versified in prison, although

¹ This definition would exclude such apologues as the Old man and the bundle of sticks, and similar stories, which merely convey a moral lesson, without enforcing it by the words of brute animals or inanimate objects.

² Ammonius on αἶνος says, Αἶνός ἐστι λόγος κατ' ἀνάπλασιν μυθικὴν ἀπ' ἀλόγων ζώων ἢ φυτῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους εἰρημένος. If this definition is not mutilated, it is incorrect; as *men* need not be parties to the dialogue, in order to constitute a fable. Suidas in μῦθος... διαφέρει δ' αἶνος μύθῳ τῷ τὸν αἶνον μὴ πρὸς παῖδας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας πεποιῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ψυχαγωγίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παραίνεσιν ἔχειν τινά.

³ See Bentley Dissert. on Aesop, §. 1.

only one of these versions appears to have been preserved by his friends⁴. Socrates in this dialogue twice calls the fables of Aesop *μῦθοι*⁵, and the same name is given to the Libyan fables by Aeschylus in the celebrated verses where he describes an eagle as struck by an arrow feathered from its own wing⁶. The more ancient term for this species of fiction appears however to be *αἶνος*⁷: which is the word applied by Hesiod to his fable of the Hawk and the Nightingale⁸, the earliest extant in the Greek language; and by Archilochus to his fables of the Eagle and Fox, and the Fox and Ape⁹. Hence in the times of imitation, Callimachus used it to signify his fable of the Olive-tree and Laurel¹⁰. The word *λόγος* is likewise used indifferently to express the same kind of composition¹¹: thus Aristophanes Pac. 129. Av. 651. called the fables of Aesop *λόγοι*. So Aristotle Rhet. II. 20. 2. (cf. 5 and 7.) speaks of the *Αἰσώπιοι καὶ Λιβυκοὶ λόγοι*¹². In later times however *μῦθος* appears to be pretty constantly used to signify a fable: thus Plutarch in the same treatise speaks of *Αἰσώπεια μυθάρια* and *Αἰσώπιοι μῦθοι*, De Aud. Poet. 1. 2. Julian Epist. 59. applies the same word to a fable of Babrius. Several fragments of fables written in elegiac metre are cited in Suidas by the name of *μῦθοι* or *μυθικά*; as

⁴ Diogenes Laert. II. 42. states that Socrates made an Aesopian fable of no great merit, of which he cites a couplet in elegiac verse.

⁵ Plat. Phædon. 3, 4.

⁶ ὅδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν λόγος, &c. Myrmid. fr. 123. ed. Dindorf.

⁷ It is by this name that Eumæus calls the fictitious though apparently true narrative, by which Ulysses suggests to the swineherd his want of clothes, Od. ξ. 508. This story is not properly a *fable*, but it contains an analogical reference to the point at which the narrator aims. *Αἶνος* (says the Scholiast ad l.) *λόγος συμβολικὸς ἐκ μύθου ἢ ἱστορίας, περιπέτειαν ἔχων παραινετικήν.*

⁸ Op. et Di. 200.

⁹ Fr. 38, 39. ed. Gaisford.

¹⁰ Fr. 93.

¹¹ Cebes in Plat. Phædon. 4. calls Aesop's fables *λόγοι*; Socrates however seems to make a distinction between *λόγοι* and the *μῦθοι* of Aesop: *ἐννοήσας* (says he) *ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν δέοι, εἰπερ μέλλει ποιητὴς εἶναι, ποιεῖν μύθους καὶ οὐ λόγους, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἦν μυθολογικός, διὰ ταῦτα οὐς προχείρους εἶχον καὶ ἠπιστάμην μύθους τοὺς Αἰσώπου, τούτων ἐποίησα οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχον.*

¹² Demetrius Phalereus likewise made *λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί*, according to Diog. Laert. v. 80. This however seems to be the expression of Diogenes himself; the title of the book is given merely as *Αἰσώπεια*, ib. 81.

well as some remains of hexameter fables¹³. *Μῦθοι Αἰσώπειοι* was the name constantly given to the various collections of Greek fables made after the decline of Grecian learning. There is however no reason to suppose that *Αἰσώπειος μῦθος* meant a fable actually composed by Aesop; or that when Demetrius made a prose collection of Aesopian fables, and when Babrius versified Aesopian fables, anything more is meant than a particular kind of fiction. The term *Αἰσώπειος μῦθος*, as used by later writers, is merely a general term for fables such as Aesop wrote, as distinguished from the fables of mythology.

At no long time prior to the Augustan age, a Greek poet named Babrias or Babrius published a collection of fables under the title of *μῦθοι* or *μυθίαμβοι*¹⁴: from which the fables of Phædrus are closely imitated. They were written in choliambics, and comprised in ten books according to Suidas, or two volumes according to Avienus: which two accounts are not at variance with each other, as the *books* were doubtless divisions made by the author, like the books of Phædrus, perhaps with an appropriate introduction to each: while the *volumina* of Avi-

¹³ Bentley on Aesop, §. 4. Suidas in *στυφελισμός*, ἄδεν, πολλόν, ἡπεδανός, ἑταιρείη. Mr Burges, *Classical Journal*, Vol. xxv. p. 20. thinks that "some may be tempted to attribute to Socrates the fragments of Aesop's fables in heroic measure preserved by Suidas, and unassigned to any author." Diogenes Laertius however distinctly states that only one fable of Socrates was extant, and of that he quotes a couplet in elegiac measure. Mr Burges also restores the fable of the Sheep and Dog from the Vatican fab. 366. which is evidently altered from the choliambics of Babrius: indeed the four last lines can be reduced with certainty to that metre. But he attributes the choliambic fable to Socrates, on account of Xen. Mem. II. 7. 3.; although Socrates in the Phædo says that he had never made verses before he was in prison, and although it appears from Diogenes Laertius that of the fables which he made in prison only one was preserved.

¹⁴ Suidas. Βαβρίας ἢ Βάβριος μύθους ἤτοι μυθιάμβους. εἰσι γὰρ διὰ χοριαμβων (χωλιάμβων Kuster) ἐν βιβλίοις ἰ. οὗτος ἐκ τῶν Αἰσωπείων μύθων μετέβαλεν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν λογοποιίας εἰς ἑμμετρα ἤγουν τοὺς χοριαμβους (χωλιάμβους Kust.) Avienus Præf. fab. *Quas (fabulas) Græcus jam his Babrius repetens in duo volumina coartavit. Phædrus etiam partem aliquam quinque in libellos resolvit.* Hence it appears that Babrius preceded Phædrus, who wrote in the Augustan or Tiberian period. Tyrwhitt likewise points out and ingeniously emends, some choliambics cited by Apollonius Lex. Hom. in *ἄειδε*, which evidently belong to Babrius, and he considers it highly probable that Apollonius flourished in the Augustan age or somewhat earlier.

enus were probably rolls of parchment or papyrus on which the ten books were written¹⁵. This poetical collection has not however come down to us in a perfect form; and a few fables out of the whole ten books have alone been preserved in different MSS. of the fables attributed to Aesop. It appears that this poetical work of Babrius furnished the copyists and monks of the middle ages with materials for their tasteless and barbarous versions of Aesop's fables in Greek prose. In most places they completely obscured the elegant and metrical form of the original under their own lifeless paraphrase; but occasionally they spared themselves the trouble of changing the expression, and were content to transcribe with only slight variations the precise words of the original. Owing to this forbearance, the *disjecti membra poetæ* are discernible in many of the prose versions of (what are termed) Aesop's fables; and several fables of Babrius have thus been preserved to us in different manuscripts, in a more or less perfect state. Thus two are extant in a Vossian MS., one has been preserved in a metrical form at the end of the Aldine edition of the tetrastichs of Gabrius, one was found by Tyrwhitt copied by an unknown hand among some loose papers in a Harleian MS.; all of which, together with the fragments cited by Suidas and some other grammarians, were collected by Tyrwhitt in his *Dissertatio de Babrio*. His collection has recently received a great accession from several fables contained in some Vatican MS. published by Di Furia, at Florence, in 1809. These have been in part restored to their ancient form, and successively edited by Coray in his collection of Aesop's fables, by J. G. Schneider at the end of his edition of Aesop's fables from the Augustan MS., by Berger, in an edition of the remains of Babrius, published at Munich in 1816, and by Mr G. Burges in the Classical Journal, (whose collection however is unfinished). The Bishop of London likewise restored some selected fables in the third number of the Museum Criticum. Of these critics the two latter appear alone to have been acquainted with the laws of iambic metre. When it is considered that out of

¹⁵ It may be further observed that Avienus calls the books of Phædrus *libelli*, and not *volumina*. In this manner is to be explained the statement of Pliny, H. N. viii. 16, that Aristotle's writings on natural history were contained in nearly 50 *volumina*. See Menage ad Diog. Laert. v. 25.

eighteen fables in the Vossian MS., two are preserved in nearly a perfect form, and that the Vatican MSS. have furnished about ten which can be restored with tolerable certainty, there can be no doubt (as Tyrwhitt has observed) that many more fables of Babrius might be discovered, if the MSS. of Aesop, especially the more ancient ones, were carefully examined. It is therefore much to be desired that those persons who have opportunities of searching the great collections of Greek MSS., and travel with the object of collating them, should keep this point in view. Indeed it appears that, at no long time since, thirty fables of Babrius were extant in a metrical form, and may, for aught we know, still be in existence¹⁶.

On account of the imperfect form in which these few fables have reached us, either in the purposely unfaithful transcripts of ignorant monks, or merely as fragments cited in the lexicon of Suidas, it is very difficult to determine any thing with certainty as to the dialect in which the choliambics of Babrius were written, or the precise rules by which their metre was governed. It seems probable that Babrius took his notion of writing fables in choliambics from Callimachus, some of whose fragments in that metre might from their style and subject seem to be remains of Babrius. For instance fragm. 87.

ἦ κείνος οὐνιαυτὸς ᾧ τό τε πτηνὸν
καὶ τοῦν θαλάσση καὶ τὸ τετράπουν οὕτως
ἐφθέγγεθ', ὥς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμήθειος.

¹⁶ Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Vol. I. p. 635. ed. Harles. "P. Romolinus in coenobio quodam, *Grotta Ferrara*, haud procul Tusculo, (*hodie Frascati*), invenit codicem membranaceum in 4. initio sæculi XI. scriptum, qui continet Aesopi vitam ac fabulas; Cel. de Murr in *Ephemerid. Noribergens.* nr. L. 1789. ex litteris illius sequentem dedit notitiam: Codex continet vitam Aesopi, quæ inscribitur: Βιβλος ξανθου φιλοσοφου και αἰσωπου δουλου αὐτου· περι ἀναστροφης αἰσωπου, et incipit hisce verbis: ὁ παντα βιοφιλεστατος αἰσωπος, ὁ λογοποιος, attico sermone conscripta, prolixiorque, quam Aesopi vita a Maximo Planude conscripta. Constat enim 72. paginis, minuscule characterē refertis, et notulis in margine. Aesopi vitæ proxime succedunt fabulæ, hoc titulo: Αἰσωπου μυθοι κατα στοιχειον ὠφελιμοι. Sunt nr. 223. ordine alphabetico dispositæ, quæ numero et verbis paullulum differunt a vulgatis. Postremo veniunt fabulæ 30 versibus iambicis, vel potius scazontibus (*procul dubio Babrii*) concinnatæ, hoc titulo: των αἰσωπου μυθων ιαμβοι." The MS. contained some other things, which it is unnecessary to specify, as enough has been mentioned to enable it to be identified.

And fragm. 93.

ἄκουε δὴ τὸν αἶνον. ἔν κοτε Τμώλῳ
δάφνην ἐλαίῃ νεῖκος οἱ πάλαι Λυδοὶ
λέγουσι θέσθαι—

In which fable the olive tree said *φαύλη δὲ πάντων εἰμ' ἔγωγε τῶν δένδρων*¹⁷. It will be perceived that in these scazons of Callimachus the dialect bears an Ionic character; as indeed is the case in other choliambic fragments of the same poet¹⁸. So likewise in the choliambics of Callimachus restored by Niebuhr and L. Dindorf, the Vatican MS. of Diodorus has *δίδαξε* without the augment, although the metre would bear it¹⁹. It may moreover be generally observed throughout the numerous instances of choliambics collected by Gaisford ad Hephæst. p. 251. sq. that the dialect bears an archaic character, even in the extracts of poets who wrote in the age which followed the death of Alexander. It appears that about the beginning of this period the ancient choliambic poetry of Hipponax was revived by several writers²⁰; who imitated the antique form of expression, as well as the peculiar metre of that early poet. These peculiarities may be remarked in the remaining choliambics of Callimachus, which are composed with great strictness, no resolved foot or licence occurring in them, except the dactyl in the third place. In the extracts of Phœnix of Colophon²¹ preserved in Athenæus, particularly in the long fragment concerning Ninus, in

¹⁷ This verse is uncertain, being cited by the grammarian thus: *ἐγὼ φαύλη πάντων τῶν δένδρων εἰμί*. Bentley's restoration is given in the text.

¹⁸ See Bentley ad fragm. 85.

¹⁹ See Dindorf's edition of the Vatican Excerpta of Diodorus, Addenda to p. 32. 16.

²⁰ See Naeke's Choerilus, p. 227. Simonides, who was posterior to Hipponax, though born during his lifetime, appears occasionally to have employed that metre. Thus fr. 220. ed. Gaisford. *καὶ σαῦλα βαίνων ἵππος ὡς κορωνίτης*; and fr. 202. *ὥσπερ ἔγχελυς κατὰ γλοιοῦ* seems to be the termination of a scazon.

²¹ Pausanias i. 9. 7. says that after the battle of Ipsus (301. B. C.) Lysimachus enlarged the city of Ephesus by bringing to it the inhabitants of Lebedos and Colophon, which towns he destroyed, so that Phœnix the Iambic poet of Colophon lamented their capture. (See Naeke, p. 227). It appears therefore that Phœnix flourished about this time, and rather preceded Callimachus.

the remains of Aeschrion, Hermeias, Parmenon²² and others²³, who probably lived about the same time or somewhat later, the same Ionic diction may also be observed, although there is not the same strictness with regard to the resolved feet. Two scazons of Apollonius Rhodius likewise shew the same character of dialect²⁴: which also appears in the choliambic inscription of Theocritus for the tomb of Hipponax²⁵.

Finding therefore that the antique language of Hipponax had been preserved, at least in its outward form, by the revivers of choliambic poetry, and that it held its place in this metre by a sort of prescriptive right, Babrius may perhaps have considered himself in some measure free from the restraints of the common Attic dialect; and, at the same time that he treated his subject in a familiar and idiomatic style, may have indulged in some licences which would not have been allowable in the language of conversation or of comedy. This point however, from the impurity of our sources and the uncertainty of conjectural emendation, cannot be satisfactorily determined. Suidas under νεός quotes a fragment of Babrius thus:

καί τις γεωργὸς πύρον εἰς νεὸν σπείρας
φύλασσειν ἐστῶς.

The paraphrase of the Vat. MS. (see below Fab. xiv. 3.) has ἐφύλαττεν. In the same fable v. 15. the Vat. MS. has οἱ ψᾶρες ἦλθον καὶ νέμοντο τὴν χώραν, where κἀνέμοντο equally suits the metre. Suidas under φριζότριχα has the following choliambic of Babrius, φρίζας δὲ χαίτην ἔκθορε φωλάδος κοίλης. But this verse is also suspicious on account of its metre, of which we shall speak presently. In Fab. xiii. 14. the Vat. MS. has πόθεν μαθήσει πόσσον εἰς ἑὼ λείπει, where Mr Burges reads πόστον. In Fab. xx. the forms θᾶσσον and πράσσω occur in the Vat. MS. Suidas under λύγδινα cites a verse, which evidently belongs to Babrius: γλύψας ἐπώλει λύγδινόν τις Ἑρμείαν, where the epic form Ἑρμείας and not the common Ἑρμῆς (as in Fab. x. 9.) is used. (See Coray, p. 89. Schneider, p. 52). Perhaps also ἀνίη with the penult short for

²² See Naeke, Chœr. p. 195.

²³ See their names and fragments collected in Welcker's Hipponax, p. 20.

²⁴ Ap. Steph. Byz. in χώρα. See Clinton Fast. Hell. Part II. p. 56.

²⁵ Epigr. 21.

ἀνία occurs in a fragment cited by Suidas under κνηκίας. See below p. 290. In Fab. xi. 13, 15. the metre is most easily restored by reading μέσσον and θλάσσειν; but the entire fable is much mutilated, and on the whole it is perhaps most probable that Babrius wrote φυλάσσω, θάσσειν, not φυλάττω, θάττον, &c.: that he occasionally used such licences as πόσσον, for πόσον, Ἑρμείας for Ἑρμῆς; but that he never went so far as to omit the augment.

As far as we can judge from the specimens extant, the metre of Babrius was governed by the same rules as the tragic senarian iambics, except that the fifth foot was properly an iambus, and the sixth foot universally a spondee or a trochee. Anapests in the first foot occur frequently; as in the fragment in Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 152. ἀνέθηκε τοιχοῖς ποικίλας γραφὰς ζώων. Fab. xiv. 21. γέραναι συνήντων καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἡρώτων. Fab. ix. 8. ὑφ' ἐνὸς δὲ δηχθεὶς συνεπάτησε τοὺς πάντας. The instances of anapests occurring in the other feet appear to be corrupt. 1. Babrius ap. Suid. in φριζότριχα. φρίξας δὲ χαίτην ἔκθορε φωλάδος κοίλης, where we should probably read φωλάδος ἔθορ' ἐκ κοίλης²⁶. 2. Ap. Suid. in ἥρα. αἰσχρὰς τινος ἥρα καὶ κακοτρόπου δούλης. The Harl. MS. ap. Tyrwhitt, p. 197. has σαπρὰς τις ἥρα. The prose version of this fable in the Bodleian MS. begins αἰσχρὰς καὶ κακοτρόπου δούλης ἥρα δεσπότης, the τις of Babrius being rendered by δεσπότης. 3. Ap. Suid. in Νέμεσις. παρὴν δὲ Νέμεσις ἢ τὰ γῆς ἐποπτεύει. ἢ καὶ ἄλλως—ἢ τὰ δικ' ἐποπτεύει. "Sed varia lectio (says Porson) quam nobis hic ministrat Suidas stare nequit, quippe quæ trochaeum in quarto loco gerat. Rescribendum ἢ τὰ δίκαι' ἐποπτεύει. Pollux iii. 5. ὁ τὰ τῆς συγγενείας δίκαια ἐφορῶν." *Adversaria*, p. 307²⁷. In like manner we may

²⁶ It appears from the preposition ἐκ that φωλάς must here signify a cavern. It is used as an adjective by Theocritus to signify "an inhabitant of caverns." ὦ λύκοι, ὦ θῶες, ὦ ἀν' ὤρεα φωλάδες ἄρκτοι, i. 115. Berger, p. 35. reads φωλάδος κοίτης.

²⁷ Babrius ap. Suid. in καρχαρόδους.

....καὶ κάρχαρόν τι μειδιάσας
σοὶ μισθὸς ἀρκεῖ, φησὶ, τῶν ἰατρειῶν
κεφαλὴν λυκείου φάρυγος ἐξελεῖν σῶαν.

Porson *ibid.* restores κάρχαρόν τε μειδιάσας τι. A MS. of Suidas ap. Tyrwhitt has μειδήσας. Read therefore with Berger, p. 39. from the prose version of the fable (Coray, p. 85. Schneider, p. 79) θήξας ὄδοντας κάρχαρόν τε μειδήσας. Compare Bab. ap. Suid. in γομφίους. ὁ δ' ὠχριάσας γομφίους τε συγκρούων.

say: "Emendatio quam nobis hic ministrat Porsonus stare nequit, quippe quæ *anapæstum* in quarto loco gerat." There is not, as far as we are aware, any objection to the other reading τὰ γῆς. 4. The last verse of Fab. xvii. as restored by Tyrwhitt has an anapest in the second foot, ὦ τᾶν, ὁ τόπος με λοιδορεῖ, σὺ μὴ καυχῶ. We might read ὁ τόπος μόνον με λοιδορεῖ, σὺ μὴ καυχῶ: but the passage has probably been so mutilated that the words of the original are not discernible. 5. Bentley, Dissert. on Aesop. §. 7. (p. 145. ed. Lips.) restores the two following lines from a prose fable (Coray, p. 98)

ἀνὴρ μεσοπόλιος δὺ' ἐρωμένας εἶχεν,
ὦν ἡ μὲν ἦν νεᾶνις ἡ δὲ πρεσβῦτις.

The second line is probably as it came from the hands of Babrius; the first however is proved to be corrupt by the anapest in the fourth place. 6. In a fragment of a fable cited by Suidas (in νῦν σωθείην)—νῦν σωθείην ἔν' ἡ μοι δίδαγμα τοῦτο τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου—if Schneider, p. 207, is right in recognizing the hand of Babrius, we must read

—νῦν γε σωθείην
ἔν' ἡ χρόνου δίδαγμα τοῦτο τοῦ λοιποῦ.

Among the remains of Hipponax, whose metre was imitated by the later writers of choliambics, there are in the edition of Welcker some instances of anapests after the first foot, of which several have already been removed by easy emendations. Thus in fragm. 6. ὦ Κλαζομένοιοι, Βούπαλος κατέκτειθεν, the right form is evidently Κλαζομένιοι; read therefore ὦ Κλαζομένοιοι, Βούπαλος κατεκτείθη. Fragm. 16. ἀπό σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἄρτεμις σέ τε χῶπόλλων. Here we would read, partly with Friedemann, ἀπό σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἄρτεμις τε κᾶπόλλων. Fragm. 44. The following lines are quoted by Tzetzes without the beginning of the sentence:

λιμῶ γένηται ξηρὸν, ἐν δὲ τῷ θυμῷ
ὁ φαρμακὸς ἀχθεὶς ἐπτάκις ῥαπισθείη.

Blomfield ad Aesch. Prom. 981. expunges ὁ in the second line, observing that Hipponax lengthens the penult of φαρμακός²⁸.

²⁸ In Hipponax φαρμακός, "an expiatory victim" has the penult long. See fragm. 21. 44. But φάρμακον "a remedy" appears to have the penult short. See fragm. 9.

ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωκας οὔτε τὰν χλαῖναν
δάσειαν, ἐν χειμῶνι φάρμακον ῥίγεις.

In the former verse perhaps we should read ἐν δὲ τῷ βωμῷ “at the altar.” Compare Thucyd. i. 126. καθεζομένους δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παροδῷ διεχρήσαντο.

Babrius seems to have occasionally admitted a spondee into the fifth foot; a variety of iambic metre called *ischiorrhogic*, or disjointed, by the ancient grammarians²⁹. This licence sometimes appears among the extant verses of Hipponax³⁰; and out of the four scazons written by Theocritus as a supposed inscription for the monument of Hipponax, two are of this form. Ananius, an ancient iambographer, is said to have made most use of this liberty³¹. In Babrius it can only be traced in the following verses. 1. Ap. Suid. in ἐκαστότε.

τῶν οὖν τριχῶν ἐκαστόθ' ἡ μὲν ἀκμαίη
ἔτιλλεν ἄς εὗρισκε λευκανθίζούσας.

2. Ap. Suid. in κνηκίας.

ὁ δ' ἐκλυθεῖς πόνων τε κἀνίης πάσης
τὸν κνηκίαν χάσκοντα λακτίσας φεύγει.

Here Bentley Dissert. on Aesop. §. 7. reads κἀνίας: if however we suppose Babrius to have used the Ionic form ἀνίη, the penult would be short.

3. Fab. vii. 4. ταχύπτερόν σε μὴ μεθεῖναι τὴν πίστιν.

Welcker, p. 52. thinks that the words χελιδόνων φάρμακον fragm. 74. are the end of a choliambic. He, doubtless, meant to say the beginning. More probably however they stood thus, Χελιδόνων (δὲ) φάρμακον.... Photius says of the word φαρμακός, Lex. i. p. 640. 2. Δίδυμος προπερισπᾶν ἀξιοῖ τοῦνομα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐχ εὗρομεν οὕτω που τὴν χρῆσιν. Whether this word was rightly accented φαρμᾶκος or φαρμακός, we suspect that Didymus was correct in considering the penult as long; and the other account p. 640. 8. which Photius has borrowed from a different quarter, that Hipponax, being an Ionian, corrupted the Greek language, metres, and prosody, is, in our opinion, absurd. We suspect that Lysias and Demosthenes pronounced this word in the very same way as Hipponax.

²⁹ See the extract of a grammarian in Hermann El. Doct. Met. ii. 15.

³⁰ Hephæstion, p. 16. cites fr. 34. ed. Welcker, as an instance. See also fragm. 1. 13. and 47. In fragm. 30. read ἀλφιτεύσουντας. In fragm. 44. βάλ-
λοντες ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ῥαπίζοντες | κράδησι καὶ σκίλλησιν, ὥσπερ φαρμακόν, per-
haps ὥστε φαρμακόν—Ibid. πάλαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς Προσδέχονται χάσκοντες | κράδας
ἔχοντας, ὡς ἔχουσι φαρμακοί. Here προσεδέχοντο seems preferable.

³¹ Grammat. ubi sup. The verse, χρυσὸν λέγει Πύθερμος ὡς οὐδὲν τᾶλλα, attributed by Athenæus to Ananius or Hipponax, is probably by the former (Welcker Hipp. fragm. 25).

Here Mr Burges (*Classical Journal*, Vol. xxv. p. 370.) reads σέ μὴ μεθεῖναι τὴν ταχύπτερον πίστιν; but this collocation of the words is inadmissible. Compare Theocrit. Ep. xxi. 2. εἰ μὲν πονηρός, μὴ ποτέρχεν τῷ τύμβῳ.

4. Ap. Suid. in γέρανος.

Λίβυσσα γέρανος, ὁ δὲ (al. ἡδὲ) τάως εὐπήληξ,
χλωρὴν ἀεὶ βόσκοντο χείματος ποίην.

The first verse is equally unmetrical whether we read ὁ δὲ or ἡδὲ, as the penult of τάως is short.

The object of the present article is, not to make a complete collection of the remains of Babrius, but simply to bring together those fables which are entire, or nearly entire, and can be restored with tolerable certainty to their original shape. All those fragments have been already noticed, which offered anything remarkable either with regard to the metre or dialect of Babrius; and as the single lines cited in the grammarians have been collected by Tyrwhitt and Schneider, and the detached verses which have been preserved untouched, few and far between, amidst the prose versions of the Aesopian fables, cannot be conveniently detached from the context, it has been thought unnecessary to reprint at length many barbarous prose fables for the sake of a few lines of Babrius which they contain, or to repeat unconnected remains of a poet who lived long after the classical age, and whose language is not therefore a matter of much interest. In the following collection all the various readings will be noticed, whence the reader will be able to judge how far the restoration proceeds on safe grounds; and with some few exceptions no very doubtful conjectures will be hazarded. The emendations of former critics which appeared worthy of notice will be mentioned: those obviously wrong, or utterly uncertain, will be passed over in silence. At the head of every fable are placed references to the works in which it has been edited. The following is a list of the collections which have already appeared: De Furia, *Fabulæ Aesopicæ*. Lipsiæ, 1810. The references to Tyrwhitt's *Dissertatio de Babrio* are made to the reprint in this volume. Coray. *Μύθων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγή*. Paris, 1810. Schneider. *Fabulæ Aesopiæ*. Vratislaviæ, 1812. Berger. *Babrii Fabularum Choliambicarum Libri tres*. Monachii, 1816.

Some fables of Babrius have likewise been edited by Bishop Blomfield in the *Museum Criticum*, Vol. 1, and by Mr. Burges in the *Classical Journal*, Vols. xxv. and xxvi.

FAB. I.

Tyrwhitt, p. 189. ed. Lips. ex ed. Ald. Coray, p. 90.
Schneider, p. 122. Berger, p. 3.

Ἄγρου χελιδὼν μακρὸν ἐξεπωτήθη,
εὗρεν δ' ἐρήμοις ἐγκαθημένην ὕλαις
ἀηδὸν ὀξύφωνον· ἥ δ' ἀπεθρήνει
τὸν Ἴτυν, ἄωρον ἐκπεσόντα τῆς ὥρης.
χὴ μὲν χελιδὼν φησι, Φιλτάτῃ ζώων, 5
πρῶτον βλέπω σε σήμερον μετὰ Θράκην.
ἀλλ' ἔλθ' ἐς ἄγρον, καὶ πρὸς οἶκον ἀνθρώπων.
σύσκηνος ἡμῖν καὶ φίλῃ κατοικήσεις,
ὅπου γεωργοῖς κούχῃ θηρίοις ἄσεις.
τὴν δ' αὖτ' ἀηδὼν ὀξύφωνος ἡμείφθη, 10
Ἔα με πέτραις ἐμμένειν ἀοικήτοισ·
οἶκος δέ μοι πᾶς ἥ τε μίξις ἀνθρώπων
μνήμην παλαιῶν συμφορῶν ἀναφλέξει.

FAB. II.

Observ. Misc. Vol. X. p. 122. ex cod. Vossiano. Tyrwhitt,
p. 188. Coray, p. 75. Schneider, p. 123. Berger, p. 6.

Χειμῶνος ὥρα σῖτον ἐκ μύχου σύρων
ἔψυχε μύρμηξ, ὃν θέρους σεσωρεύκει.
τέττιξ δὲ τοῦτον ἰκέτευσε λιμώττων
δοῦναί τι καὶ τῷ τῆς τροφῆς, ὅπως ζήσῃ.
Τί οὖν ἐποίεις, φησὶ, τῷ θερεὶ τούτῳ; 5
Οὐκ ἐσχόλαζον, ἀλλὰ διετέλουν ἄδων.
γελάσας δ' ὁ μύρμηξ, τὸν δὲ πυρὸν ἐγκλείων,
Χειμῶνος ὀρχοῦ, φησὶν, εἰ θέρους ἦσας.

I. 1. μακρὸν] Scribebatur μακράν. cf. fab. v. 1. θεοῖς Ἀπόλλων ἔλεγε μακρὰ τοξεύων. ib. ἐξεποτήθη Ald. correxit Tyrwhitt.

4. τῆς ὥρης Ald. τῆς ζωῆς Tyrwhitt. ὥρης tuetur Dobree, *Advers.* i. p. 559.

5. φιλτάτῃ ζώοις Ald. φ. χαίροις Tyrwhitt. φιλτάτῃ ζώων Dobree l. c.

6. μετὰ Θράκην breviter dictum pro τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ συμφορὰν monet Schaeferus.

II. 4. καὶ αὐτῷ cod. καὶ τῷ Valckenaer. cf. *Append. Phaed. Fab. Aesop.* 28.

FAB. III.

Tyrwhitt, p. 192. ex cod. Vossiano. Coray, p. 138. Schneider, p. 125. Berger, p. 6.

κώνωψ ἐπιπτάς κέρατι καμπύλῳ ταύρου,
 μικρόν τ' ἐπισχών, εἶπε ταῦτα βομβήσας,
 Εἴ σου βαρύνω τὸν τένοντα καὶ κλίνω,
 καθεδούμ' ἀπελθὼν ποταμίαις ἐν αἰγείροις.
 ὁ δ', Οὐ μέλει μοι, φησὶν, οὔτ' ἐὰν μείνης
 οὔτ' ἢν ἀπέλθης, οὐδ' ὅτ' ἦλθες ἐγνώκειν.

5

FAB. IV.

Tyrwhitt, p. 197. et 202. ex adversariis viri docti ignoti in cod. Harl. 3521. Coray, p. 235. Schneider, p. 122. Berger, p. 5. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 25.

Ζεὺς ἐν πίθῳ τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα συλλέξας
 ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν πωμάσας παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ.
 ὁ δ' ἀκρατὴς ἄνθρωπος, εἰδέναι σπεύδων
 τί ποτ' ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ πῶμα κινήσας,
 διῆκ' ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὰ πρὸς θεῶν οἴκους,
 κακεῖ πέτεσθαι, τῆς τε γῆς ἄνω φεύγειν.
 μόνη δ' ἔμεινεν ἐλπίς, ἣν κατειλήφει
 τεθὲν τὸ πῶμα· τοίγαρ ἐλπίς ἀνθρώποις
 μόνη σύνεστι, τῶν πεφευγόντων ἡμᾶς
 ἀγαθῶν ἕκαστον ἐγγυωμένη δώσειν.

5

10

III. 1. ἐπιτάς κέρατι καμπύλῳ ταῦρος. 2. καθεύδομαι ἢ κατέλθω. 5. ἀν μείνης. 6. οὔτε ὅτε Voss. quæ omnia correxit Tyrwhitt. In versu primo κρατὶ conjicit Dobree l. c. Tyrwhitti tamen emendationem tres hujusce fabulæ versiones confirmant (Coray p. 138): quamquam κέρατος penultimam producit in Babriano versu qui in Fab. 277. p. 181. ed. Coray. latet. Fabula ita orditur, λέοντα φεύγων ταῦρος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς σπηλαῖον. τράγος δὲ τοῦτον τοῖς κέρασιν ἐξώθει. Hoc est, ut videtur,

λέοντα φεύγων ταῦρος ἄντρον εἰσῆλθεν,
 τράγος δὲ τοῦτον τοῖς κέρασιν ἐξώθει.

IV. 6. τῆς δὲ mutatum in τῆς τε Harl.

7. κατειλήφεν mutatum in κατειλήφει Harl. Vocula ante Βαβρίου in MS. quod Tyrwhittus, aut qui in ejus usum codicem inspexit Musgravius, legere non potuit, videtur esse *Versus*.

FAB. V.

Furia Fab. 351. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 366. Schneider, p. 125. Berger, p. 12. Blomfield, Mus. Crit. Vol. i. p. 411. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 366.

Θεοῖς Ἀπόλλων ἔλεγε μακρὰ τοξεύων,
 Οὐκ ἂν βάλοι τις πλείον οὐδὲ τοξεύσαι.
 ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ παίζων ἠρίδαινε τῷ Φοίβῳ,
 Ἑρμῆς δ' ἔσειεν Ἄρεος ἐν κυνῇ κλήρους.
 λαχὼν δὲ Φοῖβος καὶ τὰ τόξα κυκλώσας
 τὸ βέλος ἔπηξεν ἔντος Ἑσπέρου κήπου.

5

Ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ διαβὰς ταὐτὸ μέτρον, εἶτ' ἔστη.
 καὶ ποῦ βαλῶ, ναί, φησιν, οὐχ ἔχω χώραν;
 τόξου δὲ νίκην ἔλαβε μηδὲ τοξεύσας.

FAB. VI.

Furia Fab. 355. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 265. Schneider, p. 116. Berger, p. 12. Blomfield, ib. p. 411. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 367.

Γαλῆν δόλω τις συλλαβὼν τε καὶ δήσας
 ἔπνιγε βάλλων ὑδάτων ἐν ἀγγείῳ.
 τῆς δ' οὖν λεγούσης, Ὡς κακὴν χάριν τίκεις
 ὧν ὠφέλουν, θηρῶσα μῦς τε καὶ σαύρας,
 Ἐπιμαρτυρῶ σοι, φησὶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας
 ἔπνιγες ὄρνεις, πάντα δ' οἶκον ἠρήμους,
 κρεῶν ἀνέωγας ἄγγος· ὥστε τεθνήξει,
 βλάβασα μᾶλλον ἢπερ ὠφελήσασα.

5

V. 2. βάλλη, τοξεύσει Vat. βάλοι, τοξεύσοι Coray. βάλοι, τοξεύσαι Schneider. et Blomfield.

5. φοῖβος τὸ τόξον ἐκκυκλώσας Vat. Emendaverunt Buttmanus et Blomfieldius.

7. μέτρον ἔστη Vat. εἶτ' ἔστη Buttman. εἰστήκει Blomfield.

8. ποῦ γὰρ βάλοιμ' ἂν φησὶν Burges. ἔλαβεν μὴ τοξ. Vat. Correxuit Buttman.

VI. 2. βάπτων pro βάλλων (βαλὼν Vat.) malebat Buttmanus, qui ὑδάτων ἐν ἀγγείῳ pro ὑδάτων συνεχεία incerta conjectura reposuit.

3. δὲ Vat. δ' οὖν Buttman.

7. κρεῶν τ' ἀνέωγες Buttman. τεθνήξη Vat.

8. βλαπτούση—ὠφελοῦσα Vat. ὠφελοῦσ' ἡμᾶς Niebuhrius ap. Schneid. Blomfieldii emendationem recepi.

FAB. VII.

Furia Fab. 358. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 266. Schneider, p. 116. Berger, p. 13. Blomfield, M. C. p. 412. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 370.

Λέοντι προσπτάς αἰτός [ποτ'] ἐζήτει
κοινωνὸς εἶναι· χῶ λέων, τί κωλύει;
πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ἀλλ' ἐνέχυρά [μοι] δώσεις
ταχύπτερόν σε μὴ μεθεῖναι τὴν πίστιν·
πῶς γὰρ φίλω σοι μὴ μένοντι πιστεύσω; 5

FAB. VIII.

Furia Fab. 360, ex. cod. Vat. Coray, p. 267. Schneider, p. 117. Berger, p. 13. Blomfield, M. C. p. 412. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 370.

Λύκος τις ἀδρὸς ἐν λύκοις ἐγεννήθη,
λέοντα δ' αὐτὸν ὠνόμασαν· ὁ δ' ἀγνώμων
τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἤνεγκε, τῶν δὲ συμφύλων
ἀποστατήσας τοῖς λέουσιν ὠμίλει.
κερδῶ δ' επισκώπτουσα, Μὴ φρενωθείην, 5
ἔφη, τοσοῦτον ὥς συ νῦν ἐτυφώθης.
σὺ γὰρ [ὥς] ἀληθῶς ἐν λύκοις λέων φαίνει,
εἰς δ' αὖ λεόντων σύγκρισιν λύκος φαίνει.

FAB. IX.

Furia Fab. 363. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 410. cf. p. 237. Schneider, p. 117. Berger, p. 15. Blomfield, M. C. p. 412. Burges, Vol. xxvii. p. 24.

Νεὼς ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν βυθισθείσης,
ιδῶν τις ἀδίκως ἔλεγε τοὺς θεοὺς κρίνειν·

VII. 1. ποτὲ inseruit Coray.

3. ἐνέχυρον δώσεις Vat. ἐνέχυρον οὖν δώσεις Buttmann. ἐνέχυρον μοι δώσεις Blomfield. ἐνέχυρα γ' οὖν δώσεις Burges.

VIII. 1. ἐγενήθη Vat.

2. αὐτὸν ἐκάλει Vat. αὐτόν τις ἐκάλει Buttmann. αὐτὸν ἐπεκάλουν Berger. αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν Blomfield. et Burges. quod verum perimit.

5. μὴ 'κφρενωθείην Berger.

7. σὺ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἐν λύκοις Vat. σὺ γὰρ ἀληθῶς μὲν ἐν λύκοις Blomfield. quod tamen spondæum in secundam sedem infert. σὺ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθῶς ἐν λύκοις Buttmann.

IX. 1. νεὼς ποτε σὺν αὐτοῖς Vat. Correxuit Coray.

2. Ita cod. Bodl. ap. Tyrwhitt. p. 172. ἀδίκους—κρίνων Vat.

ἐνὸς γὰρ ἀσεβοῦς ἐμβεβηκότος πλοίῳ,
 πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μηδὲν αἰτίους θνήσκειν.
 καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμοῦ λέγοντος, οἷα συμβαίνει 5
 πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐσμός ἦλθε μυρμήκων
 σπεύδων ἄχνας τὰς πυρίνας ἀποτρώγειν.
 ὑφ' ἐνὸς δὲ δηχθεὶς συνεπάτησε τοὺς πάντας.
 Ἑρμῆς δ' ἐπιστάς, τῷ τε ῥαβδίῳ παίων,
 Εἴτ' οὐκ ἀνέξει, φησὶ, τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν 10
 εἶναι δικαστὰς, οἷος εἶ συ μυρμήκων.

FAB. X.

Furia Fab. 364. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 411. Schneider,
 p. 117. Berger, p. 10. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 365. (cf. Coray,
 fab. 365. p. 237).

Ὀδοιπορῶν ἐρημία τις ἄνθρωπος
 † ἐστῶσαν εὔρε τὴν Ἀλήθειαν μόνην,
 καὶ φησιν αὐτῇ, Τίνα δι' αἰτίαν, σεμνή,
 πόλεις ἀφείσα τὴν ἐρημίαν ναίεις;
 ἡ δ' εὐθὺς εἶπε πρὸς τὰδ' ἡ βαθυγνώμων, 5
 ὅτι τὸ πάλαι μὲν παρ' ὀλίγοισιν ἦν ψεῦδος,
 νυνὶ δὲ πάντας ἐξελλήλυθ' εἰς θνητούς.
 εἰ δ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, καὶ κλύειν βεβούλησαι,
 ὁ νῦν βίος πονηρὸς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων.

3. ἐμβεβηκότος, πλείω Vat. ἐμβεβηκότος τῷ πλοίῳ Coray. ἐμβ. πλοίῳ Schneider.

4. μηδενὸς αἰτίους Vat. Correxuit Coray.

6. ὑπ' αὐτὸν Burges.

7. τὰς ἄχνας Vat. Transposuit Schneider.

8. συνεπάτει Vat. συνεπάτησε Bodl.

10. εἴτ' οὖν κἂν ἐξῇ Vat. εἴτα οὐκ ἀνέχεις Bodl. Unde emendavit Coray.

X. 1. ὀδοιπορῶν ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἐρημίαν Vat. Correxuit Blomfield. Mus. Crit. Vol. 1. p. 413.

2. In hoc versu metrum leni conjectura restitui nequit. Excidisse aliquid ex alia versione colligi fortasse potest.

3. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν Vat. σεμνή pro γύναι Bergero debetur. item in v. 4. πόλεις pro τὴν πόλιν.

5. πρὸς τὰδ' εἶπεν Vat.

6. ὅτι ποτὲ παρ' ὀλίγοισιν Vat. ὅτι τοῖς πάλαι καιροῖς παρ' ὀλίγοις ἦν τὸ ψεῦδος versio cod. Bodl.

7. νῦν εἰς πάντας βροτοὺς ἐλλήλυθε ψεῦδος Vat. νῦν δὲ εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν Bodl. Versus 6 et 7 valde incerti sunt.

8. βεβούλησαι κλύειν Vat. Transposuit Schneider.

9. ὁ νῦν πονηρὸς βίος Vat. βίος πονηρὸς Schn. βίος κάκιστος Berger. Totam fabulam, quæ multis in locis certo restitui nequit, politicis versibus scriptam statuit Burges.

FAB. XI.

Furia Fab. 367. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 371. cf. 137.
Schneider, p. 119. Berger, p. 16. Burges, Vol. xxvii. p. 25.

Ὀνον τις ἔτρεφε καὶ κυνίδιον ὠραῖον.
ὁ δ' ὄνος ἐν αὐλῇ παρὰ φάτναισι δεσμώτης
ἔτρωγε κριθὰς, χόρτον, ὥσπερ εἰώθει.
ἦν δὲ χαρίεν κυνίδιον, εὐρύθμως παῖζον,
τὸν δεσπότην τε ποικίλως περισκαῖρον. 5
† ἐκεῖνος δ' αὐτὸ κατέχων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις.
ὁ δ' ὄνος μὲν αἰεὶ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἤληθεν
πυρὸν φίλης Δήμητρος, ἡμέρας δ' ἤγεν
ὑλὴν ἀφ' ὕψους, ἐξ ἀγροῦ θ' ὅσον χρεία.
δαχθεὶς δὲ θυμῷ καὶ περισσὸν οἰμώζας, 10
πάσῃ θεωρῶν ἐν ἀβρότῃ τὸν σκύμνον,
φάτνης ὀνείης δεσμὰ καὶ κάλους ῥήζας
εἰς μέσον αὐλῆς ἤλθεν, ἄμετρα λακτίζων.
σαίνων δ' ὅποια καὶ θέλων περισκαίρειν
τὴν μὲν τράπεζαν εἰς μέσον βαλὼν θλάσσειν, 15
ἅπαντα δ' εὐθύς ἡλοίησε τὰ σκεύη.
δειπνοῦντα δ' εὐθύς ἤλθε δεσπότην κρούσων,
νώτοις ἐπεμβάς. ἐσχάτου δὲ κινδύνου
θεράποντες ἐν μέσοις ἔσωσαν, ὥς εἶδον,
† κραναίαις δὲ κορύναις ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κρούων 20
ἐκτεινον. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστατ' ἐξέπνει,

XI. 1. Δήλον (ait Coraius) ὅτι ὁ μῦθος συνέστηκεν ἐκ χωλιάμβων, οὐδέν τι
σχέδον τῆς Βαβριανῆς κομψείας ἀποδεόντων, οὓς ἀκομψος διασκευαστῆς, ἢ ἀντιγρα-
φεὺς, εἰς πεζοῦ λόγου σχῆμα συνέχεε, καὶ συνέθλασεν ὥσπερ ὁ μυθεύμενος ὄνος
τὰ σκεύη.

ib. πάνυ ὠραῖον Vat. πάνυ omisit Berger.

2. καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐλῇ παρὰ φάτναις Vat.

4. κυνίδιον δὲ χαρίεν ὃν Vat.

7. ὁ δὲ γε ὄνος τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἀλήθων Vat.

8. ὑλὴν ἤγεν Vat.

9. ἀγροῦ δ' Vat. ἀγροῦ θ' Berger.

10. δαχθεὶς Vat. Correxist Berger.

11. σκύμνον θεωρῶν ἐν ἀβρότῃ πάσῃ Vat. Secutus sum Burgesium.

12. δεσμοὺς Vat. δεσμὰ Burges.

13. εἰς μέσον Vat. εἰς τὸ μέσον Burges.

15. θλάσειν Vat.

19. ὥς εἶδον ἐσάωσαν Vat. Correxist Berger.

21. καὶ αὐτὸς et ἐκπνεεν Vat. cf. Append. Phædr. Fab. Aesop. 10.

Ἔτλην, ἔλεξεν, οἷα χρέ με, δυσδαίμων.
† τί γὰρ παρ' οὔρεσιν οὐκ ἐπολευόμην,
βαιῶ δ' ὁ μέλεος κυνιδίῳ παρισούμην;

FAB. XII.

Furia Fab. 368. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 268. Schneider,
p. 118. Berger, p. 17. Burges, Vol. xxvii. p. 26.

Ὀνος τις ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ δῶμα καὶ παίζων
τὸν κέραμον ἔθλα· καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων
ἐπιδραμὼν κατῆγε, τῷ ξύλῳ παίων.
ὁ δ' ὄνος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃς τὸ νῶτον ἤλεγχεν,
Καὶ μὴν πίθηκος ἐχθὲς, εἶπε, καὶ πρῶην 5
ἔτερπεν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσας.

FAB. XIII.

Furia Fab. 369. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 269. Schneider,
p. 120. Berger, p. 17. Burges, Vol. xxvii. p. 26.

Ὀρνιθοθήρα φίλος ἐπῆλθεν [ἐξ]αίφνης
μέλλοντι θύμβραν καὶ σέλινα δειπνήσειν.
ὁ δὲ κλωβὸς εἶχεν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ ἠγρεύκει.
ῥρμησεν οὖν πέρδικα ποικίλον θύσων,
ὃν ἡμερώσας εἶχεν εἰς τὸ θηρεύειν. 5
ὁ δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἰκέτευε μὴ κτεῖναι,
[λέγων], Τὸ λοιπὸν δικτύῳ τί ποιήσεις;
ὅταν κυνηγῇς; τίς δέ σοι συναθροίσει
εὖωπον ἀγέλην ὀρνέων φιλαλλήλων;
τίνος μελωδοῦ πρὸς [τὸν] ἦχον ὑπνώσεις; 10
ἀφῆκε τὸν πέρδικα, καὶ γενειητὴν
ἀλεκτορίσκον συλλαβεῖν ἐβουλήθη.

XII. 4. τὸν νῶτον Vat. τὸ νῶτον Burges.

5. καὶ μὴν ὁ πίθηκος χθὲς Vat. Articulum expunxit Buttmann.

XIII. 1. αἴφνης Vat. ἐξαίφνης Schneider.

4. ῥρμησε δὲ πέρδικα Vat. δ' οὖν πέρδικα Schneider.

7. λέγων supplevit Coray.

9. εὖωπῶν Vat. Correxist Schneider. Vid. Porson. ad Eur. Med. 1363.

10. τὸν supplevit Coray, et in proximo versu pro γεννητὴν, quod habet
Vat. γενειητὴν conjecit.

12. ἠβουλήθη Vat. Correxist Schneider.

ὁ δ' ἐκ πεταύρου κλαγγὸν, εἶπε, φωνήσας,
 Πόθεν μαθήσει πόσσον εἰς ἔω λείπει,
 τὸν ὠρόμαντιν ἀπολέσας με; πῶς γνώσει 15
 πότ' ἐννυχεύει χρυσότοξος Ὠρίων;
 ἔργων δὲ τίς σε πρωινῶν ἀναμνήσει,
 ὅτε δροσώδης ταρσός ἐστιν ὀρνίθων;
 κάκεινος εἶπεν, Οἶσθα χρησίμους ὥρας·
 ὅμως δὲ δεῖ σχεῖν, ἵνα φίλος τι δειπνήσῃ. 20

FAB. XIV.

Furia Fab. 374. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 271. Schneider, p. 123. Berger, p. 19. Burges, Vol. xxvii. p. 28.

† Πλειάδος δυσμαὶ ἦσαν ἐν σπόρου ὥρῃ,
 καὶ τις γεωργὸς πυρὸν εἰς νεὸν σπείρας
 ἐφύλασσε ἐστῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἄκριτον πλήθει
 μέλαν κολοιῶν ἔθνος ἦλθε δυσφώνων,
 ψᾶρές τ' ὀρύκται σπερμάτων ἀρουραίων. 5
 τῷ δ' ἠκολούθει σφενδόνην ἔχων κοίλην
 παιδίσκος· οἱ δὲ ψᾶρες ἐκ συνηθείας
 ἤκουον, εἰ τὴν σφενδόνην ποτ' ἠτήκει,
 καὶ πρὶν βαλεῖν ἔφευγον. εὗρεν οὖν τέχνην

13. ὁ δ' ἐκ τοῦ τέγους κλαγγὴν εἶπε φωνήσας Vat. Quod in textu legitur citat Suidas in πέταυρα, nisi quod βοήσας pro φωνήσας habet.

14. "Ionicum est πόσσον: neque satis bene Græcum πόσσον in tali loco: debuit esse πόστον, teste Suid. πόστος: ubi citatur πόστον ἔτος et πόστη ὥρα." Burges.

15. τὸν ὠρομαθὴν ἀπολέσας πῶς γνώσῃ Vat. τὸν ὠρονόμον θύσας με Suidas. Quod dedi conjecit Schneiderus, qui in v. 14 μαθήσει pro μαθήσεις correxit.

18. ὅτε δὴ δροσώδης Burges.

19. οἶδας Vat. οἶσθα Burges.

20. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ σχεῖν τι δειπνήσει Vat. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ μ' ἐλεῖν σε, δεῖπνα ποιήσεις Burges.

XIV. 2. καὶ τις γεωργὸς πυρὸν εἰς νεὸν σπείρας φύλασσε ἐστῶς Suidas in νεός. καὶ τις γεωργὸς ἐν κλήρῳ πυροῦς σπείρας ἐφύλαττεν ἐστῶς Vat. Hinc εἰς νεὸν πυροῦς σπείρας dedit Schneiderus; male: nam πυρός primam producit.

5. καὶ ψᾶρες ὀρύκται Vat. Correxit Burges. ψᾶρας et κολοιούς conjunxit Homerus, II. II. 761. P. 755.

8. ἰθύκει Vat. ἠτήκει Buttman.

9. εὗρε δὲ τέχνην Vat. εὗρε δὴ τέχνην Schn. εὗρεν οὖν τέχνην Berger.

ὁ γεωργὸς ἄλλην, τὸν τε παῖδα φωνήσας 10
 ἐδίδασκεν· ὦ παῖ, χρὴ γὰρ ὀρνέων ἡμᾶς
 σοφῶν δολῶσαι τὴν φρέν'· ἡνίκ' ἂν τοίνυν
 ἔλθωσιν [ᾧδ'], ἐγὼ μὲν ἄρτον αἰτήσω,
 σὺ δ' οὐ τὸν ἄρτον, σφενδόνην δέ μοι δώσεις.
 οἱ ψᾶρες ἦλθον, κἀνέμοντο τὴν χώραν· 15
 ὁ δ' ἄρτον αἰτεῖ, καθάπερ εἶχε συνθήκην·
 οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφευγον· τῷ δ' ὁ παῖς λίθων πλήρη
 τὴν σφενδόνην ἔδωκεν· ὁ δὲ γέρων ρίψας
 τοῦ μὲν τὸ βρέγμα, τοῦ δ' ἔτυψε τὴν κνήμην,
 ἑτέρου τὸν ὦμον· οἱ δ' ἔφευγον ἐκ χώρας. 20
 γέρανοι συνήντων, καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἡρώτων,
 καί τις κολοῖος εἶπε, Φεύγετ' ἀνθρώπων
 γένος πονηρὸν, ἄλλα μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 λαλεῖν μαθόντων, ἄλλα δ' ἔργα ποιούντων.

FAB. XV.

Furia Fab. 378. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 273. Schneider,
 p. 121. Berger, p. 27. Blomfield, p. 413. Burges, Vol. xxvii.
 p. 30.

Γέννημα φρύνου συνεπάτησε βούς πίνων·
 ἐλθοῦσα δ' αὐτόσ', οὐ παρῆν γὰρ, ἡ μήτηρ
 παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποῦ ποτ' ἦν ἐπέζητει.
 Τέθνηκε, μήτερ, ἀρτίως πρὸ τῆς ὥρας.
 ἦλθεν πάχιστον τετράπουν, ὑφ' οὗ κεῖται 5

10. τότε παῖδα Vat. Correxuit Coray.

12. σοφῶν δηλῶσαι φίλους Vat. Quod dedi, Burgesio debetur.

13. ἔλθωσιν, ἐγὼ Vat.

15. καὶ νέμοντο Vat. κἀνέμοντο Burges. cf. Babrius ap. Suid. in πυρίνω.

γέρανοι γεωργοῖς κατενέμοντο τὴν χώραν
 ἐσπαρμένην νεωστὶ πυρίνω σίτῳ.

16. Malim ὁ δ' ἄρτον ἦτῃσ', ὥσπερ εἶχε συνθήκη.

17 et 20. ἔφευγον pro ἔφυγον bis dedit Schneider. χώρης Vat.

18. ἔδωκεν pro δέδωκεν Coray.

20. τοῦ δ' αὖ τὸν ὦμον Burges.

XV. 1. φρύνου γέννημα Vat. Transposuit Blomfield.

4. τέθνηκε μήτερ εἶπον ἄρτι πρὸ τῆς ὥρας. Vat. Secutus sum Blomfieldium, qui τέθνηκεν εἶπον ἀρτίως etiam legi posse monet.

5. ἦλθε γὰρ πάχιστον Vat. particulam expunxit Schneider. qui pro μα-
 λαχθεῖς malit παταχθεῖς.

χηλῇ μαλαχθείς. ἡ δὲ φρῦνος ἡρώτα,
 φυσῶσ' ἐαυτήν, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἦν ὄγκῳ
 τὸ ζῶον; οἱ δὲ, Παῦε, μὴ ποιῶ, μήτερ,
 θάσσον σεαυτήν, εἶπον, ἐκ μέσου ῥήξεις,
 ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου πιότητα μιμήσει.

10

FAB. XVI.

Furia Fab. 379. ex cod. Vat. Coray, p. 273. Schneider,
 p. 121. Berger, p. 25. Blomfield, p. 414. Burges, Vol. xxvii.
 p. 30.

Χαράδριος ἦν τις, ἐν χλόῃ νεοττεύων,
 τῷ [τε] κορυδάλῳ πρὸς τὸν ὄρθρον ἀντάδων·
 καὶ παῖδας εἶχε, λήϊου κόμη θρέψας,
 λοφῶντας ἤδη καὶ πτεροῖσιν ἀκμαίους.
 ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀρούρας δεσπότης, ἐποπτεύων
 ἀνθηρὸν [ἤδη] τὸ θέρος, εἶπε, Νῦν ὥρα
 πάντας καλεῖν με τοὺς φίλους, ἵν' ἀμήσω.
 καὶ τις χαραδρίου τῶν λοφηφόρων παίδων
 ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, τῷ τε πατρὶ μηνύει,
 σκοπεῖν κελεύων ποῦ σφέας μεταστήσει.
 ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Οὔπω καιρὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ φεύγειν·
 ὅς τοις φίλοις πέποιθεν οὐκ ἄγαν σπεύδει.
 ὥς δ' αὖθις ἐλθὼν, ἡλίου θ' ὑπ' ἀκτίνων
 ἤδη ῥέοντα τὸν στάχυν θεωρήσας,
 μισθὸν μὲν ἀμητῆρσιν αὔριον πέμψειν,
 μισθὸν δὲ πᾶσι δραγματηφόροις δώσειν

5

10

15

8. παῦε pro παύου Blomfield.

10. πιότητα pro ποιότητα Coray.

XVI. 2. τε inseruit Blomfield.

3, 4. Ita Suidas in λόφος. εἶχε omittit, κόμαις pro κόμη, et πτερίσιν pro πτεροῖσιν exhibet Vat.

6. ἀνθηρὸν ὃν τὸ θέρος et ὥρη Vat. Correxuit Blomfield.

7. Notandum ἀμᾶν priore producta. Vide Heyn. ad Il. ω. 165. Vol. viii. p. 625.

8. λοφοφόρων Vat. λοφηφόρων Blomfield. quem vide Gloss. ad Aesch. Theb. 415.

15. ἀμήτορσιν Vat. ἀμητῆρσιν Blomfield.

16. δραγματοφόροις Vat. δραγματηφόροις Schneider. et Blomfield.

ἔλεγε, χαράδριος εἶπε νηπίοις οὕτως,
 Νῦν ἐστὶν ὥρα, παῖδες, ἀλλαχοῦ φεύγειν,
 ὅτ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ, κού φίλοισι πιστεύει.

FAB. XVII.

Tyrwhitt, p. 188. Coray, p. 81. Schneider, p. 134. Berger, p. 7. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 28.

Λύκος παρήει τρίγχον, ἔνθεν ἐκκύψας
 ἄρνεϊος αὐτὸν ἔλεγε πολλὰ βλασφήμως.
 κακείνος εἶπε, τὰς σιαγόνας πρίων,
 ὦ τᾶν, ὁ τόπος με λαιδορεῖ· σὺ μὴ καυχῶ.

FAB. XVIII.

Tyrwhitt, p. 191. Coray, p. 94. 348. Berger, p. 35.

[Βότρυν πέπειρον ὄντ' ἐπ' ἀμπέλου κερδῶ
 ἰδοῦσα πάντῃ συλλαβεῖν ἐπειράτο.]
 ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐφικνεῖτ', ἀλλ' ἔκαμνε πηδῶσα,
 οὐδὲν κρεμαστῆς σχοῦσα πλείον αἰώρας,
 παρῆλθεν, οὕτω βουκολοῦσα τὴν λύπην,
 Ὅμφαξ ὁ βότρυς, οὐ πέπειρος, ὥς ὥμην.

5

17. ἔλεγε εἶπε χαράδριος πᾶσι νηπίοις οὕτως Vat. Emendavit Blomfield.

18. ὄντως παῖδες ἐκ τόπων Suidas in ἀμᾶν, qui hunc et proximum versum citat. ὥρη Vat.

19. ὅτ' αὐτὸς ἀμᾶ Suidas: vide sup. v. 7. φίλοις Vat.

XVII. 1. Duos primos versus servavit Suidas in τρίγχος et tertium in πρίων. Ultimus in codice Bodleiano extat, nisi quod ὦ τᾶν in initio addidit Tyrwhitt. αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος Burges. τριγχός· τειχίου. στεφάνη. περίφραγμα. περιβόλη. περι-τείχισμα Suidas ex Schol. ad Plat. Rep. p. 534.

XVIII. 1. 2. Hi versus post Bergerum ex variis fabulae Babrianæ versionibus conficti.

3—5. A Suida in αἰώρα servati, qui αἰώρα per ὑψωσις, ἐπαρσις explicat, p. 654. ed. Kuster. De voce βουκολῶ vide Blomfield. Gloss. ad Aesch Agam. 652. cujus exemplis adde Aristoph. Vesp. 10. ubi colo, veneror, significat. Similiter Babrius ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 153. et Suid. in βουκόλημα. χῶπως ἔχη τι βουκόλημα τῆς λύπης, Ἀνέθηκε τοίχιος ποικίλας γραφὰς ζώων.

6. Citat Etymol. M. in ὄμφαξ, ubi ὄμφαξ, ὁ μὴ πέπειρος βότρυς. Phavorin. Excerpt. ap. Dindorf. Gram. Gr. Vol. 1. p. 350. 33. πέπειρος βότρυς ὁ ἀλκμαῖος, οἶον ὄμφαξ ὁ βότρυς, οὐ πέπειρος. Pro ἀλκμαῖος leg. Βάβριος. cf. Phaedr. iv. 3.

FAB. XIX.

Coray, p. 107. (cf. p. 360).

Δάμαλις ἀγύμναστος βούν ἀροτριῶντα ἐταλάνιζε τοῦ κόπου, λέγουσα, ὦ πόσα κάμνεις καὶ τάλαιπωρεῖς. ὁ δὲ βούς ἐσίγα καὶ τὴν αὐλάκα ἔτεμνεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀγρόται τοῖς θεοῖς ἤθελον θύειν, ὁ μὲν γέρων βούς ἀποζευχθεὶς εἰς νομὴν ἀπελύθη, ὁ δὲ μόσχος σχοινίῳ εἴλκετο ἐπὶ τὸ τυθῆναι. ὁ δὲ βούς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Εἰς τοῦτο μὴ κάμνων ἐτηρήθης, καὶ σου τὸν τράχηλον μάχαιρα καὶ οὐχὶ ζυγὸς τρίψει.

Quæ fabula post Bergerum, p. 41. ita partim restitui potest.

Ἀροτριῶντα βούν δάμαλις ἀγύμναστος

Τάλας, ἐφώνει, μόχθον οἶον ὀτλεύεις.

† ὁ δὲ βούς ἐσίγα, καὶ τὴν αὐλάκα ἔτεμνεν.

ἀγρόται δ' ἐπεὶ θεοῖσιν ἤθελον θύειν,

ὁ μὲν γέρων βούς εἰς νομὴν ἀποζευχθεὶς

ἀπῆλθε, μόσχος δ' εἴλκετ' εἰς σφαγὴν σχοίνῳ.

ὁ δὲ βούς πρὸς αὐτὸν * * *

Εἰς τοῦτο, φησὶ, μὴ πονῶν ἐτηρήθης,

μάχαιρά σου τράχηλον, οὐ ζυγὸς, τρίψει.

FAB. XX.

Tyrwhitt, p. 21.

Ὁ Ζεὺς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτίας ἐν ὀστράκοις τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὥρισε γράφειν, καὶ εἰς κιβώτιον ἀποτιθέναι πλησίον αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐκάστου τὰς δίκας ἀναπράσσει. συγκεχυμένων δὲ τῶν ὀστράκων ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, τὸ μὲν βράδιον τὸ δὲ τάχιον ἐμπίπτει εἰς τὰς τοῦ Διὸς χεῖρας, εἴ ποτε καλῶς κρίνοιτο.

Furia. Fab. 365.

ὀστράκῳ γράφοντα τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀμαρτίας ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς κιβωτὸν σωρεύειν, ἵν' ἐρανίσας ἐκάστου τὰς δίκας ἀναπράσσει. τῶν ὀστράκων δὲ κεχυμένων ἀλλήλοις, τὸ μὲν βράδιον τὸ δὲ τάχιον ἐμπίπτει εἰς τοῦ Διὸς τὰς χεῖρας, εἴ ποτ' εὐθύνοι. τῶν οὖν πονηρῶν οὐ προσῆκε θαυμάζειν, ἀν θάσσον ἀδικῶν τις ὀψὲ κακῶς πράσσει.

Ex his versionibus, maximam Babrianæ fabulæ partem ita restituit Schneiderus, p. 133. (Cf. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 24.)

* * * * *

ὅπως ἐκάστου τὰς δίκας ἀναπράσση.
τῶν ὀστράκων δὲ κεχυμένων ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις,
τὸ μὲν βράδιον τὸ δὲ τάχιον ἐμπίπτει
εἰς τοῦ Διὸς τὰς χεῖρας, εἴ ποτ' εὐθύνοι.
τῶν οὖν πονηρῶν οὐ προσῆκε θαυμάζειν
ἂν θᾶσσον ἀδικῶν ὀψέ τις κακῶς πράσση.

FAB. XXI.

Tyrwhitt, p. 194. Coray, p. 158. Schneider, p. 126.

Γάλλοις ἀγύρταις εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπράθη
ὄνος τις, οὐκ εὐμορφος ἀλλὰ δυσδαίμων,
ὅστις φέροι πτωχοῖσι καὶ πανούργοισιν
πείνης ἄκος δίψης τε, καὶ κακὴν τέχνην.
οὗτοι δὲ κύκλῳ πᾶσαν ἐξ ἔθους κώμην
περιόντες ἔλεγον***, Τίς γὰρ ἀγροίκων
οὐκ οἶδεν Ἄττιν λευκὸν, ὥς ἐπηρώθη;
τίς οὐκ ἀπαρχὰς ὀσπρίων τε καὶ σίτων
ἀγνώφ' φέρων δίδωσι τυμπάνῳ Ῥεῖης;

5

XXI. Hujus fragmenti versus 1. 2. et 5—9. servavit Tzetzes Chiliad. xiii. 264. Tertius et quartus debentur Nat. Com. Myth. ix. 5.

3. φέρη edd. φέροι Schneider.

6. περιόντες vulg. "In Babrio mirum est dedisse Tyrwhittum, περιιόντες ἐλέγοντο· τίς γὰρ ἀγροίκων, ex interpolatione vel Nat. Comit. vel Bentleii Diss. Aesop. p. 145. ἐλεγον Tzetzes xiii. 269." Dobræus ad Porson. Aristophanica, p. (135). Hiatus notavi.

Exiguam tantum fabulæ Babrianæ partem esse servatam versionis pedestris comparatio ostendit. Coray, p. 158.

μηναγύρται ὄνον ἔχοντες τούτῳ εἰώθεσαν τὰ σκεύη ἐπιτιθέντες ὁδοιπορεῖν. καὶ δὴ ποτε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ κόπον, ἐκδείραντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ δέρματος τύμπανα κατεσκεύασαν, καὶ τούτοις ἐχρῶντο. ἐτέρων δ' αὐτοῖς μηναγυρτῶν ἀπαντησάντων, καὶ πυνθανομένων αὐτῶν ποῦ ἂν εἴη ὁ ὄνος, ἔφασαν τεθνηκέναι μὲν αὐτὸν, πληγὰς δὲ τοσαύτας λαμβάνειν ὅσας οὐδὲ ζῶν ὑπέμεινεν. Eadem breviter dedit Phaedrus iv. 1.

FAB. XXII.

Tyrwhitt, p. 163. Coray, p. 226. Schneider, p. 127. Berger, p. 11. Burges, Vol. xxv. p. 366.

Γάμοι τοῦ Ἡλίου θέρους ἐγίνοντο· πάντα δὲ τὰ ζῶα ἔχαιρον ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ· ἠγάλλοντο δὲ καὶ βάτραχοι. εἰς δὲ τούτων εἶπεν, ὦ μῶροι, εἰς τί ἀγάλλεσθε; εἰ γὰρ μόνος ὢν ὁ Ἥλιος πᾶσαν ὕλην ἀποξηραίνει, εἰ γήμας ὅμοιον αὐτῷ γεννήσῃ, τί οὐ πάθωμεν κακόν;

Ultimam fabulæ Babrianæ partem servavit Suidas in παιὰν et αὐήνας, versus tamen sine auctoris nomine afferens.

ὁ δ' εἶπε κλαύσας φρῦνος, Οὐχὶ παιᾶνος
ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, φροντίδος δὲ καὶ λύπης.
εἰ γὰρ μόνος νῦν λιβάδα πᾶσαν αὐαίνει,
τί μὴ πάθωμεν τῶν κακῶν, ὅταν γήμας
ὅμοιον αὐτῷ παιδίον τι γεννήσῃ;
Cf. Phaedr. i. 6.

To the Ionisms of Babrius mentioned in pp. 286, 287, may be added *μουνος* in the verses cited by Suidas in *ἄτολμοι*, and *κέρατι* with the penult short, in Fab. III. 1.

Fab. XI. 20. *κρούων*] *παίων* Berger. cf. XII. 3. *ἐπιδραμῶν κατηῆγε, τῷ ξύλῳ παίων*.

Fab. XVIII. 6. In the Excerpt of Phavorinus, for *ἀλκμαῖος* read *ἀκμαῖος*.

The following verses may be added to the fragments of Babrius from the recently published *Anecdota* of Boissonade.

Ap. Georgid. Gnomol. Vol. i. p. 9.

ἀνύσεις τι πειθοῖ μάλλον ἢ βία πράττων.

Ib. p. 48.

κρεῖττον τὸ φροντίζειν ἀναγκαίων χρειῶν,
ἢ τὸ προσέχειν τέρψεσι καὶ κώμοις.

Boissonade corrects ἢ τὸ προσέχειν νοῦν τέρψεσιν τε καὶ κώμοις, or ἢ τὸ προσίσχειν τέρψεσιν τε καὶ κώμοις. Perhaps we should read ἢ νοῦν προσίσχειν.

G. C. L.

KRUSE'S HELLAS.

THERE is no branch of our literature connected with the study of the ancients and their works, on which an Englishman has reason to look with more pride and pleasure than the labours of our learned travellers. When we consider their extent and variety, we are undoubtedly led in the first place to congratulate ourselves on that noble instinct with which nature has gifted us beyond all European nations, by which so many of our countrymen are impelled to quit their native land without any other object than that of seeing foreign parts, and through which so few of those who are kept at home ever spend many months together in the same place: a happy element in our national character, without which it is probable that neither the spirit of commerce nor that of science would have found the instruments necessary for achieving their most useful discoveries. If it sometimes shews itself in shapes that expose us to the ridicule of foreigners, we have wherewithal abundantly to console ourselves, in the reflexion that it is still the same impulse which when better directed has produced so much of what we most glory in. But in the researches by which English travellers have enlarged our knowledge of ancient, especially Greek geography, every thing conspires to heighten our thankfulness for this kind boon of nature. There we see the same spring working; but its action is subservient to the highest ends, and is crowned with the best effects. And we have not only to rejoice in the advantages, great and manifold as they are, accruing to us from the valuable works that have adorned and that still continue to enrich this department of our literature—in the new light poured upon so many dark corners of ancient poetry and history—in the vivid pictures which shape so many vague dreams that have delighted the imagination of the youthful student, into sober and definite yet not less beautiful realities. It is in

itself cheering to see so many active minds, with their combined as well as individual energies, employed in this field of inquiry, where the indulgence of a liberal curiosity holds the lowest place among the rewards of labour, and where no mercenary or frivolous motive tarnishes its honour. It is a hopeful sign for those who take an interest in the cultivation of classical learning, that the charm has lost none of its force which draws our pilgrims to the shores of Greece, not as idle wanderers but as well-furnished, thoughtful and patient explorers of undiscovered tracks and buried treasures. And there is yet another point of view in which we may find reason to exult as well as to rejoice in the fruit we gather from their toil. The best qualities we boast of in our national character, earnestness, diligence, simplicity and honesty, were never more conspicuous than in the prosecution of those researches. Though all our travellers are of course not equally eminent in talents, learning and industry, and therefore their contributions to the common stock are not all equally valuable, still all have the merit of relating what they have seen with as much accuracy as their memory, attention, judgement, and knowledge enabled them to do. None have disgraced the English name by barefaced impostures, or betrayed the interests of literature by fraudulent pretensions. Wherever else an Englishman may sometimes feel ashamed of his birth, in Greece at least he must thank God that he is the countryman of Gell and Leake and Dodwell, and not of Fourmont and Pouqueville.

These reflexions were naturally suggested by the work, the title of which stands at the head of this article; and though they are not immediately connected with the subject to be discussed in the following pages, they seemed to be sufficiently both in place and season to be uttered. The English have surpast not only every other nation, but all others put together in the services they have rendered to the study of ancient Greek geography. Next to them in number come the French travellers, separated however from them by an immeasurable distance in the value of their labours. This vast difference has not, it may be supposed, been owing to the want of enterprizing spirit or of sagacity or quickness of observation on the part of our neighbours, but to a deficiency

in one or other, or in both, of two requisites still more important for a traveller; in the necessary stores of previous information relating to the country visited, and in due command over the inventive faculty, or a love of truth strong enough to overpower the temptations of vanity. Unfortunately the latter defect has not been confined to the two flagrant instances already mentioned, and the opposite qualities have never yet been so conspicuously united in any of the French travellers in Greece, as was to be wished both for the sake of letters, and that the credit of the nation might be redeemed from the reproach cast upon it by such unworthy representatives. Even the rest of Europe, with one exception, has produced no work that deserves to be placed by the side of the best English ones in this class. The exception is indeed a splendid one, and worthy of the country which sent forth the elder Niebuhr. It is the yet unfinished work of Mr Broendsted, to the progress of which every one who feels an interest in Grecian art and history, and who is acquainted with the contents of the two parts already published, must look forward with the most lively expectations of pleasure and instruction. Though, considered as a work dedicated to the illustration of ancient art, it has often been surpassed in magnificence, it may perhaps be doubted whether the degree in which it combines elegance of form and beauty of embellishment with a store of rich and exquisite learning had ever been attained by any preceding traveller. Even at the risk of being thought to dwell with too much complacency on a topic only interesting to national vanity, an Englishman must express the pleasure he feels at seeing the name of Mr Cockerell associated with that of the author's countryman Thorwaldsen, in the dedication of the second part of this truly classical work.

Mr Broendsted however has only given a beautiful specimen of the treasures which Greece still contains, and of the discoveries that still remain to be made in this inexhaustible field. This he has himself indicated in the words which he has prefixed as a second title to his book. *Beitraege zu genauerer Kenntniss Griechenlands und der Denkmäler seiner Kunst*. (Contributions toward a more accurate knowledge of Greece and of the monuments of its fine arts.) And in

his preface he has exprest the same truth more distinctly, and in terms so apposite to our present subject, and themselves so well worth remembering, that I cannot refrain from quoting them. After speaking of the modern researches which were rewarded by the discovery of the Ægina and Phigalean marbles, and of the results of his own excavations among the ruins of Carthæa in Ceos, he adds: "By the way, such undertakings as these furnish a better answer than any other kind of facts or conclusions to the question: what may still remain to be found in Greece? No case better exemplifies the old saying, *he that seeketh, findeth*: only in this case the right mode of seeking is certainly attended with some difficulties; but the most important and most necessary condition of seeking aright depends not on local circumstances, nor on the outer world in general, but on the traveller himself: he must bring it along with him, or he will strive in vain to acquire it; it is—a nature capable of feeling an interest in the ancient state of Greece, and of paying a genuine and deep homage to the genius of its wonderful people. The traveller who is deficient in this inward glow of enthusiasm, wants the staff that would enable him to support the manifold privations at present inseparable from a journey in Greece (especially for a man of moderate fortune) without losing the cheerfulness which is essential to the success of every enterprize. Every other motive, such as good will, and the thirst of knowledge, (to say nothing of the weaker springs of curiosity or vanity) wears out and flags, but not this enthusiasm; for this is that love, which overcomes all obstacles."

One cannot read this passage without conceiving two wishes: one, that all the outward obstructions that have hitherto impeded the progress of discovery in Greece may rapidly disappear, and that every necessary aid may be supplied by a patriotic and enlightened government; the other, that the nation in which the enthusiasm described by Mr Broendsted prevails perhaps more strongly than in any other European people, and is more copiously fed by study, and more wisely regulated by thought—that the Germans might send a greater number of their educated men to traverse and explore Greece. And there seems to be a fair prospect that both these wishes will be in some degree fulfilled. One

at least appears to have been anticipated by the King of Bavaria, who stands foremost among the German princes as an enthusiastic lover and munificent patron of the arts, and who is reported to have sent Professor Thiersch on a mission to Greece, from which he will undoubtedly return laden with treasure, at least for the enrichment of literature, if not for the ornament of cabinets and museums. Much as this intelligence promises, it would have been a still more agreeable piece of news if we had heard that K. O. Mueller had been enabled to spend a year or two in ocular inspection of the country where he has lived in spirit so long, and with which he is already more familiar than most men are with their own. Should it ever happen that a person possessing in an equal degree all the qualities and requisites of an accomplished traveller in Greece, has the means of visiting it, and of pursuing his researches with all the assistance that a liberal government can afford to such undertakings, what hopes of the result could be deemed too sanguine?

But to return from wishes and dreams to realities, and to the subject of the work before us. If our knowledge of Greece in its present state is principally due to English travellers, the Germans have displayed their characteristic diligence in sifting, collecting and arranging the abundant materials furnished by our authors, and turning them to the best account. If in our days the geography of ancient Greece has taken a new shape, it has been since the reports of our eyewitnesses have passed through the hands of their critics. Mueller's contributions toward this end are familiar to many of our readers. Dr Kruse however has the merit of being the first writer who has undertaken to compare the whole of the evidence left by the ancients with the fullest information that could be gathered from modern observers on this subject, and to embody the result of the comparison in a systematical description of Greece. The manner in which he has executed this most difficult and laborious task appears to deserve the praise that has been bestowed on it by Dr Arnold in his preface to his edition of Thucydides. The industry with which Dr Kruse has drawn from the vast variety of sources ancient and modern that lay open to him, is equalled by the judgement with which he has selected from each what-

ever was most applicable to his purpose, and by the dexterity with which he has fitted his extracts into the right place. His description is a kind of mosaic work, in which the most luminous testimonies of the ancients, and the most vivid touches of modern writers, have been inserted so skilfully as to form a new whole, a lively and harmonious picture. In many instances he has earned the still higher praise of that sagacity which can discern the elements of order in the midst of confusion, can bring forth light out of darkness, and supply the links wanting in a broken chain of evidence. On the whole it is perhaps not too much to say, that his work when finished will have made the nearest approach hitherto achieved to one of the noblest objects that can be proposed as the aim of a literary life,—a restoration of the ancient face of Greece.

I felt myself bound to offer this humble tribute, however superfluous it may be, to the general merits of Dr Kruse's work, because the following remarks, which are directed to a particular portion of it, will be of an opposite nature, and it was possible that in a polemical discussion some expression might escape me, which might seem inconsistent with the respect due to the learning and abilities of the author. He has devoted the last chapter in his introductory volume to a survey of the tribes by which Greece was peopled from the earliest times to which tradition goes back, down to that in which its limits were fixed by the diffusion of the race to which it finally owed its name. The mode in which he has treated this part of his subject has also received the approbation of Dr Arnold, who in a note, page 6, of his *Thucydides*, expresses his opinion that "perhaps no writer has treated the subject of the origin of the Pelasgians and Hellenians with more good sense than Kruse." Without at all disputing the justice of this commendation, I find myself compelled to dissent from many of the conclusions at which Dr Kruse has arrived, from his general view of the subject, and from the principles and rules of criticism on which several of his arguments appear to be founded. Though the qualities and habits of thinking which fit a man for the province of ancient topography, are not precisely the same as are requisite for historical investigations, the opinions of such a writer

as Dr Kruse on any point connected with his peculiar field must be valuable and interesting, and are entitled to the most patient and respectful attention. I should distrust my own judgement in rejecting them if I were not able distinctly to state the grounds of my dissent. In explaining these to the reader, I shall, as common candour requires, lay before him as clearly and fairly as I am able the opinions I controvert. By this means the discussion will at least serve one useful purpose, even if the objections on which it is founded should appear weak and insufficient: it will have made the more correct view, unfolded in a work not accessible to a great part of the English public, more generally known. It must not however be supposed to embrace all the topics contained in this chapter; but will turn almost exclusively on the two mentioned in Dr Arnold's note, the origin of the Pelasgians and that of the Hellenes, as I prefer calling them, according to the account given of them by Dr Kruse.

The main enquiry is preceded by some general observations on an important subject: the question, whether the earliest inhabitants of Greece were foreigners, or in the literal sense of the word *αὐτόχθονες*. Dr K. rejects the latter opinion, and so far I perfectly agree with him; but I cannot see the slightest force in the reason he alledges, nor can I go along with him in the inference he draws from the fact when admitted. It is true the opposite theory is so little received among the learned, that perhaps few of his readers would have required him to produce his objections to it. Yet since it has been entertained by some eminent men, and particularly by a celebrated writer in his own department (Mannert), it was not altogether superfluous to assign his grounds for rejecting it. But an unsound argument must hurt the cause it is intended to support, and that on which Dr Kruse appears to rely, since it is the only one he mentions, is so futile, that, but for the sustained seriousness of his tone, I should have been inclined to imagine that he only adopted it as a sportive way of evading a question which he did not think himself called upon to discuss. He neither appeals to authority nor takes his stand on any speculative principles, but despatches the matter by observing (p. 395) that "the geographer must consider all the tribes that inhabited Greece as having originally migrated into the country, since

the accounts which relate them to have sprung up *before the moon* and *out of the earth* like mushrooms, out of the *stones* thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha, or out of the *ants* of Æacus, belong to fable and not to history." The allusions contained in the words printed in Italics are fully explained in the notes, but we may here take it for granted that the stories to which they relate are too familiar to most of our readers to need being repeated. If any advocate of the polyadamite doctrine, as it has been called, had ever insisted on the truth of these fables as one of the grounds of his opinion with regard to Greece, the statement of so flagrant an absurdity would certainly have been amply sufficient to confute it. But it is not easy to perceive how the question itself can be affected by the quality of these legends. In that case it would follow that if instead of being merely popular and poetical they had been learned and specious, had approached nearer to philosophical precision, and had given a more intelligible view of the subject, they might have seemed to possess a higher historical value. It need scarcely be observed that no positive and true tradition on this head can be derived from any other source than a divine revelation, and consequently those of the Greeks can have only a negative worth; but this, which so far as I know is the utmost that ever was ascribed to them, they might have had in an equal degree if they had been tenfold more childish than they are. Dr K's argument when analyzed seems to amount to this: the Greeks had no genuine tradition and no clear conception of the origin of mankind in general, or of their own race in particular, and all their accounts of these matters that were put into a historical form are manifestly fabulous; hence it may be inferred that Greece itself was not the original seat of any people. It would be unfortunate if our conviction of any important truth rested on such reasoning.

From the premises thus established Dr K. draws an important conclusion. "Hence," he proceeds, "the opinion of those who surround Greece with a Chinese wall within which the Greeks developed themselves simply by their own energy, as well as the opinion of those who are for deriving all that belongs to them from Egypt, or all from Phœnicia, or all from India, is certainly erroneous." Here again it is not the conclusion itself that I dispute, but the step that leads to it.

I do not know whether the Chinese wall here alluded to is the same nuisance of which Creuzer complains in one of his letters to Hermann (p. 140), where he speaks of people who aim at *shutting out the ancient world and all its grandeur* from our view, with a barrier of coarse Homeric materials. Creuzer's remark was levelled at the late J. H. Voss, but among the living K. O. Mueller may perhaps be considered as the ablest representative of the persons who hold the first of the opinions rejected by Dr K. Accordingly Creuzer in the preface to the fourth volume of his *Symbolik*, expresses a friendly hope that Mueller will not always be content with setting the Greek local legends and modes of worship in opposition to *the ancient world and all its grandeur*: which means as in the former passage the sublime mysteries of the Asiatic religions from which Creuzer believes the Greek to have been derived. I do not venture to say whether Mueller, if he is one of those who are described by Dr K. as surrounding Greece with a Chinese wall, would admit that any of his opinions involves the supposition of autochthons in Greece, but I must contend that there is no necessary connexion between this supposition and any set of notions about the intercourse that may be conceived to have subsisted in the earliest times between Greece and the rest of the world. If some persons restrict this intercourse so as to keep the ancient population of Greece during a long period completely insulated, it does not follow that they deny its Asiatic origin; and on the other hand one who considers it as strictly aboriginal need not on that account deny the probability of its having very early entered into commerce with other nations, who may have exerted a powerful influence on its progress. Propositions so totally distinct in their nature ought not to be brought together as links in one chain of argument.

The next observation, on the force attached by the Greeks themselves to the word *αὐτόχθονες*, seems to me to perplex the subject, if it does not place it in a totally false light. We are told "even the word *αὐτόχθονες*, which the Greeks apply to certain tribes, does not prove that they held these tribes to be actually aboriginal. How little this name was meant to designate the original home of a people, appears from Aristotle (Rhet. i. 5.) who uses the epithets ancient and autochthonous as equivalent. It seems therefore, and this is an

opinion which others have entertained before me, and which is sanctioned by Isocrates, (Potter *Archæol.* Tom. II. p. 101.)* that the Greeks themselves when they speak of autochthons, usually mean nothing more than tribes that inhabited Greece from the earliest times." The passage of Aristotle certainly does not warrant any such inference as is here drawn from it; it runs thus: *εὐγένεια μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἔθνει μὲν καὶ πόλει τὸ αὐτόχθονας ἢ ἀρχαίους εἶναι* from which nothing more appears than that it was a common topic of rhetoric to flatter a Greek people with being either *αὐτόχθονες* or *ἀρχαῖοι*. It does not follow that the first of these epithets was ever used as a mere hyperbole. But even if it was, this would prove nothing as to the popular belief concerning the origin of the tribes to which it was applied. The Athenian orators undoubtedly meant to be understood in the most literal sense, when they used such language as we read in Plato's *Menexenus* (p. 237), and in Isocrates *Paneg.* p. 45. c. *οὕτω καλῶς καὶ γνησίως γεγόναμεν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφυμεν, ταύτην ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, αὐτόχθονες ὄντες καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οἷσπερ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους, τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες προσειπεῖν· μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὸν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέσαι προσήκει* almost the same terms that occur *Panath.* p. 258. c. and again p. 47. *οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἐπὶ γῆς*, which is applied a few lines lower down to the Athenians *τοὺς πρῶτους γενομένους*. The Arcadians entertained a similar notion of their own origin, as appears from the lines of Asius (*Paus.* 8. i. 4.), and indeed wherever an individual autochthon is mentioned, it can scarcely be with reference to any other opinion. At the same time it is to be remembered that the word might often be used without suggesting or being intended to suggest the thought of the mythical fact implied in it, and might only be associated with the ideas of nobility, purity of blood, uninterrupted freedom and independence. This distinction, which is perhaps what Dr K. had in view, is illustrated by Wachsmuth in the appendix to the first volume of his *Antiquities*. It is however observable that the Athenians prided themselves on their antiquity abstracted from every other quality; for it is simply on this ground that

* I have been unable to find the passage in Potter, and therefore do not know what passages of Isocrates Dr K. has in view.

Isocrates maintains their superiority over the Dorians in Peloponnesus, who though conquerors were new comers: οὐ δὴ που πάτριόν ἐστιν ἡγείσθαι τοὺς ἐπήλυδας τῶν αὐτοχθόνων (p. 53. c.)

We must now proceed to the main subject of our enquiry, Dr K's view of the Pelasgians and the Hellenes. The value of this part of his work is in some degree independent of the accuracy of the result it leads to; for whatever may be thought of the author's conclusions, he must be acknowledged to have rendered a service to literature by collecting and translating the most important passages of the ancient authors that bear upon his subject. In this respect he has fully justified the tone of becoming pride with which he speaks of his performance in his preface. He there observes (p. xxiii), "I think I have done no unimportant service to history, at least in collecting all the accounts of any moment on this head left by the ancients, and in thus shewing the mutual relation of the early tribes and nations in Greece. The road I have chosen is indeed more difficult than the one pursued by those who go to work etymologically in their researches into the origin of nations: but I think it rewards the labour better, since at all events it leads to no airy phantom, but to the view which the best ancient writers, who after all had the means of knowing more than we do, had of the matter, and which in the main is confirmed by the whole course of history." It would be unfair to infer from this language, that Dr K. means to represent himself as the first person who ever made a complete collection of the testimonies of the ancients on this subject, and used it as the basis of his enquiries; or that he would explain the great difference between his own opinions and those of other learned men (as for instance Niebuhr and Mueller), by supposing that he had lighted on some authorities which they had overlooked; but this difference should be a warning to the student, not to expect too much from any collection however elaborate, and to remember that even after he has transcribed all the evidence of the ancients, his work is only begun, and that the degree in which he may approach the truth must depend on the judgment with which he combines and applies his materials.

Before he consults the testimony of the ancients, Dr K. (p. 397) briefly notices three opinions of modern writers concern-

ing the earliest inhabitants of Greece, all which he rejects; "and since," he observes, "two at least out of the three have been defended with great learning, it is evident that much remains to be done in this field of history." The first of these is that which represents the Pelasgians as identical with the Hellenes, and as forming alone the original population of Greece. The second distinguishes two principal races, Illyrians (in *Hellas* the Dorians) and Pelasgians (the Ionians of a later period). The third supposes three races: (1) the Græci, or the Hellenes of a later period: (2) Leleges and Curetes, of Illyrian origin: and (3) Pelasgians, a more civilized nation which came into Greece from beyond the sea. The last of these opinions was proposed by Mannert, but supported by no reference to ancient authors, an omission for which Dr K. very justly censures him. Among the advocates of the first opinion Dr K. mentions only Adelung (*Mithridates* II. p. 379), whose chief arguments he states for the purpose of refuting them. The objection with which he despatches the first must be mentioned here, because it contains a curious intimation which we shall have occasion to consider again. Adelung: It is unquestionable that the language of Pelasgian colonies, of the Græci and other tribes, was the basis of the Latin and at the same time of the Greek. Answer: But the Græci are no where called Pelasgians, whereas the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans are so called, and their language was totally different from the Latin. The value of the first part of this refutation, drawn from the fact that the Græci are not expressly called Pelasgians we shall examine in the sequel; the last part will be amusing to those who have read what has been written by Niebuhr and K. O. Mueller on the Tyrrhenians *and* the Etruscans. Dr K. passes with as little ceremony by another opinion in which both of these two great writers agree (*Hist. of Rome* I. p. 33. *Dorians* I. p. 11). An argument of Adelung, in itself certainly not very strong, that the Greeks needed no interpreter at the siege of Troy, is quashed by the peremptory remark: *the Trojans are not Pelasgians*. The second of the opinions mentioned by Dr K. is, many of our readers will be surprized to hear, attributed to K. O. Mueller, in a note which refers us to the introductory chapter of his *Dorians*, and to p. 124 of his *Orchomenus*. As Dr K's book unfortunately abounds

in errors of the press, I was induced to turn to the list of corrigenda, which is copious though far from complete, thinking it probable that there might be some mistake in the reference, and hoping to learn who was really the author of the hypothesis stated in the text. I was however disappointed; this page is passed over, though there is at least one error in the note which ought to have been corrected, since the same book is cited under two titles as of two distinct works. Dr K. undoubtedly had no intention of misrepresenting the well-known opinions of his friend Mueller, for whom he always professes the highest respect, but yet it is not the less certain that there is not a single point in the above-mentioned hypothesis that coincides with them, or rather that is not directly opposed to Mueller's views. For as every reader of the works referred to must remember, he neither makes the Dorians to be Illyrians, whom he describes as barbarians distinguished by their language and customs from the Greeks, as a different nation (*nationell verschieden*. Dor. I. p. 2. and still more expressly p. 13) nor does he identify the Ionians with the Pelasgians in any other sense than that in which the Dorians themselves may according to his view be called Pelasgians (I. p. 12). A distinction which Mueller does draw, between the Pelasgians and the Leleges (note *e*. p. 15) is wholly omitted by Dr K.

To these three modern opinions Dr K opposes the testimonies of Strabo (VII. p. 321), Thucydides (I. 3), Herodotus (I. 56 and 58), and Homer (Il. II. 681 and 840. XVI. 234. Od. XIX. 177) who, he observes (p. 403), mentions a number of tribes in Greece, and among them Pelasgians and Hellenes, but does not reckon the other tribes members of either of the last two. "Hence," he proceeds, "it is sufficiently evident that the most approved ancient writers separate the Hellenes from the Pelasgians, and the latter again from a number of other tribes that were settled in Greece. It is therefore certainly unhistorical to melt all these tribes into one mass. At the same time however it also appears from the same authorities that the Pelasgians and the Hellenes were the two principal tribes of ancient Greece; and that the latter only rose to the pitch of greatness at which we find them in their flourishing period, by being intermixed with the former and with other tribes inhabitants of Greece." Here it is above all things necessary to

keep in mind the real state of the question. No modern writer, so far as I know, has ever denied that there was some difference between the Hellenes and the Pelasgians; the only dispute has been about the nature and degree of the difference. For the purpose of proving the former point Dr K.'s quotations were unnecessary: but the inference to be drawn from them as to the second, depends on various considerations which Dr K. only touches on in the sequel. The reader however is led by this array of authorities to imagine that something has already been proved against one or all of the rejected opinions, whereas the matter really at issue is not yet hinted at, and in fact does not appear before it is very briefly and incidentally noticed in a subsequent part of the chapter. The use made of Homer's testimony in this passage may also draw the reader into an error, if he does not observe that it is merely negative. Homer neither asserts nor denies any relation between the Hellenes and the Pelasgians, nor between either of them and any of the other tribes named by him. How little can be inferred from his silence on this subject cannot be better shewn than in the words of Dr K. himself, who observes in a note, after referring to the above mentioned passages in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, where the Pelasgians are named or alluded to; "the other tribes of Greece, of whom a great number are mentioned in the catalogue, as the Magnetes, Lapithæ, Arcadians, Caucones, Dolopes, Peræbians, Athenians, &c. are not reckoned by Homer among the Pelasgians, though by this I do not mean to deny that some of these tribes may have been of Pelasgian origin. Only in Homer's time they no longer retained the name of Pelasgians. Several of them, as will be seen in the sequel, were in fact of Pelasgian origin." Here the unpleasant ambiguity of the negative (*alle uebrigen Voelker Griechenlands—rechnet Homer nicht zu den Pelasgern*) is sufficiently corrected by the admission in the context. But at the same time we see that Homer's evidence on the subject in dispute is completely neutral, and therefore, so far as any controverted point was to be established, might as well have been omitted.

It may be proper to mention that Dr K. adheres stanchly to the old persuasion about the unity and indivisibility of Homer, and his two manuscript poems. In the first chapter of his work (p. 12) he notices Wolf's hypothesis, which he rejects with

vehement contempt, truly observing that it has never yet been demonstrated, and refutes with marvellous ease. For he first lays it down as a proposition admitting of no doubt, that the art of writing had been known in Greece many centuries before the time assigned by the best authority to Homer. Then having added a very good remark, that the *διφθέραι* mentioned by Herodotus (v. 58) afforded materials for writing as convenient as those of the scribes in the middle ages, he drives Wolf back upon his positive testimonies, which as every body knows are very trifling in amount, and indeed, as Wolf himself acknowledges, have no claim to notice but their singularity. Dr K. winds up his refutation with an excellent maxim, which it is to be regretted he should have applied so little to the ancients: for the Greeks were fallible men as well as the Germans: *magna nomina auctoritatem non faciunt*. Yet it seems possible that Wolf's hypothesis may survive this blow, and that it may not be consigned to oblivion so soon as Dr K. prays. For beside the questions he has discussed, there is still another which has been generally thought to bear upon the subject: that is, whether, supposing the art of writing to have been known in Greece long before the Trojan war, we are bound to believe that a poet of that age or a few centuries later would have employed it, or whether the picture of society exhibited by the Homeric poems themselves, as well as certain traditions concerning the mode of their transmission, do not render the contrary supposition the more probable one. For it would matter little that Homer had before him all the writing implements of a scribe in the middle ages, unless he was equally disposed to use them. It is at all events a little surprising, that in an elaborate examination of Wolf's *Prolegomena*, abridged as Dr K. informs us from a larger manuscript commentary, not a single word should be said on this question.

The method Dr K. adopts in describing the ancient seats of the Pelasgians, is to cite and discuss in succession, first the Homeric passages above referred to, then those of Herodotus and Thucydides which relate to Pelasgian settlements, then some other accounts which he considers as historical, and finally some which he distinguishes as mythical. It is not my purpose to follow him through this extensive field, but only to notice some points where he unfolds his peculiar views of the subject.

He observes that though Homer makes no mention of Pelasgians except as inhabitants of Asia Minor, Crete, Epirus, and Thessaly, (in the two latter countries indirectly, by using the epithet, *Pelasgian*) this is not a sufficient ground for concluding, that none of the tribes known to him under various other names were of Pelasgian origin. This variety he conceives (p. 413) may be best explained "from the frequent change of names which prevails throughout the heroic ages, and is considered by the best and earliest Greek historians, Hecataeus, Herodotus and Thucydides as matter of historical certainty, and may be accounted for by considering that in a period when political societies have not yet attained a settled form (*bey noch nicht fest begruendeten Staatsformen*), and when every stranger is an enemy, far more importance must be attached to the name of the ruler than to the people, which may often be composed of different elements:" "this change of name," he adds, "was always necessary when the tribes parted, or became subject to foreign princes, and hence it may easily have happened that in the time of Homer, many Pelasgian tribes had taken different names, while another part of them remained true to its original name, as has been the case with some of the Slavonic tribes in parts of Germany, where they have kept themselves unmixed." This is undoubtedly one way of explaining how it might happen that a great number of tribes bearing different names were nevertheless all members of the Pelasgian race. Another way, which seems at least as easy and as well supported by historical testimony, is to suppose that the name *Pelasgian*, like that of *Hellen* or *German*, was a general one which included and co-existed with a great variety of particular denominations. Indeed that no such nominal distinctions should have arisen in a nation so widely diffused as the Pelasgians, before the cause described by Dr K. came into operation, is in itself extremely improbable. That this cause may sometimes have produced such changes as he ascribes to it cannot be denied; but it is to be regretted that he did not produce some examples drawn from other fields of history, that would have helped us to conceive how it might have become so frequent as he imagines it to have been in the early ages of Greece. The name of the ruler could only be of importance for the end abovementioned, when there was a difficulty in distinguishing

a community formed of several different elements by any other mark, a difficulty which one would think could scarcely ever occur.

This however is only one side of the question: another is thus touched upon by Dr K. in a note to the passage just quoted. "It is a peculiar affectation (*xiererey*) of several modern writers, absolutely to deny that the names of individual princes were ever transferred to the tribes subject to them, though all antiquity attests it. The very circumstance that the name of a people or of a city is often referred by etymologists, without any historical ground, to persons who cannot have been any way connected with them, clearly shews that the practice of deriving national names from those of individuals had become so usual, that a writer could not hope to gain credence if he abandoned this common road. This usage however cannot have been destitute of historical foundation, or it would never have become a usage. Let the critic decide which derivations of this kind have a historical foundation, and which not. It must however be observed that there are instances enough in which this mode of derivation does not hold, and where the inhabitants of a district are named from cities, rivers, or hills in their neighbourhood." Before I examine the reasoning of this passage, I am tempted to add two or three other quotations, in order to illustrate the novelty of the affectation which Dr K. censures, and the extent to which it has been carried. Mr Mitford observes in a note to his *History* (Vol. I. p. 34. 4to. ed.): "It is certainly a probable conjecture of the learned Mr Bryant, that the oriental manner of expression, by which a name in the singular signified a people, as Israel often meant the whole people descended from the patriarch Israel, may have led to much confusion in Greek tradition. The name Cecrops, Cranaus, Cadmus and others, open wide fields for conjecture, in which however it were little proper for the historian to expatiate." Now let us see how a grammarian has since expatiated in these fields. Buttmann in his *Lexilogus* I. p. 68., having mentioned the legend of Apis related by Æschylus in the *Supplices*, remarks: "This Apis, one sees at once, is the old mythical personification of the very names of a people and a country which mythology derives from him; that is of Ἀπία and Ἀπιδόνης or Ἀπιδονῆες, the old name of the Arcadians."

And he subjoins in a note: "many traces concur to indicate that these names Apis, Apia, contain the ancient name of a tribe which in very remote times inhabited the maritime regions on the European side of the Mediterranean. The mythical persons Pelops, Cecrops, Merops, compared with the names Peloponnesus and Meropes (a people in Cos), and in like manner the names Dryopes and Dryops, Dolopes and Dolops, shew that Ops or Opes agreeing with the Opici or Opsci in Italy, and equivalent to the name of our hero Apis, was an old national name; and that in those of the heroes above mentioned the first syllable served to distinguish different tribes, Pelopes, Cecropes, Meropes, &c."

In another work the same author has more fully explained his views of this subject, and though the passage is rather long, it exhibits so sharp a contrast to Dr K.'s opinions, that I am induced to translate it. After observing, first, (*Mythologus* II. p. 168) that inquirers into ancient history had no sooner begun to perceive that all myths* did not contain real historical

* Perhaps I ought to have apologized sooner for adopting this word, though I did not coin it, since in a work, which it is to be hoped most of our readers are familiar with, an attempt has been made to shew that the word *fable* may be always substituted for it with great propriety (Preface to the Translation of the Dorians, p. vi.). There are certainly many cases where this may be done without inconvenience: as whenever the only notion that the word used is designed to convey, is that of a *fictitious story of events*: this being the quality which all fables have in common with every other species of $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\iota$; so too whenever the story has no other foundation or substance than some speculative truth or opinion which the author has chosen to express in this form: thus the $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\iota$ of Plato and Prodicus may very properly be termed philosophical fables, as in fact all fables in the common sense are: but the case is widely different when the narration, though not true and so far fictitious or fabulous, is nevertheless connected in some degree with a historical event, and is in this sense a historical $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$. To extend the use of the word *fable* to such narratives appears to me extremely inconvenient, since it must suggest a particular notion of their origin, which may often be totally erroneous. Many may have been entirely due to the invention of poets, and have originated in the wish to afford entertainment by a sacrifice of exact truth: as if the dry fact of a city in Africa being founded under the sanction of the Delphic oracle, was transmuted into the lively story of a beautiful nymph beloved by Apollo, and carried by him across the sea to the chosen site. Others may have been forged by unpoetical mythologists, and may have originated in their desire to make an obscure or confused part of history ap-

events, only modified by the hands of poets, but that a part of them were pure fictions, originally adapted to certain ends, though they gradually assumed the shape of genuine history, than their attention was drawn to the names of mythical persons which themselves form a part of such fictions, and may therefore frequently afford a clue to their meaning: secondly, that great caution is necessary in applying this remark to the purpose of discriminating between truth and falsehood; and, thirdly, that nothing but an analogy observable in a large mass of instances, and particularly the appearance of a mutual relation between several names of this kind, can warrant an inference drawn from the name as to the nature of the narrative in which it occurs—he proceeds as follows. “The inquirer in this field of history may at the present day confidently set down a whole large class of names as falling under this head: those I mean of founders who bear the same name with their foundations, when the origin of these is lost in very remote antiquity; and particularly those of heroes who bear the names of nations, or countries, or cities, which in this case are in general expressly represented as called after them. I shall not enlarge on a point that has been so amply discussed and tacitly at least remarked by every observer of antiquity, and shall only notice that while most of these names, as for instance in the genealogy of Hellen, Dorus, Æolus, Ion, Achæus, and the numberless personified names of cities, as Calydon, Pleuron, Corinthus, Marathon, Lacedæmon, Thebe, &c. are put down as persons without the slightest variation in their form, and without any attempt at invention and art, so that even the stanchest adherents to the

appear to be clearer and more distinct than they really found it: as if a tradition that a race of kings had reigned during a long period in a city or country, was amplified into a long genealogy of fictitious personages with precise dates. But many others again may have sprung up gradually and spontaneously, without any deliberate purpose or motive, and may be derived from the imagination not of one individual, freely exercising his inventive faculty for a certain end, but of a people, or a great number of individuals, who by a process, of which examples occur every day, may unconsciously and undesignedly modify a tradition founded on a real fact by successive additions and alterations till not a particle of it retains its genuine shape. Such popular legends come under the general name of *μῦθοι*, but to call them *fables* would create great confusion in any discussion of their origin; as in the passage which has occasioned this note.

old doctrine no longer take them for real persons, there are others which seem to keep firmer hold of a personal existence by a slight inflexion of form, or by the more circumstantial aspect of their story; and a third class again, because the geographical and national names with which they were originally connected have in the course of time disappeared out of history, do not discover themselves by this side, and hence pass for real persons only because nothing further is known about them. The distinction however between these and the first class is only this, that the more literal and unpoetical personifications are in general of more recent fabrication, while these last have been derived from earlier tradition, have been in various ways interwoven with epic poetry, and have thus acquired more personality. The accidental circumstance therefore, that Danaus has seemingly gained so firm a footing in history, that the Argive Argus, Cephalus the father of the Cephallenian people, the nymph Cyrené, and in the Italian legend, Latinus and Lavinia, and Romulus and Remus, or as he is more plainly called in the Greek form, or that of southern Italy, Romus, and many others, appear in a variety of romantic combinations and functions, this is not a sufficient reason for excepting them from the general analogy by which we interpret such names in other cases. So too Pelops is nothing more than a symbol, which the name of Peloponnesus fortunately enables us still to recognize as representing a nation; but a comparison of the name of Peloponnesus with those of the Dryopes, Dolopes, Meropes, &c. teaches us that the name of Pelopes, though it has not been handed down to us by express tradition, must once have belonged to a people. Though therefore no Xuthi again are recorded among the ancient Greek tribes, they are clearly revealed by the mythical genealogy according to which Hellen is the father of Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, and Xuthus of Achæus and Ion. For how is it possible to deem this Xuthus a historical person, appearing as he does in the midst of a number of merely symbolical names, with no more to do than his father, his brothers, and one of his sons; for Ion is indeed made to act a little, though only on the Attic stage."

It would certainly, as Mr Mitford observes, be little proper, or indeed not a little improper for a historian, publicly at least, to indulge in this latitude of conjecture, and to take upon

him the power of making an unknown people spring up out of the name of a hero. And if it were my object to criticize this hypothesis of Buttmann, I might remark that the name Peloponnesus adds very little force to his argument. On the contrary it seems pretty clear that the peninsula, as well as the islets near the coast of Argolis, (the νησιῶδες Πέλοπος, Pausan. II. 34. 3.) only acquired their name after the line of the hero had been celebrated in epic poetry as the lords of all Argos and of many islands. One may be permitted to doubt whether the cluster of islands on the coast of Asia Minor called Ἐκατόνησοι, was so named, though there was only about a score, or at most forty of them, to express their number, according to the same practice of vague exaggeration which renders the name Saranda Potamo common in modern Greece for a stream fed by many brooks; or whether according to the opinion that prevailed among the ancients (see Strabo XIII. p. 618. and Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 403.) the name was derived from Ἐκατος the epithet of the God whose temples covered the adjacent coast, so that it was οἶον Ἀπολλώνησοι; but it would be very rash to reject both these interpretations because it is not impossible that as Προκόννησος, Ἐλαφόννησος, Ἀλωπεκόννησος, Μυόννησος, &c. were so called from the animals by which they were haunted, so the Ἐκατόνησοι may once have been the seats of a forgotten tribe, the Hecati. But though I am not prepared to follow the ingenious mythologer I have been quoting, into the realms of the Pelopes and the Xuthi, his remarks appear to me to contain a great deal of important truth, and to place the subject discussed in Dr K.'s note in a very different light from that in which it stands there. But even on Dr K.'s own shewing the charge of affectation, which he brings against those who take Buttmann's view of the question, seems very unreasonable. He himself, as we have seen, admits the usage which Buttmann has illustrated by a few instances, of deriving the names of tribes or cities from fictitious persons, to have been so prevalent that an antiquarian could scarcely hope to be believed if he attempted to explain the local or national names in any other way. But if the usage, whatever may have been its origin, was so predominant, it seems natural that we should expect to find it constantly in operation, and that we should admit no exception that is not

distinctly proved. The first presumption must always be, that such names as Hellen, Ion, &c. have been coined according to the uniform practice; and the only question is by what evidence this presumption may be rebutted. Dr K. will say: by the evidence of the best and earliest Greek historians, Hecataeus, Herodotus, Thucydides, &c. who treat some of these names as belonging to historical persons. But what assurance can we have that these writers did not partake in the belief which prevailed so widely among their countrymen on this subject? And if they did not differ in this respect from all other Greeks, what can their evidence prove but the universal credulity? This therefore can never enable a critic to distinguish which derivations of national names from individuals have a historical ground, and which not. Dr K. observes in a subsequent note (p. 414) that Herodotus never mentions a Pelasgus as the progenitor of the Pelasgians, and that in his own opinion all these Pelasguses are merely fabulous personages, "because a Pelasgus appears as an individual in all the countries inhabited by the Pelasgians, and no historical facts are connected with his name." But, he adds, "it is quite a different case with Hellen, who moreover is considered by all the best writers as the son of Deucalion, and as the person who gave a name and importance to the Hellenic people." But Dr K. himself has proved that these writers, however excellent in other respects, must in this case be rejected as incompetent witnesses; and then although the multiplication of Pelasguses certainly very much strengthens the suspicion which their name suggests, that all were equally fictitious, there is nothing to counteract that suspicion in the case of Hellen, of whom scarcely any action is reported in history or fable, except that of giving his name to his people, and dividing his territories among his three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus. The question here, as in all similar instances, is not whether we can conceive that there may have been a period in Greek history when a people frequently changed its name for that of a new sovereign, but whether the notorious practise of inventing such occurrences does not compel us, for want of a safe criterion, to reject all reports of them in Greek authors. It is undoubtedly very hard that an ancient hero, who was perhaps a person of great importance in his day, should be thus as it were cut into pieces like Pelops, and sacri-

ficed to his subjects, who were perhaps mere ciphers whom he enabled to make a figure in history; but how is criticism to avert the misfortune? and to what cause may it most fairly be imputed? to the affectation of the moderns who disbelieve what all antiquity attests, or to the credulity of the ancients who were so greedy of certain stories that the mythographers found themselves obliged to forge them?

I have hitherto been arguing on the ground of Dr K.'s own statement as to the prevalence of the usage he speaks of; but I cannot admit the conclusion he draws from it. The usage of tracing the names of cities and nations to individuals, does not appear to me necessarily to imply any historical foundation, and least of all that which Dr K. supposes. It may have arisen simply from the natural proneness of the Greeks to seek everywhere for persons who afforded an object for the imagination to deal with, in the room of abstractions. It seems difficult to account for the creation of such persons as Thebe, Cyrene, Lacedæmon, &c. by any other process than this. Such fictions of course imply no belief of the fact in their authors, though the more they were multiplied the more easily they might be received as historical traditions. But the personification of national names was probably suggested by a course of reasoning which, though fallacious, was very plausible, and apparently confirmed by the patriarchal form of government which prevailed in early times throughout Greece. Since there were Pelasgians, Achæans, Dorians, &c. it was concluded that there must once have been a Pelasgus, an Achæus, a Dorus, &c. who was either the ancestor of the race, or a person so distinguished as to have given his name to it. This last supposition most readily offered itself when a recollection was preserved of several different names borne in ancient times by the inhabitants of the same country. The real fact may have been that they were divided into several tribes, one of which sometimes gained the ascendant over the rest. But to the imagination of a Greek these fluctuations indicated the successive appearance of new persons who had produced the change. This psychological ground is quite adequate to explain the usage on which Dr K. founds his argument, and it has in fact much better evidence in its favour than the pretended historical ground: for that testimony of all antiquity to which Dr K.

appeals cannot strictly prove any thing more than its view of the subject, which would be the natural consequence of the psychological fact.

Before I proceed to examine some other peculiar opinions of Dr K. I must take notice of two passages, in which he appears to me to have stated the testimony of Herodotus and Thucydides as to the settlements of the Pelasgians inaccurately. The first passage is this (p. 415.): "in the time of Herodotus, the Pelasgians in Attica had mostly (!) ceased to speak the Pelasgian language, and with the name had adopted the language of the Hellenes, so that Attica was completely hellenized. Only some inhabitants of the fruitful vale of the Ilissus at the foot of Hymettus (which by the way according to Hecataeus was *κακὴ τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίη*) had continued to dwell under their ancient name amid their hellenized brethren." But Herodotus, both in the passage here quoted, vi. 137, and i. 57. ii. 51, clearly distinguishes these Pelasgians, the builders of the wall of the Acropolis, from the ancient inhabitants of Attica, as Ephorus and Pausanias do.—Thucydides iv. 109. is made to say (p. 420.) that the Pelasgians, "after being expelled from Attica and Lemnos, took possession of the promontory of Athos, which they named Acté (like Attica) and of Bisaltica, Crestonica, and Edonica, that is of the whole of the fruitful region at the mouth of the Strymon, and westward of that river as far up as *Pelagonia ad Axium*, though they did not dislodge all the old inhabitants, since in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war Brasidas still finds some Chalcidians among them." All that I can find in the passage referred to is: that the Acté of Athos contained, beside Sané, five cities there enumerated, inhabited by mixed races of barbarians who spoke two languages: that there were also a few Chalcidians settled there, but the bulk were Pelasgians, consisting of the Tyrsenians who had once dwelt in Attica and Lemnos, and Bisaltians, Crestonians, and Edones. *καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχὺ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικὸν—καὶ Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν καὶ Ἡδῶνες.*

Dr K. contends against the supposition that Arcadia was a principal seat of the Pelasgians, as it was represented by Ephorus, who described all the other Pelasgian settlements as Arcadian colonies (Strab. v. p. 221). In this view Ephorus was no

doubt partly guided, as Strabo says, by the authority of Hesiod, who had enumerated six sons of Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, and probably had made them to be the ancestors of as many Pelasgian tribes: but he appears also to have transferred the στρατιωτικὸν βίον of the Ἐπάρητοι to the ancient Arcadians, and to have drawn his opinion mainly from this comparison. If Dr K. had confined himself to denying that Arcadia can have been in this sense the principal seat of the Pelasgians, I should have entirely agreed with him. Nor should I have differed from him if he had only maintained that Arcadia can not have been the most flourishing and opulent of the Pelasgian countries, though I do not think he has proved that the Pelasgians "only settled in fruitful plains as husbandmen and shepherds;" (p. 425.) or even that there is any necessity for supposing with Mueller (*Orchom.* p. 126) that a great part of Arcadia was only peopled by emigrants who were driven by the Achæan and Dorian invaders from the lowlands into the mountains. Though agriculture flourished among the Pelasgians, there seems to be no sufficient reason for thus limiting the habits and pursuits of the nation, unless its extent is also reduced within a much narrower compass than it appears to have occupied. But Dr K. goes further, and denies the Arcadians to have been for the most part of Pelasgian origin; and according to his view of the subject this is a point of great importance: it will therefore be worth while to examine the grounds on which he rests this opinion, and the inferences he draws from it. He first observes (p. 424.) that it is the less credible almost all the Arcadian cities should have been founded by the sons of Lycaon, and so the whole of Arcadia have been exclusively occupied by Pelasgians, as the number and the names of these sons of Lycaon are very differently stated (a discrepancy, which one would think could not in the slightest degree affect the substance of the tradition); then, that Arcadia, as a mountainous country, was not suited to the tastes and habits of the Pelasgians. The legends of the descent of the Arcadians from the Pelasgians might, he thinks, easily have arisen in early times from the fact, that Arcadia was never, strictly speaking, subjugated by the Hellenes, and considered as a free country stood contrasted with the genuine Hellenes in the same way as these had been with the Pelasgians. He next

remarks that Homer, though he mentions the Arcadians as enemies of the Hellenic Pylians, and names many of their cities, never calls them Pelasgians, nor terms their land Pelasgian, like the Argos in Thessaly: "a sign, that in his time at least the name was already changed, even if at an earlier period some fertile districts of Arcadia were inhabited by Pelasgian tribes." This is an argument which cannot have the least weight, until it be shewn that no branch of the Pelasgians can also have borne the name of Arcadians, or that if both these names were current at the same time, they must both have been used by Homer in describing the nation. Herodotus however excludes the first of these alternatives by mentioning the Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ, just as he does the Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί: the latter alternative must be left to the reader's judgement. Dr K.'s mode of despatching the apparently decisive testimony of Herodotus to the Pelasgian origin of the Arcadians, though strengthened as he admits by satisfactory evidence of the presence of Pelasgians in certain districts of Arcadia, is remarkable, I think, more for its boldness than its ingenuity. He suggests that the last remnant of the Arcadian Pelasgians may have left their country to join the Ionian migration, though Herodotus gives not the slightest hint to favour such a conjecture. Having thus interpreted the expressions of Herodotus by the silence of Homer, he concludes (p. 427) "that the aboriginal inhabitants of Arcadia may perhaps have had some resemblance to the Pelasgians, or have adopted many things from them; but that before the Pelasgians other tribes of a different character were settled there, the same of whom Pausanias observes that Pelasgus (i. e. the Pelasgians) had obtained the dominion over them." The passage of Paus. to which Dr K. here appeals, occurs VIII. 1. 4., where after mentioning the Arcadian tradition, that Pelasgus was the first man born in Arcadia (that is according to Asius out of the ground), the writer adds "but it stands with reason that other men too should have been born together with Pelasgus, and that Pelasgus should not have come into the world alone (Dr K. in a note mistranslates the words of Pausanias, εἰκὸς..ἄλλους ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελασγῷ μηδὲ αὐτὸν Π. γενέσθαι μόνον —aber es ist natuerlich dass er nicht allein sondern auch andere da gewesen sind—that there should have been others

there beside him) for otherwise over what men would Pelasgus have ruled? In stature however, and strength, and comeliness, Pelasgus was preeminent, and he also surpassed the rest in understanding, and on this account I imagine they elected him king." I have always been very much amused with this observation of Pausanias, though I am not quite sure whether its simplicity is genuine or affected. But that it should ever have been gravely reproduced by a modern author for the purpose Dr K. has applied it to, I could not have thought possible; nor in fact could it have happened if Dr K. had not overlooked the meaning of the passage. But the whole of Dr K.'s reasoning on this part of the subject appears to me a remarkable example, how easily a scrupulous devotion to the letter of authority leads to a direct violation of its spirit and intention. If there is any point in the early history of Greece on which the testimony of the ancients is full, clear and uniform, it is, that the population of Arcadia was originally Pelasgian, and never underwent any violent change. But though Dr K. considers this to be incredible, with respect to Argos he is less sceptical; on a mature examination of the Argive legends combined with other traces, he adopts without reluctance the astonishing supposition (p. 341): "that the Argive people, not merely from the time of the pretended (Argive) Pelasgus, but before, was the original Pelasgian population of Argos, from which region the Pelasgians migrated to Arcadia, Phlius, and Achaia, or Ægialeia, and from thence spread over Attica, Bœotia, Thessaly, Epirus, Italy, the southern part of Gaul, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, and several islands of the Ægean sea"!

The reader will perhaps be a little curious to hear from what part of the world Dr K. conceives the Argive Pelasgians themselves to have come, since they are the parents of the whole race, and certainly migrated into Greece from some quarter or another. Unhappily Dr K. has too delicate a perception of the limits that separate the province of a geographer from that of a historian, to permit him to gratify the curiosity he so strongly excites, by giving any answer to this question, which he says belongs not to the geography of Greece but to its history. His sense of propriety will only allow him to hint that according to Herodotus they were a barbarian race, that

is, did not speak Greek, but that they belonged neither to the stock of the Egyptian colonists who settled in Greece (Herod. II. 51), nor to that of the Libyans (Herod. II. 50), nor to that of the Phœnicians (Herod. II. 49. the worship of Dionysus was Phœnician, not Pelasgian), nor to that of the Thracians (Herod. I. 57. the Pelasgians foreigners in Thrace), nor in fine to that of the original inhabitants of the west of Asia Minor. (For, Dr K. observes, the account in Diodorus v. 81, that the Pelasgians were derived from Lycia is opposed to the tradition of all other writers, according to which they migrated out of Greece into Asia.—It is odd enough that this is the very thing Diodorus says himself: *Ξάνθος ὁ Τριόπου τῶν ἐξ Ἀργεῶν Πελασγῶν βασιλεύων καὶ κατασχὼν μέρος τι τῆς Λυκίας χώρας κ. τ. λ.*) The reader therefore who embarks in search of the original seat of the Pelasgians, and who wishes to follow the track by which they entered Greece, has the advantage of knowing that he must keep clear of the countries just mentioned. But whether it would be more advisable for him to shape his course toward the Black sea, or to look for a landing place on the coast of Spain, if he does not venture through the straits, is a point on which I shall imitate Dr K.'s judicious reserve. Dr K. however suggests another inquiry, which may perhaps be more practicable, if not equally attractive (p. 435). "Creston, the modern Christania, at the source of the Echi-dorus, seems to have been the last point in Europe where they retained their national character in its purity. Herod. I. 57. It would be interesting to enquire whether at the present day the language of the Greeks at this place varies materially from the common one." Those who are acquainted with Mueller's remarks on the disputed passage of Herodotus, to say nothing of Dionysius and Niebuhr, will be able to judge how this inquiry is likely to be rewarded. But according to Dr K's view, some discoveries might certainly be expected, not less interesting than his observation, that in Thessaly, the ancient seat of the Pelasgians, deep veneration is still paid to the stork, which took the place of the Ibis, the companion of Hermes, whose worship the Pelasgians received from Egypt.

The hypothesis about the primitive Arcadians, which Dr K. establishes as we have seen on the silence of Homer and the judgement of Pausanias, is not suffered to lie barren. It is

made to serve a very important purpose in upholding Dr K's general theory about the Pelasgians and their relation to the Hellenes. This cannot be better explained to the reader than by stating the arguments with which Dr K. endeavours to overthrow Mueller's doctrine on the same subject. That author observes (*Dorians* i. p. 6) "we suppose always that the Pelasgians were Greeks and spoke the Greek language, an opinion however in support of which we shall on this occasion only adduce a few arguments." These arguments, four in number, Dr K. examines separately (p. 462), and tries to refute in the following manner. I. It appears to Mueller "that the tribes which migrated into the regions occupied by the Pelasgians, as the Achæans, the Ionians, the Dorians, were not powerful or numerous enough to transform a barbarian population into a Hellenic one: the Dorians are *known* to have been a small tribe." Dr K. answers that we have no means of ascertaining the proportion of numbers between the Hellenic invaders and the Pelasgians, who were themselves originally strangers, and probably had suffered a great part of the primitive population to remain in their ancient seats.—I must here observe that this primitive population, which is supposed to have preceded the Pelasgians, is purely imaginary, not having left the slightest trace of its existence in any tradition, unless that about Apis, as it is related by Æschylus, should be so construed. In the next place Dr K's argument requires that this primitive race should have spoken a language more nearly allied to the Hellenic than the Pelasgic; and this supposition, as we shall see, Dr K. really makes. But when one arbitrary hypothesis is thus piled on another, the whole fabric must fall at the first touch.—"Let it be observed," Dr K. adds, "that in those parts of Germany which were anciently peopled by Slavonic tribes, the Slavonic language has almost entirely disappeared, though there is no reason to imagine that the Slavonic population ever migrated from these districts to make room for one wholly German. The will of a ruler, or of the ruling people can effect much."—We know what it effected in England at the Conquest, with means incomparably more powerful than the first Hellenic conquerors can be conceived to have possessed. We know also what has been effected under other circumstances, more nearly resembling those of the case mentioned

by Dr K., in Wales. Neither of these instances, nor those of Scotland and Ireland, favour his conclusion: they would rather lead us to think that the will of a ruler, and even that of a ruling people, can effect little or nothing toward such an end, and the less the more it is displayed. Political influence alone was probably never adequate to accomplish such a purpose: when backed by the attractions of a rich and beautiful literature, and by notions of rusticity and barbarism associated with the use of one of two rival languages, it is certainly very powerful, though only among the higher classes, whose example gradually diffuses it through the lower: and all these forces united require many centuries to exterminate a language, even when it has been driven into a corner, as in Cornwall. If the Pelasgic had differed from the Greek in the same way as the Slavonic from the German, I conceive that we could not be so utterly ignorant as we are of its peculiar character, and that Herodotus would have been able to observe it, and would have mentioned it, as a language still in use among the common people or slaves in Greece itself.

II. Mueller lays it down as an indisputable fact, that many districts, Arcadia and Perrhæbia for instance, remained entirely Pelasgian, without being inhabited by any nation not of Grecian origin. On this Dr K. remarks: "that the Arcadians were not all Pelasgians, and only received some Pelasgians among them, and that the Perrhæbians cannot claim the character of a purely Pelasgian race, we have already proved. Had Herodotus considered these two tribes as purely Pelasgian, he would not have travelled to Creston, Scylacé, and Placia, to obtain an exact knowledge of the Pelasgian language and manners. According to him, Arcadian Pelasgians (perhaps the last that remained after the influx of Hellenes had rendered the whole population Hellenic) quitted Arcadia at the time of the Ionian migration. In later times the dialect of Arcadia was a mixture of Æolic and Doric, though the latter was predominant (Plutarch Philop. 2.), and this was introduced into Peloponnesus by the Dorian invaders. No author terms the Arcadians Pelasgians after the Ionian migration, a sign that they were completely amalgamated with the Hellenes, even if any Pelasgians remained among them. Many of the ancient races con-

tinued long διγλωττοί, as Strabo informs us VII. 327." I do not see the force of this last remark, unless it should appear that what Strabo relates of several Illyrian tribes has also been recorded of Pelasgians. As to the Arcadians I must leave it to the reader to judge whether Dr K's proposition is at all strengthened by the way in which he here repeats it. His reason for rejecting Mueller's inference from the Perrhæbians is, that in the Iliad the Enienes are coupled with them as following the same chief. How far this weakens Mueller's argument, and how far the Δωτηνῆς αὐδὴ in the fragment of Rhianus (Steph. B. Δώτιον) indicates that the language originally spoken in the Dotian plain was not Hellenic, I need not here inquire. The motive which led Herodotus to visit Scylacé and Placia in search of specimens of Pelasgian language and manners (if he made a journey for that purpose) probably was, that in these places the name of Pelasgians was preserved with some peculiar features of a national character. Dr K. recurs very often to the passage in which Herodotus speaks of these Pelasgians of Creston, Scylacé, &c. as decisive in favour of his own view of the subject; and it would be uncandid to deny that at first sight it appears to make for him so strongly, that if it were our only, or our main source of information about the Pelasgians, it would lead every one to adopt his opinion. But when opposed to the great mass of evidence that speaks for an intimate affinity between the Pelasgians and the Hellenes, it is by no means of sufficient weight to determine the question. Dr K. thinks it unnecessary to take notice of the doubt raised by Dionysius as to Creston, though the apparent connexion between the accounts of Herodotus and Hellanicus, which was first remarked long ago by Niebuhr, is so striking when once pointed out, that even Mueller's learned and ingenious defence of the common reading (Etrusker i. p. 95, and foll.) cannot be said to clear it of all suspicion.* And perhaps Dr K. was not bound to

* Perhaps it may not be useless to notice the oversight into which an ingenious author (History of Maritime and Inland Discovery) has fallen in correcting two other authors, who in these matters were at least as clear-sighted as himself. He quotes (Vol. I. p. 42.) the words of Herodotus, about the Crestonians and the Placians who spoke a language (not as he translates, *not intelligible to those who live around them*, but) not similar to that of their

trouble himself about this controverted point: but unfortunately he has also neglected another of still greater importance to the discussion, through the mistake which led him to set Herodotus in opposition to Ephorus and Pausanius on a subject as to which all three are agreed. For all three concur in representing the Pelasgians of Scylacé and Placia as a foreign race, who during their temporary abode in Attica built the Pelasgic wall. Dr K. alone treats them as a remnant of the old Attic population, that had preserved its original barbarism from the influences of the Ionian or Hellenic character and language. Herodotus gives us no hint as to the quarter they came from; and the account of Ephorus, who traced them to Bœotia, is not inconsistent with that of Pausanias, who heard that they were Sicelians from Acarnania. But this uncertainty as to their ultimate origin very materially affects the value of the conclusions drawn by Herodotus from the observations he made on them. For if they were not Greek but Italian Pelasgians, it would not be surprizing that he should have been puzzled by their dialect. Dr K. in a subsequent note (p. 464.) objects to this word being applied to their language, observing "it cannot be maintained that Herodotus considered the language of the Crestonæans, &c. as merely a particular dialect, not a distinct language, without doing manifest violence to the passage." This is meant to meet a remark of Mueller (*Dorians* i. p. 7. note *a*.) that it was probably nothing more than an ancient dialect. But it is by no means manifest that this interpretation is violent or improbable: and Dr K. should at least have shewn some reason for

neighbours, and he then asks: "Must it not then be inferred that those who lived around them were Greeks and not Tuscans? It is remarkable that Niebuhr, who maintains that by Creston Herodotus meant Cortona, and Mueller, who holds the contrary opinion, have both overlooked the author's argument, and have consequently lost the force of the passage in dispute." All that I can find remarkable here is, that the person who makes the remark was not led to distrust his own sagacity when opposed to a coincidence between two such men. A little reflexion would have convinced him that his own impression was hasty and erroneous, and that the words of Herodotus correctly translated do not involve any such inference as he draws from them: on the contrary, the concordance of the language spoken by the Pelasgians in two distant settlements was the more striking, if those of their neighbours differed from each other.

laying a much greater stress on the expressions of Herodotus in this passage than on those which he uses about the four Ionian dialects (I. 142;) for in this case at least we must so translate *χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης*. All these considerations combined appear to me to render the testimony of Herodotus, which is almost the sole foundation of Dr K's opinion, unavailable for his argument.

III. Mueller observes that the most ancient names of Grecian places, and those which occur in the earliest Greek traditions, belong to different stages of the language, but not to a different language.—In answer to this Dr K. remarks, that “the most ancient names of Pelasgian persons and places are not Greek, unless we call in the aid of the old form of the language (*wenn man nicht das Altgriechische zu Huelfe nehmen will*) which appears to have borrowed a great deal from the Pelasgic.”—This seems to me to be as nearly as possible Mueller's statement in other words—“Dodona, Larissa, Argos, Scotussa (!), the names of genuine Pelasgian deities and of their priests and priestesses, Axieros, Axiokersos, and Axiokersa, Cadmilos, Coies, Peliai or Peleïades, are not purely Hellenic. Moreover Diod. Siculus observes, that in his time Pelasgic names occurred in the Samothracian mysteries (v. 47.) In like manner the genuine Pelasgic names Teutamus and Lethus (Hom. Il. II. 843. Dr K. adds in a note, Inachus, Apis, and Pelasgus itself) do not admit of explanation from the Greek, and if several names having a Hellenic air occur among the Pelasgians, as Hippothous, Pylæus, Hyperbius, Euryalus, &c. it must be observed that they may be in part borrowed from the Hellenes, and partly translations of Pelasgic names, according to a practice of which a remarkable instance is afforded by the inscription with the name of Artemidorus, which may be seen in Dodwell's Travels, I. p. 411.”—Among these examples there are some as to which Dr K's assertion is extremely doubtful, because either it is not clear that they are Pelasgic or that they were not also Greek. I do not see sufficient reason for excluding the four first mentioned local names any more than the title *πέλειαι* or *πελειάδες* (if it follows from Herod. II. 57. that this was given to the priestesses at Dodona) from the Greek language. As to the name Pelasgus, it is rather odd that Dr K. himself observes

in a preceding page that its genuine form was probably Pelargus, and that it was derived from Ἄργος, a plain, in old Greek, and πέλω. And why is Larissa more barbarous than Amphissa or Antissa? The singularity of Scotussa consists not in its form, which is purely Greek, but in the meaning it has in the Greek language; and in how many ways might such an appellation have arisen! So too the name Dodona or Bodona perplexes us from our total ignorance of its origin, but does not warrant us in drawing any conclusion from its form. As to the names of the Gods, Dr K's argument seems very difficult to reconcile with his own view of the Pelasgian religion; for he adopts, with implicit faith, the account of Herodotus, that the Pelasgians gave no names to their gods till they received them from other nations. But an inference as to this point drawn from the Samothracian religion is peculiarly unsafe in the conflict of opinions that are still opposed to one another about its source. The reader will find that in the passage of Diodorus referred to by Dr K. the Pelasgians are not mentioned, and that instead of confirming Dr K's statement, it would lead according to his own hypothesis to the opposite conclusion. For the people of whose language Diodorus says remnants were preserved in the sacred rites of Samothrace were αὐτόχθονες; therefore, according to Dr K's view of the Pelasgians, a different race from them. Dr K. also misstates the meaning of Diodorus when (note p. 418.) he makes him ascribe the institution of the Samothracian mysteries to the Arcadians Dardanus and Iasion. Diodorus in the passage cited by Dr K. (v. 48.) says the reverse; namely, that when Dardanus crossed over to found a city in Asia, Iasion remained in Samothrace, and that Jupiter, wishing him to be honoured as well as his brother, παραδείξαι αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τελετὴν, πάλαι μὲν οὔσαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, τότε δέ πως παραδοθεῖσαν (*traditione renovatos*; but one might suspect that Diodorus wrote παραλυθεῖσαν), and so Iasion himself is only said to have been the first who initiated foreigners, and made the mysteries famous. I should not have quoted the testimony of Diodorus, as of the least authority on such a subject, but it may fairly be alledged against one who appeals to it. Finally, on the names Apis, Inachus, Lethus, and Teutamus, I must observe that Dr K. has not

shewn the first to be Pelasgic. The others do indeed belong to the same class as those mentioned by Strabo vii. p. 321, Cecrops, Codrus, Æelus, Cothus, Drymas, Crinanus. But what is the peculiar character that all these names have in common? It is, I conceive, not a positive but a negative one. Considered as Greek names they are exceptions to the general rule, according to which persons are called from some quality of body, mind, or fortune, (to the last head may be referred names derived from some deity, as Demetrius, Apollonius, &c. implying an assurance of divine favour.) These qualities were of course always good, or at least not evil. But throughout all periods of Grecian history we occasionally meet with exceptions to this rule, or, as in the instances produced by Dr K., with names which cannot be explained from the Greek language—so far as we are acquainted with it. So I am no more able to explain the proper name of Theophrastus, Tyrtamus, than Teutamus*. Yet I do not think it necessary to consider it as a relic of the Pelasgic language any more than that of Sappho, or that of one of her reputed fathers, Semus (see Suidas Σαμφω), or Pittacus, or the Athenian Tyrtæus. It must be observed, in the first place, that the rule from which such names, of which there are a considerable number, are exceptions, was merely conventional, and may not have prevailed so extensively in the infancy of the language. In the next place, we have reason to suspect that several of these exceptions may be only such in appearance, and that we are unable to explain them only through the imperfection of our knowledge. For how large a part of the Greek language is entirely lost to us! To take an instance from a celebrated name: Γύλιππος was evidently a significant word: yet what is to be made of the first syllable? If we have any clue to its meaning it has been preserved by mere chance. I conjecture that such a clue is to be found in the gloss of Hesychius, Γυλλοί· στολμοί, which Salmasius corrects with great probability: Γυλμοί· στολμοί. Hence we may infer that there was a verb γύλλειν, equivalent to στολίζειν, so that

* Teutamus was the name not only of the Thessalian hero and of the mythical Assyrian king, but of the father of Bias the Sage, and of a commander of the Argyraspides. Diodor. xviii. 62.

Γύλιππος would be a word of similar meaning and omen with Ἰππόθοος or Σπεύσιππος.*)

IV. Finally, Mueller observes, the consonance between the Latin and Greek can only be explained by supposing the Pelasgic to have formed the connecting link. Dr K. replies: "As to the affinity between the Latin and the Greek, it must at the same time be observed that the Etruscan, which must have been more purely Pelasgic, since the Tyrrhenians were Pelasgians, has little in common with the Latin or the Greek." I must confess that I do not feel quite satisfied about the nature of this objection. For though when coupled with the intimation to which the reader's attention was directed at the beginning of these remarks, it seems to convey the notion that the Pelasgic was at least the basis of the Etruscan, I hesitate to impute such an opinion to Dr K. And yet he not only expresses himself in the passage before quoted as if he himself believed the Etruscans to have been Pelasgians, but his argument here seems to imply that he really considers their language to have been one and the same. Such an opinion must not be confounded with that of the modern Italians who endeavour to find an affinity between the Etruscan and the ancient Italian languages, which are manifestly allied both to the Latin and the Greek. It would be directly opposed to them, inasmuch as it excludes all connexion between the latter and the Pelasgo-Etruscan. If however Dr K.'s argument is no more than a *reductio ad absurdum*, and he only means to say, that, on the supposition he is combating, traces of an affinity with the Greek ought to be visible in the remains of the Etruscan as well as in the Latin, this argument is sufficiently refuted by the well-known character of the Etruscan nation, and the fixedness which religion imparted to their institutions. I need scarcely observe that the hypothesis of a close agreement between the Etruscan and the Pelasgic, which Dr K. rather seems to intimate, is not yet ripe enough either to need or to bear refutation when used

* According to another gloss in Hesychius and Phavorinus, (which I am surprized to miss in the London edition of Stephanus) γυλός· μένος, Γύλιππος would be equivalent to Μένιππος: but perhaps the verb and the noun spring from the same root.

as an argument; and at present I see no third way of construing his words.—“Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he proceeds, does not even reckon the founders of Latium among the genuine Pelasgians, though they came from Arcadia, and as we have seen (in a passage which will be hereafter noticed) had adopted Pelasgian customs and forms of worship. *This*, he says (i. 33.), *is the second Grecian people that came into Italy after the Pelasgians*. The Latin language on the other hand has the greatest affinity with the old Doric and the Æolic. Probably the original language of the original inhabitants of Arcadia resembled these dialects.” A remark is added on the identity of the Æolic Digamma with the Latin F, and on the *Rhotacismus* which is stated to have been a feature common to the Pelasgic, the Æolic, and the Latin. When we combine all this with a preceding observation of Dr K. (in a note p. 437.) “that the old Hellenic was unquestionably more closely allied to the Pelasgic than the later,” we see that there is nothing to prevent him from coinciding with Mueller as to the point in dispute except his view, whatever it may be, of the Etruscan language, and the phantom which he has conjured up of an aboriginal Arcadian population, that spoke a tongue radically different from the Pelasgic, but closely allied to the Greek. I need say nothing more on this subject, except that Dr K.’s hypothesis is as little confirmed by Dionysius as by Homer. Dionysius has to relate the history of two colonies that migrated from Greece to Italy: the first was that of the Pelasgians, as they are described in the passage he quotes, i. 28. from Hellanicus: the second came from Arcadia: how should it be distinguished from the former but by the name of the country? And how can it be inferred from this that Dionysius rejected the prevailing or rather universal opinion about the Pelasgian origin of the Arcadians? If his opinion is of any weight, it is given most expressly and decisively against Dr K. on the main question, the character of the people and their language, which he describes not as akin to the old Hellenic but the same (i. 17. 20.).

It is remarkable that though Dr K. will not allow the Arcadian Pelasgians any share in the formation of the Latin language, he ascribes to them a great influence over the Latian

religion. He is in some doubt indeed (p. 457) whether the worship of Saturn originally belonged to them or to his aboriginal Arcadians, (*ein Vorpelasgischer Cult der Arcadischen Urvoelker*) but he makes no question that they spread the worship of Pan, "a Pelasgian deity borrowed from the Egyptians and especially honoured in Arcadia," to Italy, where "in Rome a cave was dedicated by command of the Pelasgian Themis to the Lycæan Pan, under the temple of Nicé." On the connexion between Pan and the goddess of Victory (according to the Arcadian mythologers in Dionys. i. 33, a daughter of Palas, son of Lycaon) Dr K. has the following singular remark. "As a god who rewards virtue and punishes vice, Pan was also believed to succour the Pelasgians and afterwards the Hellenes in battle, Hom. Hymn. in Pana. v. 6," (where therefore I suppose Dr K. prefers the conjectural reading *αἰχμῆενθ'*, which Ruhnken calls *ineptum ac ne Græcum quidem*). But was the belief of the ancients in Panic terrors connected with a notion of Pan's distributive justice?

The preceding discussion will have enabled us to pass more rapidly over the remaining part of the subject, Dr K's view of the origin and diffusion of the Hellenes. The reader has seen that Dr K. considers Hellen and his sons as real historical persons, and therefore will be prepared to hear, and perhaps to believe, that Deucalion was equally so; for "Herodotus draws the name of Deucalion into the sphere of history," (*in die Geschichte zieht*). But perhaps he may be a little surprised to find that Dr K. fixes the limits and dimensions of Deucalion's kingdom with geographical accuracy. Unluckily Herodotus seems not to have received equally distinct information about the father of Deucalion, Prometheus the son of Iapetus, and thus with respect to this not less celebrated and interesting person, Dr K. is constrained to abandon the solid ground of historical certainty, and to explore the obscurer region of mythology. Yet even here, under the guidance of Homer, Hesiod, and Diodorus Siculus, he is enabled to arrive at some results, which, if not quite so definite as those which he obtains with regard to Deucalion, are still extremely valuable, and will perhaps be new to most of our readers. Prometheus belonged to the tribe or clan of the Titans, a people "whom the most ancient legends represent as cruel persecutors of the Pelasgian

Gods," whose abodes they attempted to storm, according to Homer and Hesiod, by piling the Thessalian mountains on one another. Diodorus (III. 57. v. 66) describes them as an ingenious people, the inventors of many useful arts. (He however gives us an unfavourable notion of their social qualities: for Cronos and Themis, two out of the eleven whom he enumerates, and Hestia, Demeter, and Heré, the children of the former, are as Dr K. observes (p. 470) Pelasgian Gods, and must therefore be supposed to have experienced the cruel persecutions of the other Titans). The war waged by the Titans against the Pelasgian Gods, and the subsequent banishment of Prometheus to Caucasus, Dr K. thinks may be satisfactorily explained as a struggle between the religious systems of contending tribes. This indeed is not a new interpretation. But I do not know of any other writer who has determined the parties in the struggle as Dr K. proceeds to do. "These tribes appear to have been the Pelasgians at the foot of Olympus, the seat of Jupiter, and the above-mentioned earlier aboriginal race in the neighbourhood of Othrys (the Cronidæ, Jupiter, and the other Gods fought from Olympus, the Titans from Othrys, Hesiod, Theog. 632, 633—Dr K's note,): a region which, at the time when the Hellenes were rising into power, was in the possession of the Pelasgians."

It is to be regretted that Dr K. does not complete this outline, and inform us whether the Titans, when they were dislodged from their territories on mount Othrys, retired into Epirus, and then returned under another name, led by the new king Deucalion, to recover their ancient seats from the usurping Pelasgians. It was probably through the troubles attending their expulsion from Thessaly, that their adventures escaped the researches of Herodotus, so that Deucalion is the first of their princes to whom he assigns a place in history. They themselves disappear henceforward even from Dr K's narrative, and we only hear (p. 471) of Deucalion, who though exiled with his father from Thessaly, founded a considerable principality in the west, extending from Lycorea on Parnassus as far as Dodona, "a distance of from 25 to 30 German miles, and containing an area of 200 square (German) miles." Here he united four different tribes under his rule, the Græci, the Selli, the Leleges, and the Curetes, who together Dr K. observes must have

formed a powerful nation, since the Leleges and Curetes were also spread over many other parts of Greece and in Asia Minor. From some causes, as to which history is silent, Deucalion did not enjoy the honour of giving his name to his subjects, and to this inexplicable accident it is owing that the name of the Hellenes has become famous, in the room of one which according to all appearance would have been more appropriate, the Deucalionians. For Deucalion seems to have been as justly entitled to this honour, as Columbus to that of naming America. He was evidently an active and enterprising prince. Dissatisfied with his kingdom in Epirus, or, some say, disturbed by a flood which happened near to one of his capitals, Lycorea on Parnassus, he turned his arms eastward, marched to Athens, where he seems only to have staid long enough to secure the reversion of the crown after the death of Cranaus for his younger son Amphictyon, and then proceeded to conquer southern Thessaly, Thessalia Phthiotis, where he was succeeded by his son Hellen, who not only reaped the fruit of his father's exertions, but supplanted him as eponymus of the race, without having performed a single action that has come down to posterity, to account for the attention paid to him by his contemporaries, unless he founded a city called Hellas, which unfortunately seems never to have been heard of before it had fallen into ruins*.

While Hellen was reigning peaceably in Phthia, or perhaps engaged in transferring his capital from the low site which he had injudiciously chosen for it (Strabo, p. 432) to a more convenient one, his younger brother Amphictyon, whom, from some motive hitherto not sufficiently explained, his father provided for before him, not content with the kingdom of Attica extended his dominions northward, without however touching Bœotia, but confining himself to the conquest of Locris and Eubœa. The

* Homer mentions the name of Hellas without any adjunct to shew that he means a city. In one passage a district only can be meant. Dicæarchus speaks of Ἑλλὰς τοπαλαιὸν οὐσά ποτε πόλις. How little was ever known about it appears from Strabo ix. p. 432. The Pharsalians shewed a city in ruins ἣν πεπιστεύκασιν εἶναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. The Melitæans believed that it stood about a mile from them, but that its inhabitants all migrated even in the lifetime of Hellen, whose tomb they shewed in their marketplace. Dr K. speaks as if Dicæarchus had seen it standing.

great measure that distinguished his reign, was, as every one knows, the institution of the celebrated assembly which bore his name. In this respect he was more fortunate than his father Deucalion; yet one cannot help wondering at the capriciousness of destiny, which deprived him of the glory of giving his name to his people. For even his Attic subjects, though they called themselves after his predecessor Cranaus, and again changed their name in honour of his great nephew Ion, are not recorded to have adopted that of Amphictyon. It would almost appear as if the liegemen, though generally willing to assume a new name, insisted on its being a short one. But beside the injury he has suffered from their perverseness, he has been assailed in common with his brother and his nephews by the affectation of some modern critics, who have denied even his personal existence, and have pretended that instead of giving his name to the institution he founded, he derived it and his being (a nominal one) from the ἀμφικτίονες, whose deputies composed the Amphictyonic council. This conjecture Dr K. probably thinks too extravagant to deserve notice; and indeed if it were admitted, it would not only transform much of what he gives as authentic history into a romance, but might throw some suspicion on the personality of Hellen himself. There is another question which might perhaps be raised without flying in the face of all antiquity: whether either Herodotus or Thucydides give us any reason to believe that they were acquainted with this branch of the house of Deucalion, which reigned south of Thermopylæ in the lifetime of Hellen. It must at all events be considered as a peculiar hardship in the fate of Amphictyon, that though these two great historians were naturally led by their subject (Hesiod i. 56. Thuc. i. 3) to mention his conquests, they have as it were studiously avoided all allusion to his actions, and his name, entirely suppressed by the latter, occurs but once in Herodotus (vii. 200), and even in that passage Mueller supposes it to be no more than an epithet of Jupiter.

It may easily be imagined that the descendants of Hellen did not fail to imitate the bright examples of his father and brother, and that many of them became the founders of new states. It would be impossible, without far exceeding all reasonable limits of an article like the present, to follow Dr K. through

his account of their adventures. The reader will perhaps be satisfied with hearing his general view of the subject, according to which (p. 488) "the family that ruled over the Hellenes spread from Thessalia Phthiotis, partly by conquest, partly by marriages contracted with other princely houses, and thus the notion of the country to which the name of Hellas was applied, was enlarged. Moreover the usage of the Hellenic race, not to exterminate or expel the conquered tribes, but to admit them into the Hellenic confederacy, gradually to assimilate their language and manners to its own, and to accustom them to its mode of life, contributed to promote its propagation. By these means, like the Romans who proceeded on similar principles, it acquired sway, first over its neighbours and afterward over almost the whole earth." It might perhaps be objected to the first part of this statement, that according to Homer the name of Hellas does not appear to have spread with the posterity of Hellen, but to have been confined to the north of Greece long after the Achæans were the prevailing race in Peloponnesus. But the remainder of the passage suggests some more interesting reflexions. It is not quite clear whether the practise of the conquering Hellenes, to abstain from exterminating the foreign tribes over which they made themselves masters, was the result of humanity or necessity; and even the illustration borrowed from the Roman and Macedonian conquests does not dispel all doubt on the point. If however we may (as all our prepossessions dispose us to do) attribute it to a generous policy, which the Ionians would probably have imitated in Asia, if the want of wives had not compelled them to massacre the fathers, husbands, and children of their brides (Herod. i. 146: they were not the Pelasgians, but οἱ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων), and in Italy at the capture of Siris, if they had not been soured by misfortunes, we see with pleasure how amiable a change had taken place in the manners of the people, since the time when they dwelt under the name of Titans about mount Othrys, and were cruel persecutors of the Pelasgian Gods, and therefore no doubt also of their worshippers. Here we have great reason to lament that Dr K. has been unable distinctly to trace the steps by which the ferocious and intolerant Titans, who were most likely painted in still darker colours in the Pelasgian poetry, were transformed into the wise and

gentle Hellenes. Through this unavoidable omission Dr K.'s statement suggests the notion, that he means to ascribe all that was peculiar to the national character of the Greeks literally and absolutely to the family of Deucalion. For as we have already seen Deucalion ruled in Epirus, not over Titans, but over four races which, so far as we hear from Dr K., were originally all equally foreign to him. The Selli and Curetes Dr K. considers as Pelasgians, the Leleges as a mixed race; but he says nothing of the relation of the Græci to Deucalion and to his other subjects, except that in answer to Adelung he observes, that they are no where said to be Pelasgians. Yet according to the principles Dr K. lays down, they may have been quite as little allied to the blood of the common sovereign, who in this case would appear not to have begotten, but to have created a new nation out of four elements, to which he alone imparted a new and most peculiar national character.

Whether Dr K. conceives this to have been actually the case I will not venture to say, because he has not fully unfolded his notion of the Titans and the Græci, either of which tribes might easily be brought to relieve him from any difficulty on this head. It is only important to observe that according to his views of history there would be nothing absurd or incredible in such a supposition. Language and descent, he remarks, as the ancients themselves thought, together formed the criterion which shewed whether a people was Hellenic or not; and so Dicæarchus defines those to be Greeks οἱ τῷ γένει καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς ἐλληνίζουσιν (Stat. Gr. p. 21. Hudson). But then he adds (p. 467): "When descent is mentioned as a test to distinguish Greeks from other nations, we are not to understand the descent of the mass of the people (*des eigentlichen Voelkerhaufens*) but that of the princes from whom the tribes received their names." "What tribes, whether barbarian or not barbarian, attached themselves to these ruling houses, was of no consequence with regard to their appellation; all that was necessary, unless they chose to be expelled as barbarians, or at least restricted in their rights, was that they should adopt the manners and language of the Greeks." (The story of the massacre at Lemnos in Herod. vi. 138, is then referred to as an example of the reluctance with which the ancient inhabitants of Greece suffered a foreign language to be spoken among them). And

the general conclusion is, that "we may consider the Greeks as a people composed of different elements, but which had one language and was governed by one family (*welches aber eine Sprache und einen Ursprung ihrer Herrscher-Familie hatte*). This family, as we have seen, was that of Deucalion, and Dr K. prefaces that history of which I have given a short but faithful summary, with the words (p. 469): "hence it appears that the best and calmest (*ruhigsten*) historical inquirers among the ancients (Herodotus, Thucydides, and the author of the Parian marble) recognize the ruling house* of Deucalion as that before

* *Herrschergeschlecht*. I use the word house here not technically as in the translation of Niebuhr, but in the common sense in which we speak of the house of Bourbon, the house of Austria, which is evidently Dr K.'s meaning. An objection has been made by persons whose opinion on such a point deserves the greatest attention, to the word *house* used for such a body politic as was signified by the *γένος* and *gens* of the Greeks and Romans. The translators of the Dorians (Preface p. xiii) say this is "a usage which it seems impossible to approve; as *house* appears to imply even more forcibly than *family* the sameness of descent and of habitation. We have therefore retained the one word in its common acceptation; and have translated *γένος* by *clan*, guided by the analogy of the divisions so called in Scotland." That the word *house* implies sameness of habitation is clearly an oversight, as appears from the examples I have mentioned and a thousand others that might be cited. It certainly implies sameness of descent, and so do *γένος* and *gens* when they are not taken in the more limited technical sense; so that there does not seem to be any great inconvenience in restricting the meaning of *house* in like manner. It is in fact often used for an aggregate of families living as far apart as the Escorial, the Tuilleries, Caserta, and Holyrood, and it cannot be considered as a very violent change, to transfer it to an aggregate of families united chiefly by a political fiction. For it must be remembered that this fiction was never merely arbitrary, but always more or less coincided with a natural relation. On the other hand the word *clan* seems liable to a number of very weighty objections. In the first place it fails to suggest, and by all the associations connected with it tends to exclude, a most essential element in the notion of the *gens* or *γένος*: that it is a member of an organized body, deriving all its importance and all its functions from the whole on which it depends. In the next place, as the Translators of Mueller partly acknowledge, it does not correspond with the sphere which the *γένος* filled in the ancient commonwealths, but with a larger one including the former. This may not be evident at first sight, because the Celtic hordes were not organized like Grecian tribes: but it must strike every one who considers that the clan formed an independent whole, and that its subjection to a more extensive community was quite accidental, whereas it is the essence of the Grecian *γένος* and the Roman *gens*, considered as parts of the state. Hence Mr Elphinstone in describing

which there were no Hellenes in Greece, and that the tribes who became subjected to Deucalion the son of Prometheus and his successors down to Hellen (?), and to which others attached themselves, are to be considered as the genuine stock of the Hellenic nation." I leave the reader to judge how far this interpretation satisfies the conditions of the test proposed by Dr K. But I must protest, first against submitting a question of this kind to be decided by the traditions of any people as to its own origin: and next against the fallacy involved in the epithets with which Dr K. here inculcates the authority of Herodotus and Thucydides, to say nothing of the Parian marble. The question is not, whether Herodotus and Thucydides were or were not excellent historians, or whether they were biassed by passion in forming their opinions. It is not even necessary to enquire whether their peculiar excellence consisted in the sagacity with which they detected historical truth under a mythical veil, though if we were to withhold this praise from

the Afghaun constitution, which presents many striking parallels to the divisions in Greek cities, after observing "that each tribe has branched into several divisions, and in the more numerous and scattered tribes those branches have separated and are each governed by its own independent chief," adds (Account of Caubul p. 159): "The name of Oolooss is applied either to a whole tribe, or to one of these independent branches. The word seems to mean a *clanish* commonwealth." Afterwards indeed he finds it convenient to apply the word *clan* to the main branch of an Oolooss; but this branch is subdivided into *khails*, which themselves are aggregates of families, so that in this nomenclature *clan* answers not to γένος but to φρατρία, and in fact these Afghaun clans are sometimes independent, as in the example given by Mr Elphinstone, p. 161. where he says, "The Ahmedzye (*zye* means son, and is added as *mac* is prefixed by the Highlanders) and three other clans compose the Ismaelzye, but they are not under the authority of any common chief, and the head family of the Ismaelzye is extinct or neglected." But a still weightier objection to the use of *clan* as a translation of *gens*, is one which I am informed Niebuhr himself once suggested in conversation, namely, that according to the analogy of the Scottish clans, the clients would have been members of the gens. In the Roman gentes there was no such inequality of rank as between the laird and his clansmen, who were in fact retainers of the ruling family, and were only kept in more absolute subjection by the fiction of a common descent. On the whole it seems clear that neither *house* nor *clan*, nor any other word that has yet been proposed will convey the meaning of γένος or *gens*, without some definition added to it. The only question is, which of them suggests the smallest number of extraneous and incongruous ideas to divert the reader's attention from that which the word is intended to represent.

them, we should not be detracting from their merit, but should only be denying that they possessed a species of discernment which, since it depends not merely upon a gift of nature but upon a survey of a vast field, of which but a small part was open to their view, it was scarcely possible for them to acquire. And it must be owned in general, that no exercise of the mind was so little valued and practised among the Greeks as historical criticism. But the question here is simply whether Herodotus and Thucydides were exempt from the influence of a habit of thinking which prevailed universally among their countrymen, and induced them without tradition or enquiry to refer the names of nations, of cities, and of institutions, to fictitious persons. How little Herodotus was superior to this national bias of mind, and how little his judgment can be relied on in discussing the reality of such individuals as Dorus and Hellen, is pretty clear from an instance in which Dr K. himself is compelled to dissent from him, though he appears to have been quite as calm and dispassionate in this part of his work as in any other. The old Attic tribes, according to Herodotus, derived their names from the four sons of Ion, Geleon, Ægicoreus, Argades, and Hoples (v. 66). This assertion Dr K. cannot admit; but he seems to have been conscious that he was taking a very bold step in rejecting a statement supported by such high authority, and he therefore speaks of it as a conjecture of Herodotus (*wie H. muthmasst.*) The reader however who turns to the passage will see that Herodotus intimates no more doubt about the existence of these four sons of Ion, than about that of Ion himself. Indeed when one considers how generally Herodotus has been reproached for his simplicity and credulity, one is surprized to find one's self protesting against his infallibility, on the subject as to which of all others he was most liable to be deceived. With respect to Thucydides indeed the case is very different. For as this great historian most distinctly recognizes the extreme uncertainty of all events in the early ages of Grecian history (i. 1. 21. where the lapse of time is mentioned as increasing the difficulty of ascertaining the truth, an opinion which has been ridiculed by a modern French critic*), and attests the credulity of his countrymen

* Petit Radet, *Synchronismes de l'histoire des temps héroïques de la Grece*. I do not know the work to which he alludes when he speaks, p. 20:

and their impatience of accurate historical investigations, his own judgement is entitled to the greater respect. But it must be remembered that in his survey of the ancient state of Greece, and his review of the progress of society, he had no motive to examine the personal existence of the heroes whom he happens to mention, and if it had been possible that a doubt should have occurred to him about it, he would certainly have suppressed it as one that did not in the slightest degree affect the truth of his picture. His own words contain a clear, and almost an express caution against appealing to his authority on such points.

The Afghauns, whose constitution and manners afford many illustrations of those of ancient Greece, trace the four great divisions of their nation to four individuals (corresponding to the *Æolus*, *Dorus*, *Ion*, and *Achæus* of the Greeks.) These four patriarchs, who gave their names to the tribes which are supposed to have sprung from them, are described by the Afghaun historians as the sons of a hero called *Kyse Abdoolresheed*, whom they believe to have been an *Ansar*, or champion of the faith in the time of *Mahomet*. Mr *Elphinstone* (p. 158.) says, "Whatever doubts may be entertained of the pedigree, and even of the existence of *Kyse Abdoolresheed*, it is to him that all the Afghaun genealogies refer, and on those genealogies the whole of the divisions and interior government of the tribes depend." But if this passage were to fall in the way of a *Caubul* critic, he would probably exclaim with some warmth: "What affectation in this infidel to question the existence of *Kyse Abdoolresheed*, which is unanimously attested by our best and coolest historians!" An European reader would perhaps rather be led to observe, that a doubt about the existence of *Kyse* does not necessarily affect that of the four patriarchs who are called his sons, and that if they had been also fictitious persons they would according to the analogy of the sons of *Hellen* have been described

"d'une comparaison d'optique, où l'on prétend assimiler la dégradation de la probabilité des faits historiques lorsqu'ils sont vus à travers un grand nombre de générations successives à l'extinction de la clarté des objets par l'interposition de plusieurs verres." It is not indeed *Thucydides* who has used this image, yet the ridicule must fall on him, or recoil upon the French critic.

as the children of Afghaun. Mr Elphinstone however solves this difficulty by informing us, p. 151. "the origin of the name of Afghaun, now so generally applied to the nation, is entirely uncertain; but is probably modern. It is known to the Afghauns themselves only through the medium of the Persian language." Yet Afghaun has found a place in their genealogies as a more remote ancestor of the four patriarchs. For the Afghauns "maintain that they are descended from Afghaun, the son of Irmia, or Berkia, son of Saul king of Israel." This is certainly no proof that the names of the four great Afghaun tribes were not derived from real persons; but it will probably be admitted to throw great doubt on the fact, especially as their reputed father Kyse is unknown to the Arabian historians, and "the Afghaun historians, although they describe their countrymen as a numerous people during their Arabian campaign, and though it appears from a sarcasm attributed by those historians to the prophet (who declared Pushtoo to be the language of hell) that they already spoke their national and peculiar tongue, yet they do not scruple in another place, to derive the whole nation from the loins of the very Kyse who commanded during the period of the above transactions." Dr K. however would probably have told Mr Elphinstone that he was rash in questioning the testimony of those historians, who after all must know more of the matter than we, on such slight grounds: the seeming inconsistency may be easily cleared up, if we only suppose that the Afghaun Deucalion Kyse collected some vagrant hordes, taught them his own language and the Mahometan faith, and, perhaps not thinking them in his life-time quite as good as his own flesh and blood, left it to his four sons to distribute their names among them.

As the laudatory epithets bestowed by Dr K. on the Greek historians, which have no meaning unless they are designed to insinuate the propriety of an unconditional assent to the opinions of the writers commended, do not alter the state of the question on any of the points in dispute, so those who differ from him will certainly not feel more convinced by such a remark as the following: after repeating the assertion of Herodotus, that the Pelasgians received the worship of Neptune from the Libyans, he exclaims (p. 458): "we find no

reason capriciously to reject these precise statements of good historians, though others consider all these deities as creations of the Grecian mind, and *a priori* disbelieve a propagation of their worship from the East." Dr K. may think that a naked assertion of Herodotus ought to silence all reasonings on such a subject. But he can scarcely be ignorant that there are some grounds for questioning the truth of that which he here repeats, at least sufficiently plausible to protect those who withhold their assent from a charge of caprice. Herodotus himself would lead one to believe (iv. 150.) that either no intercourse had ever taken place between Greece and Africa before the colonization of Cyrené, or else that it had been totally forgotten. The suspicion thus arising from the improbability that any tradition should notwithstanding have been preserved of the introduction of a deity from Africa, is greatly strengthened by the character of the god in question, who of all the Olympian family is the one whose attributes and functions appear to belong most properly to Greece. And in fact Herodotus himself almost entirely destroys the authority of his assertion by the reason he annexes to it. "For no people possess the name of Neptune from the beginning, except the Libyans, and they have always honoured this god." It is pretty clear that Herodotus is here reasoning on the assumption that the same god could not be worshipped independently by two different nations, and therefore that Neptune had either been brought from Africa to Greece, or from Greece to Africa. And if, as is probable enough, the Greek settlers in Africa found his worship established there among the native tribes on the coast, since the last of these conclusions was manifestly false, it was very natural that the first should be deemed certainly true. But all such misgivings Dr K. stifles in the germ by an *αὐτὸς ἔφα*.

To press the authority of Herodotus a little too far is however much less injurious to truth than to alledge it in behalf of propositions which Herodotus never made: and Dr K. has laid himself but too open to complaint on this head. He himself of course believes that Cecrops was an Egyptian. But he knows perfectly well that among the many strong reasons for doubting this fact, the silence of Herodotus, who had so many opportunities and motives for mentioning it if he believed it, is

by no means the weakest. Yet in support of the assertion: "about the year 1558 Cecrops led a colony to Attica," Dr K. in his note (p. 476) translates a part of the chapter (VIII. 44.) where Herodotus indeed mentions the name of Cecrops, but says nothing about his colony, and gives no hint that he was a foreigner. Dr K. adds in the next page, "this Egyptian colony is signified by Herodotus as having brought over Egyptian forms of worship:" and Herod. I. 56. is quoted in the note. In this reference there is manifestly a typographical error, which I greatly regret because I cannot correct it, being unable to discover any passage in Herodotus containing such an allusion, which must have been highly welcome to Dr K. if it supplies the defect in his previous quotation. Again, Dr K. states (p. 482) on the authority of Apollodorus, that about the year 1445 B. C. Danaus led a Libyan colony to Argos; and shortly after he adds, "the fact which was the foundation of this myth, namely, the arrival of Libyan colonists in Peloponnesus, Herodotus held to be historical truth." The passage cited in the note (VII. 94.) happily contains the name of Danaus, but says no more of his voyage from Libya, than the preceding one of the migration of Cecrops from Egypt. On the contrary it is from Egypt that the daughters of Danaus were believed by Herodotus to have brought the rites of Ceres (II. 171), and it was to Chemmis in upper Egypt, as he was informed by the Egyptians, that Perseus went to visit the ancient seat of his ancestor Danaus, when he was on his road to Libya in quest of the Gorgon's head. It is true that Raoul Rochette (*Histoire* I. p. 110) observes, "il est probable qu' Herodote aura mal à propos appliqué à la Chemmis de la Thébaïde (the inhabitants of which related the tradition to him) ce qui appartenait à celle du Delta" (which is not known to have existed). Raoul Rochette had indeed good reason to ascribe this mistake to Herodotus, gross and incredible as it is in itself; for otherwise his own assertion (p. 109) that Danaus "régnait en Libye sur les états fondés par les Pasteurs," might have seemed less firmly demonstrated than he conceives it to be. But high as Dr K.'s respect must naturally be for this learned Frenchman whose habits of thinking are so congenial with his own, he is surely paying him too great a compliment when he not only adopts his opinion himself, but compels Herodotus to do the same.

I must take this occasion of repeating what I have already hinted, that the number of typographical errors in Dr K.'s references is unusually large. He would have spared his readers much trouble and vexation, if he had engaged some friend to undertake the task of verifying them, and correcting the numbers. But when this is done another labour will remain to be performed, of still greater importance, to which it is to be hoped Dr K. will be induced to apply his own attention before his work appears in a second edition: that of adapting the statements in the text more closely to the references in the notes. I have already produced several instances that occurred to me in the course of this discussion, in which Dr K. seems too much to have neglected this, and I will add two others by way of specimen, which I lighted on without looking for them. He observes (p. 473) "the Lelex of Laconia is represented by mythical tradition as a son of Neptune and Libya, who came from Egypt to Greece. Paus. Att. c. 44." In this passage Pausanias does relate this tradition, not however of the Lelex who reigned in Laconia, but of the one whose tomb was shewn at Megara. The Lelex of Laconia according to the tradition reported by Paus. III. 1. was an autochthon.— In describing the situation of Tegyra (II. p. 588) Dr K. says: "The battle of Tegyra is described by Plutarch in his life of Pelopidas. From this we see that a road led from Orchomenus into Locris by Tegyra, for here Pelopidas lay in wait for the Lacedæmonians who were returning from Locris to Orchomenus. Pelop. c. 17." It is true that Plutarch's description of the battle proves the main point, the direction of the road from Orchomenus into Locris; but as to the historical fact, no two statements can differ more widely than that of Dr K. and that of Plutarch. For the biographer informs us, that his hero had been for some time watching for an opportunity of surprising Orchomenus, which for its security had received two Spartan moræ within its walls: at length hearing that the Spartan garrison had left the city on an expedition into Locris, and hoping to find it unguarded, he marched against it with a small force. Hearing, however, that a new Spartan garrison had arrived to supply the place of the absent one, he drew off his little army from the territory of Orchomenus by the same road as he had taken in coming, which brought him

to Tegyræ. Near this town he fell in with the two Spartan moræ on their return from Locris, as they were issuing from the defiles that opened near Tegyræ. So far was he from lying in wait for them, that this was the occasion of the famous *bon-mot* with which he kept up the spirits of his men, who found themselves unexpectedly in the presence of a superior force: when one ran up to him with the tidings: *we have fallen into the midst of the enemy*, he answered: *why not they into the midst of us?*

But it is high time to conclude these remarks, which have already grown to an inordinate length, though the chapter we have been examining contains several other subjects that invite discussion. I must again remind the reader that the preceding observations have been confined to a minute portion of Dr K.'s book, and that even if all the objections here raised should prove to be well founded, they would not affect its value as a geographical work. The historical part of it however, whatever may be its intrinsic merit, is interesting inasmuch as Dr K. is perhaps the most strenuous and able German representative of the French school of historical criticism, the genius and principles of which have inspired and directed the learned labours of Clavier, Raoul Rochette, Petit Radel, &c. Their doctrines have been so long and so generally exploded in Germany, that it begins to be time to revive them as novelties. This Dr K. has done with learning very superior to that of his French predecessors, and with at least equal ingenuity in exhibiting the mythical traditions of antiquity under an aspect so new and specious, that it would probably in many instances have surprized their original compilers no less than it does a modern reader. As in these respects he equals or surpasses the French critics, so he has gone beyond them in the unflinching consistency with which he has applied their common principles. For except in the case of the sons of Ion, the Pelasguses, and perhaps a few others, he has adhered to the most literal interpretation of the ancient mythographers with a steadiness which sometimes failed even his French rivals. I should almost have thought his work sufficient to redeem his countrymen from the imputation cast upon them by Dr Arnold in his Preface to Thucydides, p. XIII. where after noticing "Mueller's unreasonable scepticism; that is, a hasty impression of the internal diffi-

culties of the common stories and an exaggerated notion of their want of external authority," he adds: "these two tendencies, and particularly the first, seem almost constitutional in the German writers, and unquestionably detract from their value." Dr K. seems to have proved that the hasty impressions and exaggerated notions of such men as Mueller and Niebuhr can scarcely be excused by the plea which Dr Arnold charitably suggests. Perhaps however notwithstanding what Dr K. has done to remove all appearance of difficulty from the common stories, and to raise their external authority almost to oracular infallibility, it may be better, for some time to come, in discussing these subjects to abstain from expressions implying that those who differ from us are necessarily afflicted with a constitutional defect in their understandings, or else have neglected to make a proper use of their reasoning faculties. For how easily may such charges be retorted! and what a handle might Dr Arnold's observation give to an intemperate admirer of Mueller to say, that, on the contrary, nature seemed to have denied the French the organ of historical criticism! Indeed Mueller himself (*Orchom.* p. 127) has taken the liberty of remarking on a passage in a work of Raoul Rochette, who is perhaps inferior to none of his school: "Raoul Rochette is prolix and utterly without criticism. Never knowing how to extract the essence from any statement, he conjures up a number of Pelasgian colonies that never really existed." It is highly probable that Dr K. would dissent from this judgement both as to the colonies and their author: as on the other hand it is not unlikely that Mueller might differ from Dr K. as to the merits of Meursius, whom Dr K. (p. 83) praises for his critical acuteness, and of whose writings on Greece he says (*Preface*, p. XXI.) that no man can reproach him with having been too prolix.

In subjects that admit of such a divergency of opinions, it seems highly desirable to avoid all extremes both in speaking and in thinking. Unreasonable scepticism is a sure proof of mental weakness: but it is not the less certain that sober scepticism is the optic nerve of the mind, without which none of the images presented to it can ever communicate a true view of things without. A wanton disregard of legitimate authority implies something faulty in a man's moral as well as his intel-

lectual constitution. Yet common stories and current opinions may as often have been repeated through indolence and indifference as they have been rejected through haste and rashness. All these common-place truths are excellent in pairs: but considered singly they only serve to promote dogmatism and intolerance. The object of the foregoing discussion has been to sound some of Dr K.'s reasonings and principles, not to draw any conclusion as to his constitutional tendencies. If its tone should seem not to have been always so serious as the gravity of the subject demanded, I trust this will not be ascribed to a want of respect for Dr K., but to the impression made on me by some passages in his work: and should this impression have been hasty and erroneous, I can only hope that the manner in which it has been expressed may provoke some one who is better informed, to set the opinions that produced it in a more correct point of view, and thus at once to render a service to literature and justice to the injured.

C. T.

ON ENGLISH ADJECTIVES.

ADJECTIVES may be divided into two great classes, etymologically distinct from each other. These two classes differ both in the general character of their signification, and in the laws of formation which affect them: and the operation of these laws, in the English language, in particular, offers some circumstances which may be worth notice.

The first class embraces the words in which what immediately offers itself to our attention is the *quality* or property they describe: whether this property be an object of bodily sense, as *green, loud, heavy*; or of the mental perceptions and affections which respect beauty, human feelings, and moral principles, as *fair, dear, true*. Hence they may be called *adjectives of quality*. Among these, the most characteristic are those which are not obviously derived from any other word: as *good, wise, bright, soft, red, sweet, foul, wild*.

Words of this class do not contain in themselves any reference to any other word: but we have various derivatives formed from each of them by various modes. Thus we have from each an abstract substantive, constructed by the application of the proper terminations, as *goodness, wisdom, truth*. We have also, from many such adjectives, derivative verbs, as *soften, brighten, redden*; most of which are used both as actives and as neuters, though generally with a preference of one of the two significations.

Besides the adjectives which are apparently primitive in our own language, we have many adjectives of quality derived from the Latin and other sources; as *long, large, chaste, grand, severe, gay*. From these we either form abstract substantives by means of English terminations, as *length, largeness*, or we Anglicize the abstract term already formed in another language, as *chastity, grandeur, severity, gaiety*.

In other cases abstract words have been established in our language in a primitive character, as *joy*, *virtue*; and we have adjectives, as *joyful*, *virtuous*, derived from them. Such adjectives must still be considered as adjectives of quality, and are not included in the observations we shall have to make on those of the second class, namely, those which have an obvious reference to some concrete substantive. We may remark also that we can form from these adjectives other abstract terms, *joyfulness*, *virtuousness*, nearly corresponding in sense with those from which they are derived. Abstract terms indeed are never really primitive; but are formed from some concrete substantive or verb. In such cases as the above, this process has already been executed in a foreign language, and we import the results thus manufactured. *Virtus* is an old Roman abstraction from *vir*: *joy* comes to us through the French *joye*, and the Italian *gioia*, from the Latin *gaudium*, of which the root is to be found in the verb *gaudeo*.

We have generally no difficulty in forming abstract terms from adjectives of quality, or indeed of any class: for the termination *ness* may be applied to almost any term, more or less conveniently. Thus Mr Shelley has spoken of "the snake's adamantine *voluminousness*;" and we have heard of a person patriotically desirous of excluding Latin words from the language, who wrote of the "*thoroughfaresomeness* of stuff." But it is often more convenient to submit to the humiliation, if it be one, of being indebted to the stranger, and of using derivatives from the corresponding Latin root: for in that language the inflexions expressive of abstraction are much more compact and effective than our own. The philosopher whom we have mentioned would have done better to be content with the "*penetrability* of matter." Most writers would now prefer *rectitude* to *rightness*; and though *uprightness* is unobjectionable, *integrity* is more frequently used.

The main purpose however of the present essay is with adjectives of the second class; those, namely, which have a manifest and distinctly felt reference to some primitive: either a concrete substantive, as *wooden*, *fatherly*, or a verb, as *tiresome*, *seemly*. These we may call *adjectives of relation*. We employ various terminations in the formation of such

terms: some of Teutonic origin, as *lovely*, *faithful*, *faithless*, *witty*, *sleepy*, *troublesome*, *sheepish*, *golden*: others of Latin extraction, *gracious*, *etherial*, *angular*, *adamantine*, *visionary*, *promissory*, *angelic*, *offensive*, *changeable*, *accessible*, and others. These terminations are not applied indiscriminately; most words being associated by preference with one or the other: and even when more than one are used, as *peaceable*, *peaceful*, *beautiful*, *beauteous*, *dutiful*, *duteous*, there is generally either some shade of difference in the notion conveyed, or one of the words is more familiar and idiomatic, while the other belongs to a more ornate style.

The characteristic of the present class of adjectives is, that they have a distinctly *felt* reference to their primitives; and it is of such that I wish more particularly to treat. For, as we have already observed, many of the words which by their external form and termination indicate that they are derivative adjectives, are employed without any distinct consciousness of their depending on a substantive, because that which they describe strikes us primarily as a quality: thus *gracious*, *courteous*, *beautiful*, suggest all that the full conception of their meaning requires, and are at least as readily intelligible as the abstract terms *grace*, *courtesy*, *beauty*. But when we speak of a *beechen* bowl, of an *insular* climate, of *fatherly* duties, there is a reference distinctly perceived to the substantives from which these adjectives come: and we are conscious that we mean a bowl made of beech, the climate of an island, the duties of a father.

This mental reference to the primitive, when we use a derivative adjective, admits of very numerous and various degrees of consciousness and distinctness; and the reference may be of various kinds: implying either the material, as *earthen*; or some participation of substance or quality, as *earthy*, *earthly*; or some actual or metaphorical assimilation, as *childish*, *homely*.

The reference too is felt in very different degrees by different persons, according to their habits of thought and their knowledge of languages. It is therefore difficult or perhaps impossible to draw any very distinct line between the two classes of adjectives. But in some cases the relative character is clear and irremoveable; and these will be the subject of our notice in the first place.

The English language is extremely ill furnished with such adjectives: it does not possess generally the power of forming them from its own primitives: and it has hence been obliged to have recourse to various modes of periphrasis. Another resource has been to borrow adjectives from the Latin; and this latter process has especially obtained in modern times, and has produced some remarkable effects on the character of the language. I shall illustrate these observations very briefly.

No adjectives are more decidedly relative than those expressing the material of which a thing is made, as *ἀργύρεος*, *argenteus*, *silbern*. The French are destitute of these terms; they say *une vaisselle d' argent*. In English we form such adjectives from the substantive by adding the termination *en*, as golden, brazen, oaken, ashen, beechen, earthen. Formerly this mode of derivation was more extensively used than it now is. Milton in the *Comus* talks of "*cedarn* alleys:" *treen* platters, wooden plates, was a usual term at the time when the thing itself was familiar.

But the practice of forming such adjectives is by no means universal. Many words do not admit of this adjectival termination, and we use the substantive adjectively without any change, as an *iron* crown, a *stone* coffin, a *glass* bottle. The analogy of these cases has led us to do the same, even where the adjective exists. We talk of an oak floor, not *oaken*: no one would speak in common language of a *brazen* candlestick or farthing: we wear gold buckles, not *golden*, and silk not *silken* stockings. This is almost universally the custom where the combination is frequent and familiar; and in such cases we may perhaps consider the expression as a compound word. In this manner almost every substantive in English may be used as an adjective without modification, as a *bottle* nose, a *university* man: and the same usage is often extended, at least colloquially, to compound words and phrases. Falstaff tells prince Hal to "go hang himself in his own *heir-apparent* garters": and Mr Leigh Hunt speaks of Dancing "with her *in and out* deliciousness."

But both these modes of expressing the material of a thing adjectively may generally be resolved into the substantive and preposition, as in French. We should probably

say a mountain *of* copper, rather than a copper mountain, and certainly a stratum *of* limestone. This periphrasis is especially usual when distinctness is required, or when the forms above noticed are in any way difficult to use.

We are much more at a loss however, for adjectives to express predominant qualities or ingredients. We might speak of a *stony* field, but it is not common to say, or in these days at least to print, an *irony* or a *limy* soil. At times indeed we meet with such expressions as a *coppery* taste, a *cobwebby* feeling; but they are hardly recognised as legitimate. The practice in such cases is to use a decided periphrasis. This mostly alters the form of the sentence: for we cannot, like the Germans, talk of an *ironholding* (*eisenhaltig*) stratum, and we therefore speak of a soil containing iron, or in which lime is a large ingredient.

But this lengthened structure of a sentence is often a great inconvenience; we therefore seek the compactness which an adjective affords, by borrowing one from the Latin, and say a *ferruginous* soil, a *calcareous* stratum. This is more especially the case when we have occasion to describe systematically: adjectives of English origin, if we could find some such, would often leave us destitute when we came to want others. We might speak indeed of the *woody* fibre, and the *watery* juices of plants; but when we have to oppose to these the layers *of the bark* and the *salts* found in their ingredients, our English adjectives fail us. Hence we say *ligneous* fibre, *aqueous* juices, which lead naturally to *cortical* layers and *saline* ingredients.

Besides the cases in which materials or components are to be indicated, there are many others where the relations marked by prepositions with substantives are better and more compactly expressed by adjectives; and in such instances we have often recourse to the Latin. We may say, a history of discoveries by sea and land; but if we wish to use adjectives in this case, we can only obtain one of them from our own language, and are reduced to speak of a history of *maritime* and inland discovery. The absence of the swallow in winter, its arrival in spring, are termed its *brumal* retreat and its *vernal* migration: and the latter adjective is here distinctly relative, and does not merely

imply quality, as when we talk of *wintry* storms and *vernal* gales. A message by *word of mouth* is not necessarily a *wordy* or *mouthy*, but may always be called a *verbal* or *oral* communication.

Some adjectives of English form and origin have fallen into disuse in modern times, as Latin radicals and terminations have become more familiar. This process however, like most of those which occur in the progress of language, seems to have gone on very capriciously. We use *fatherly*, *motherly*, *brotherly*, as readily as *paternal*, *maternal*, *fraternal*. *Sisterly* has no Latin equivalent. *Sonly* is never used, though *filial* does not fully represent it: *sonlike* however might be employed if so much definiteness were wanted. *Daughterly* is not common: but it is used by Sir T. More, and, probably from sympathy, by the author of the pleasing biography of that great man which has recently been published. *Creaturely* is used by William Law, though, from the analogy of *natural*, *creatural* might have suggested itself. Other adjectives have been lost and replaced by Latin ones in less recent times. Wickliffe writes *medeful* instead of *meritorious*. *Omnipotent* has not yet expelled *almighty*; but we generally say *omniscient*, while *alwittie*, its former translation, has ceased to be seen among us. These however are compound adjectives, which are not at present the subject of our consideration.

Johnson attributes the gossiping propensities of the inhabitants of Sky to the "poverty of *insular* conversation;" which a writer less fond of the adjectival construction would probably have called, "the want of subjects of talk *in* a small island." It cannot be denied that in a technical or formal mode of treating a subject, a substantive is much more manageable when attended only by an adjective, a word subordinate and inseparable, than when it depends for its limitation on a periphrasis loosely associated with it. Most writers therefore use sometimes the English phrase and sometimes the Latin adjective, as the sentence may require an idiomatic or a systematic turn. They say our system of money, or our monetary system, symptoms of fever, or febrile symptoms, a cutaneous disorder, or a disorder of the skin. But the convenience of the adjective generally makes it be

preferred when it becomes familiar. The dispute about auricular confession can hardly be described by a simple phrase of pure English.

Adjectives are not derived from substantives only, but from other words, and especially from verbs. Of this kind also we have few English adjectives, unless we consider participles as such. In most cases we have the alternative between a Latin adjective and an English participle. We speak of *hereditary* rights, or of rights *inherited* from our ancestors; of *native* talents, or talents *born* with a man; of *derivative* claims, or claims *flowing* from others. But in many instances no variation of construction is requisite: we talk of a *glowing* or a *fervid* description; of *striking* or *impressive* expressions; of a *lying* or a *mendacious* slave; of a *deserving* or a *meritorious* servant; of a *decided* or a *decisive* character. Here the participle assumes the adjectival character. On the other hand adjectives from Latin or French participles in *ant* and *ent* seem sometimes to retain a participial character, and to convey a suggestion of time. A man's *dormant* energies are the energies which are *sleeping* for the moment. We speak almost indifferently of a *shining* or a *resplendent* lake; a *radiant* or a *beaming* countenance; a *pleasant* or a *pleasing* companion. In *cunning* the participle remains while the verb is lost, and the equivalent Latin adjective *astute* is somewhat pedantic. Where the participle still retains an ostensible connexion with the verb, the adjectival form suggests some general relation to the action which the verb indicates, the participial is applicable only to the subject or object of the action. A *hired* servant is a simpler phrase than a *stipendiary* domestic: but when we talk of a stipendiary office, we see the advantage of the adjective; for the English participle would not lend itself to such an expression.

One consequence of this habit of borrowing adjectives from the Latin to correspond to English substantives and verbs, is that it is in some measure necessary to have the Latin as well as the English word present to our minds, since it may depend on the turn of a sentence whether we shall want one or the other root; whether for instance we may have to speak of the nerves of hearing or the *auditory* nerves,

of *visual* rays or of the lines in which we see. And the habit of considering Latin words as allowable sources of English inflexions is so familiar to scholars that it is exercised almost unconsciously.

Most persons have heard of the Oxford fellow of a college who met a friend riding, and as the simplest way of asking whether the horse was the rider's *own*, or *hired*, or *borrowed*, inquired whether it was *proprietary*, *conductitious*, or *eleemosynary*. This is hardly an exaggerated picture of the mental habits of an English Latinist.

There is a curious passage in Shakspeare which appears to prove that his stock of learning was sufficient to place him in the class of those to whose minds the relation of adjectives to their Latin originals is obvious. In "As you like it" the sententious Touchstone, when he is at the same time paying court to Audrey and lamenting her inability to estimate duly his endowments, says "I am here with thee and thy *goats*, as the most *capricious* poet Ovid was among the *Goths*": where, besides the obvious jingle of *Goats* and *Goths*, it is clear that Master Touchstone's learning breaks out in the allusion to the etymology of *capricious*. It is worth while turning to Schlegel's version of this passage: for that excellent translator appears to plume himself upon rendering not only all the meaning, but all the jests and conceits of his original; and as we have here a double pun, the task must be somewhat difficult. He catches the play on *capricious* by means of a German idiom: "Ich bin hier bey Kätchen und ihre Ziegen, wie der Dichter, *der die ärgsten Bocksprünge machte*, der ehrliche Ovid, unter die *Geten*." But why is Audrey in this play metamorphosed into Kätchen? The other names are preserved: Touchstone is Probstein; and there is not, so far as I know, any peculiar humour or propriety in Kätchen, the diminutive of Kate. But perhaps the passage before us reveals the motive for the change. There is a sort of resemblance in sound between *Kätchen* and *Geten*, which is just about as good material for a joke as that between *goats* and *Goths*: so that Schlegel has here transmitted his author to his German readers with his due allowance of jests, at least as to tale. If this was really the reason why Audrey was turned into

Kätchen, the alteration affords a remarkable proof of Schlegel's conscientiousness in these matters, and of his persevering and provident ingenuity in meeting the difficulties of his undertaking.

This reference of our adjectives however to their Latin originals does not possess this complete distinctness except in technical cases, or with persons conversant with etymological studies. In general the relation between the adjective and its correlative is less clear and definite than it would be if the connexion were manifest on the face of the word, as it is in Latin or German. Hence in our Latin adjectives, which are thus less decidedly relative, we often obtain new shades of meaning and tinges of association, which our language could not possess if it were less heterogeneous. Thus when Milton says

Cedar and pine and fir and branching palm,
A *sylvan* scene—

we feel that the epithet implies a picturesqueness in the combination of the trees, while *woody* would merely have repeated the assertion that they were there. In this way we possess a choice and copiousness, which those who are masters of our language know well how to use with advantage. A philologer might produce an instructive and probably an amusing illustration of this peculiarity, by constructing a *synonymy*, or comparison, of pure English adjectives with the proximate words of professed Latin origin; and by discriminating, with the aid of the best authors, the shades of meaning that separate each pair; such, for instance, as *feminine* and *womanly*, *mortal* and *deadly*, *timely* and *temporary* or *temporal*, &c. Horne Tooke (Part II. chap. vi) has given a list of adjectives from Latin roots, which may supply some hints for such an undertaking.

We have an example of the convenience of such distinctions in the remarkable 15th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. In the 40th verse we read that "there are celestial bodies and bodies *terrestrial*;" in the 47th we are told that "the first man is of the earth, *earthy*." Now this variation corresponds to a difference in the original; in the Greek we have *ἐπίγειος* in the first passage and *χοϊκός* in the second. Yet other languages which have only one set

of primitives, are compelled to use the same word in both verses. In French we have *terrestre* in both cases; so in Italian; in German *irdisch* in both, in Welsh *ddaerol*. The Spanish however makes a distinction by means of its terminations, using *terrestre* in the former case and *terreno* in the latter.

In a language which so much borrows its adjectives from another, their meaning is naturally liable to be mistaken by those whose learning does not extend beyond their mother tongue. Among the inquiries made of poor Chatterton's sister after his death, she was asked whether he was at all *venal* in his disposition, with a view of sifting his jocular debtor and creditor account of what he gained by the death of the mayor. The good lady however appears to have had other notions of the origin of the epithet, though some of the disputants have strenuously referred to her answer as bearing on the point in question. She replied with much earnestness that he was no such thing; that he walked sometimes on the college-green with girls of his acquaintance; but that she was sure there was nothing *venal* whatever in his habits.

Archbishop Whately has well observed that the double origin of our language, from Saxon and Norman materials, may often enable a sophist to assume the appearance of giving a reason, when he is in fact merely repeating his assertion in words of a different family, which thus appear to make a distinct proposition. Thus such a person might say that "to allow every man an unlimited freedom of speech must always be on the whole highly advantageous to the state; for it is extremely conducive to the interests of the community that each individual should enjoy a liberty perfectly unlimited of expressing his sentiments." This kind of fallacy is one example of the mode in which the mixed structure of the English language operates on our habits of thinking and reasoning, as the feature just noticed in our adjectives is another. Many others might be adduced, and the whole subject, if well analysed and copiously illustrated, would be one of great interest and instruction.

Still notwithstanding the resources we thus have in our double language, we are in some instances perplexed to form such adjectives as we require; for instance one to correspond

to the substantive *taste*. If we merely mean the bodily sense, we might probably say the *gustatory* nerves, though the word is little used. But the task is more difficult when we want an adjective referring to the critical faculty, and not to the physical perception.

Tasty, as Mr Coleridge has observed, is a word which milliners only can venture upon; and yet, as right and wrong depend upon *moral* principles, so beautiful and ugly depend on principles of taste, which it would be very convenient to designate by an adjective. Baumgarten, and since him many German and some English writers, have adopted the term *esthetical*. This has not however yet become an established English word; and we may express a doubt whether it deserves to be so. There are considerable objections to it on the ground of its etymological signification. Perception in general is something very different from that peculiar and complex modification of it which takes cognizance of the beauties of poetry and art. *Esthetics* would naturally designate the doctrine of perception in general, and might be wanted as a technical term for that purpose. By the Kantian school, indeed, *esthetic* is thus used to denote that branch of metaphysics which contains the laws of perception: their transcendental *esthetic* is the doctrine of the regulative laws of time and space to which all perceptions are subject. Usage no doubt might restrict *esthetic* to a particular class of perceptions, as the same authority has transferred *taste* from bodily to mental impressions. But it appears to be both unphilosophical and presumptuous for an individual author, writing systematically, and bound to guide himself by the best and simplest analogies, to introduce a word in a sense so arbitrary. Our terms ought either to have the claim of general usage, or that of clear etymological propriety. The word *kall'esthetics* would perhaps be as well fitted as any other to describe the doctrine of the perception of beauty: but I by no means wish to incur the responsibility of increasing the complication of the question by a new term. As an additional reason for hesitating before we adopt *esthetic*, it may be noticed that even in Germany it is not yet established beyond contest. Campe, one of the school of German "speech-purifiers," who has

laboured diligently to shew the possibility of dispensing with the services of Greek and Latin intruders, proposes as a substitute either *geschmackswissenschaft* or *geschmackslehre*: the former, he observes, possesses the *advantage* of giving us an adjective, *geschmackswissenschaftlich*, answering to esthetical. He allows however that this word is long, hard, and ill-sounding: and he seems rather disposed to prefer the second term, and to revive the old adjectival form *geschmackslehrig*. With regard to the English term *taste*, it appears very questionable whether the corresponding Latin or Greek words ever had a similar meaning; so that we could not properly propose to say *geutic* or *geumatic* speculations, when we mean discourses on taste. Adelung indeed says that the metaphor by which we apply this sense to the perception of the beautiful is to be found among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. But this is probably true only of the concrete, *gustus*, a taste or specimen. Thus Pliny, *Vides quam acuta omnia, quam apta, quam expressa. Ad hunc gustum totum librum repromitto.* “In this taste” would be a translation by inference. The adage “*de gustibus non disputandum*” brings us nearer to the modern use, but is probably not of high antiquity.

The abstract term *gustus*, the sense of taste, appears to have assumed its meaning, of judgement and delicacy of feeling in art, for the first time in the languages of modern Europe. The Spanish, according to Adelung, led the way; and when the usage had become established in the French, *goût*, the Germans imitated it soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century. In English, *taste* has its former sense, of a specimen, in Bacon and Shakspeare; but Hooker says “Why do these [parts of the liturgy] so much offend their *tastes*?” and Milton speaks of

Sion's songs to all true *tastes* excelling
Where God is praised aright.

Before 1712, as appears by the *Spectator*, the word had been restricted to a more technical exercise of the critical faculty, and “a fine taste in writing” was “much talked of in the polite world.”

In cases where we have adopted a Latin word, and modified its meaning, we may have an adjective with more than

one sense, according as we suppose its direct origin to be Latin or English. The term *sense* itself offers an instance. *Sensible*, in its usual acceptation of judicious, is derived from *sense*, supposing it to have acquired the signification of *common sense*. When we talk of a *sensible* difference between the temperature of two rooms, if we only mean a difference that we perceive, and not one which we commend, it is advisable to indicate in some way or other that we are using the word with a stricter reference than usual to its Latin original. When the French describe a person as *trop sensible*, the use of the word is again different from both the preceding; being opposed to the latter meaning of our *sensible*, as active is to passive, while the *sense* it refers to is very different from common sense.

But we have other adjectives besides derived from *sense*. *Sensual* is one, and in common language refers to sense, as an opposite to reason and virtue, so that sensual habits are those in which the latter guides are neglected. And this usage is so firmly established, that when we want to oppose the notices of sense to the suggestions of other faculties, without implying any blame, we dare not call them sensual. Some writers have endeavoured to get over this difficulty by speaking of *sensuous* impressions, a word countenanced by Milton.

In other instances both the substantive and its derivative adjective have been introduced into the language by different roads, and connected with different associations. In such cases it is often necessary to coin new adjectives of a somewhat different form, which may give us the proper correlatives to the substantives. Thus Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, are now planets which we consider with reference to their motions and cycles. But in former days these luminaries were supposed to have a vast influence upon men's tempers and characters; and it was at that period that their adjectival derivatives obtained a settlement in the language. Thus men were termed *jovial*, *saturnine*, *mercurial*, and their habits *martial*. These words now no longer suggest their origin, and are become adjectives of quality. Hence we cannot employ them with reference to the planets. If we can alter the termination we remove this difficulty; thus astronomers speak of a Saturnian revolution; but there is no well

established use extending this analogy to the other cases. In like manner *methodist* as a derivative from *method* is so strongly fixed among us in an arbitrary and limited sense, that we can scarcely use it to describe the philosophers who employ themselves in *methodising*, though it would be extremely convenient to do so.

Even in genuine English words it sometimes happens that the adjective has been derived from its root viewed under some particular association, so that the reference to the fundamental notion as commonly understood is by no means obvious. Of this we have a good instance in the excellent proverb, "home is home, be it ever so homely." A writer of Latinised English would perhaps thus separate the feelings, which the early framers of our language have mingled: "The scene of our domestic comforts must always have a peculiar charm, in spite of the inelegance which is often found among our familiar habits."

W.

PHILIP OF THEANGELA.

IN the first number of the Philological Museum (p. 110), I had occasion to quote a passage of Athenæus which refers to a work of Philip of Theangela: ὁ Θεαγγελεύς. A town of so little note as Theangela might have been thought tolerably fortunate if it had produced only one writer whose name has come down to us. Some critics however have been disposed to add a second. The name of Philip occurs in a passage of Plutarch (Alex. c. 46) with the addition of ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς. Harduin (on Pliny N. H. v. 29) perceived that this must be the same writer who is quoted by Athenæus. But in the same chapter of Plutarch another author is mentioned with the same addition, Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς: and Harduin, meaning of course that his correction should be applied to both cases, proposes to read Χ. ο Θεαγγελεύς. Dacier in a note on the passage of Plutarch (ed. Reiske) approves of the change in both instances: and in that of Philip it has been since received into the text: whether first by Schaefer I do not know. On the other hand Sainte-Croix, *Examen critique des historiens d'Alexandre-le-Grand* (p. 39. n. 3), objects to both alterations; and, instead of making Plutarch's description of Philip conform to that of Athenæus, is for correcting the text of the latter. I shall give his reasons in his own words. After observing that among the institutions of the Persian court adopted by Alexander was the office of the εἰσαγγελεύς, and that this post was filled by Chares of Mitylené, and enabled him to collect the materials of his work entitled ἱστορίαι τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, he subjoins the following note: "Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς. Plut. Alex. c. 46. Quelques savans n'ayant pas fait attention au sens de ce dernier mot ont voulu mal à propos le changer. Plutarque ajoute ensuite au nom de Chares celui de Mitylène sa patrie, ibid. c. 54. Il parle d'un autre isangèle, appelé Philippe, qui avoit aussi écrit quelque chose sur Alexandre. Cet isangèle est indubitablement celui dont on avoit un ouvrage historique sur les Léleges et les Cari-

ens (Strab. xiv. p. 455. Athen vi. p. 271). Dans ce dernier il faut lire *είσαγγελεύς* au lieu de *Θεαγγελεύς*."

In the passage of Strabo (p. 661) our author is described as *Φίλιππος ὁ τὰ Καρικὰ γράψας*. In Plutarch he is mentioned among a crowd of writers who had discussed the subject of the Amazon's visit to Alexander. The story, Plutarch says, was adopted by most of them, *ὧν καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐστὶ, καὶ Πολύκριτος, καὶ Ὀνησίκριτος, καὶ Ἀντιγένης, καὶ Ἰστρος. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ, καὶ Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, καὶ Ἀντικλείδης, καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θηβαῖος, καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Ερετριεύς, καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, καὶ Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος, πλάσμα φασὶ γεγονέναι τοῦτο*. It was necessary to transcribe this passage, that the reader might be enabled to appreciate the merit of the correction proposed by Sainte-Croix. It will, I think, be evident to every one on a little reflexion, that, independently of the authority of manuscripts, his change in the text of Athenæus is quite inadmissible, and that the second *είσαγγελεύς* in Plutarch requires some alteration. Plutarch himself was on the side of the minority in the controversy, and for the satisfaction of those readers who might not be convinced either by the nature of the case, or by the names opposed to Onesicritus and his fellows, he proceeds to mention that Alexander himself, in a letter to Antipater, gave a full account, *πάντα γράφων ἀκριβῶς*, of the proposal which the king of the Scythians had made to him, at the time when he was supposed to have had his interview with Thalestris, to give him his daughter in marriage, but said nothing about the Amazon. And he adds an anecdote tending almost equally to shake the credit of the story: when Lysimachus had become king of Thrace, he one day heard Onesicritus read the fourth book of his *True History*, which contained the particulars of the Amazon's visit to the Macedonian hero: *and where*, asked the king with a smile, *was I at the time?* The same question might have been asked by Chares, if he filled the office of *είσαγγελεύς* at the time to which Onesicritus referred the occurrence. And it can scarcely be doubted that it was for this reason that Plutarch here described him by his office, and not by his birth-place, as in c. 54, and also placed his name between those of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, of whom Arrian (vii. 13) says on the same occasion: *ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος,*

οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος, οὔτε τις ἄλλος ἀνέγραψεν, ὅστις ἵκανος ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμηριῶσαι. If the Philip of Strabo and Athenæus had held the same office, and enjoyed the same means of information as Chares, they would surely have been described together as οἱ εἰσαγγελεῖς: if otherwise, Philip would have been described like the other historians by his birth-place.

But whatever may be thought of the true reading in Plutarch, one is at a loss to conceive why Sainte-Croix should have proposed his correction of Athenæus. For even if Plutarch had reasons for calling Philip by his title, Athenæus might still have described him in the usual way, as Plutarch himself does Chares in another chapter. It is scarcely credible that he should have forgotten the passages of Pliny and Stephanus Byzantinus, in which Philip's native town is mentioned, and he does not throw out any suspicion against the text as it now stands there. So that he can hardly be acquitted from the charge of rashness, similar to that of which he has certainly convicted Harduin. Yet the note of this critic on the passage of Pliny raises a doubt of a different kind, which, as it is connected with some historical questions, may deserve to be stated. I must first transcribe the words of Pliny and his commentator. Dein Cariae oppida Pitaium, Eutane, Halicarnassus. Sex oppida contributa ei sunt a Magno Alexandro, Theangela, Sibde, Medmassa, Eurenium, Pedasum, Telmisum. On this Harduin remarks: Theangela, Θεάγγελα πόλις Καρίας Stephano. Apud Athen. vi. p. 271. Philippus Θεαγγελεύς historicus. Apud Plutarch Alex. p. 691. Χάρης Εἰσαγγελεύς pro Θεαγγελεύς. Et apud Strab. xiii. p. 611. Συνάγελα pro Θεάγγελα. This proposed emendation of Strabo is perhaps still more *mal à propos* than the one which Sainte-Croix censures. The reading Συνάγελα is indeed incorrect, but it required no other change than the slight one suggested by an article in Steph. Byz. who gives not only the name of Σουάγελα, which is what Strabo probably wrote, but its etymology. Σουάγελα πόλις Καρίας ἔνθα ο τάφος ἦν τοῦ Κᾶρος, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τοῦνομα. Καλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κᾶρες σοῦαν τὸν τάφον, γέλαν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ πολίτης Σουαγγελεύς. This seems sufficient to place the reading in Strabo beyond dispute. The doubt it suggests is, whether beside this town of Σουάγελα there was another in Caria called Θεάγγελα. And it must

I think be admitted that the latter name, wonderful enough in itself, is rendered doubly suspicious by the large portion it has in common with one of barbarian derivation. It would be less surprising if a word of better omen than σοῦα had been compounded with γέλα, and I should therefore at any rate be inclined to prefer Θεάγελα and Θεαγελεύς. But Pliny's words raise another question. None of his commentators, so far as I know, has expressed any doubt about the accuracy of his statement; yet to a reader who is familiar with the history of Alexander it must appear on several grounds extremely suspicious. Alexander, according to Arrian, Strabo, and Diodorus, after razing Halicarnassus to the ground, left Ada, as queen or satrapess of Caria, to effect the reduction of the two fortresses, and afterward to rule over the whole province. Pliny is, I believe, the only author who has related that the Conqueror ever concerned himself about the restoration of the city which had cost him so much valuable time; and during his life there seems to have been no motive to induce Ada to transfer her residence thither from Alinda. But if Pliny has made a mistake in this passage, which he may very easily have done by mixing together two extracts, one relating to the destruction of the city by Alexander, and the other to its enlargement or restoration by some other person, it remains to be considered what the fact was which he meant to have recorded. And here we seem to be forced to halt between two opinions almost equally plausible. The first is, that the six towns which he describes as *contributa*, were the same of which Strabo spoke, when, after mentioning that the Leleges had occupied eight towns in Caria, he adds: τῶν δ' ὀκτὼ πόλεων τὰς ἐξ Μαύσωλος εἰς μίαν τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσὸν συνήγαγεν, ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ. Σουάγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε. (xiii. p. 611). If this were so, then Harduin's emendation of Strabo would be false on a new ground: for there must have been a town answering to Pliny's Theangela, different from Strabo's Σουάγελα. But on the other hand it would not be a very extraordinary coincidence, if, when Halicarnassus was rebuilt and repopled, the same number of Carian towns had been made to contribute their inhabitants to it; and this at all events I take to be the sense of Pliny's *contributa*, and not as Harduin explains it, *jura petere Halicarnassum coacta*. But

in this case they were probably not the same six which had been incorporated with it by Mausolus; for these, we may conclude from Strabo's διεφύλαξε, had shrunk into insignificant hamlets; and therefore Σουάγελα may have been one of them, and have been miswritten in Pliny or his author, and so may be concealed under the name of Theangela. The name of Pedasum in Pliny's list of the six towns may at first sight seem to determine the question; for if it was the same town with the Πήδασα of Strabo, it must have been one of the six consolidated by Mausolus. But on closer inspection this argument fails; for it is not only possible that one or more of them may have risen again into importance, but it is also uncertain whether Pliny's Pedasum is really identical with Strabo's Πήδασα; since Strabo also mentions a Πήδασον in Caria, Πήδασον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων πολίχνιον ἐστίν (l. c.); and Pliny himself had met with the names of two towns differing only in their termination: the Pedasum in the list we are considering, and a Pedasus: for I think there can be no doubt that this is the true reading, v. 36, where at present the text stands: *Nec procul ab Halicarnasso Pidosus*. If these are indeed two different towns, of which I must confess I entertain great doubt, then Pliny's Pedasus is Strabo's Πήδασα, and his Pedasum was not one of those that Mausolus used for the enlargement of his capital.

The restoration of Halicarnassus was probably the work of the powerful chief who was invested with the government of Caria, on the death of the Conqueror, by Perdiccas, and confirmed in it at the second partition by Antipater. The name of this person is written sometimes Κάσσανδρος or Κάσανδρος, sometimes Ἀσανδρος. Wesseling on Diodor. xviii. 39 observes very truly, that the Κάσσανδρος first mentioned in that chapter cannot be the son of Antipater, though the argument he draws from the words of Diodorus, παρέζευξε δὲ τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ χιλίαρχον τὸν υἱὸν Κάσσανδρον, seems to me of very little weight, and it would have been better simply to have referred to Diodorus xix. 62, which is decisive on that point. But this does not seem a sufficient reason for preferring the reading Ἀσανδρος, though this satrap of Caria is probably the same person who is mentioned by Arrian, iv. 7,

as Ἀσανδρος. For the latter does not appear to have been the son of Philotas spoken of by Arrian, i. 17, since Diodorus does not describe the satrap by this relation. And on the other hand he seems studiously to distinguish between the two Cassanders, by some adjunct to the name of one of them, as in xviii. 39, by τὸν υἱὸν, in xix. 62, τὸν τῆς Καρίας σατράπην, and xix. 75, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας κυριεύων. Compare Justin xiii. 4. And I am also inclined to suspect that Wesseling is mistaken in considering the Cassander, who is mentioned (xix. 68.) as the colleague of Prepelaus, as the same person with the satrap of Caria. Odd as it may sound, I think it follows from the words of Diodorus, that Cassander, son of Antipater, sent his forces to the aid of Cassander the satrap of Caria, under the command of a general Cassander. And I conceive there is the less reason for holding the Cassander, whose forces were engaged in the siege of Amisus, (Diod. xix. 57, 60.) to be the Carian, as the son of Antipater had demanded Cappadocia from Antigonus, as the price of peace. (Diod. xix. 57.) But the most unfortunate of all conjectures on this subject is that of Sainte-Croix, in his very valuable *Mémoire sur la Chronologie des Dynastes ou Princes de Carie et sur le Tombeau de Mausole*. (Mémoires de l'Institut Royal. Tom. ii. p. 524.) He observes on the name of Ἀσανδρος, “ce nom me paroît être une altération de celui d’*Alexandre*, plutôt que de celui de *Cassandre*, comme on pourroit le penser d’après le témoignage de quelques écrivains. Si Cassandre a eu la Carie dans le premier partage, il l’aura perdue dans le second, puisqu’Antipater son pere le nomma chiliarque, adjoint d’Antigone, pour surveiller de près la conduite de ce général. Ce fut donc alors qu’Asandre, ou plutôt Alexandre, fils d’Ada, fut rétabli dans son patrimoine, soit en qualité de dynaste, soit comme satrape, et en lui auroit fini la race d’Hécatombe.” The whole of this passage is a tissue of errors. The son of Antipater was most clearly not the person whom Perdiccas appointed to the government of Caria, as Wesseling perceived (note to Diod. xviii. 3.), though by some mistake he is so described in the index. If he had been satrap at the time of the second partition, he needed not to have resigned that office, when he was made χιλιάρχος to Antigonus, any

more than the latter found the post of *στράτηγος* incompatible with his government of Lycia. Sainte-Croix's notion, that the name of the satrap of Caria was Alexander, and that he was the son of Ada, is grounded on a strange misconception, which he explains in a note, where he says, "cette conjecture auroit encore plus de probabilité, si nous pouvions compter sur le témoignage de l'abréviateur de Strabon. Cet écrivain dit qu'Ada s'étant réfugiée auprès d'Alexandre, ce prince adopta son fils et le déclara héritier du trône de Carie. ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, κατέφυγεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀδα, καὶ υἱὸν θετὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ κληρονόμον, καὶ οὕτως τὴν Καρῶν ἀρχὴν ἀνέλαβεν. (Geog. Vet. Hudson II. p. 190.) Cette phrase est très-obscur; mais je crois avoir saisi la pensée de l'auteur, qui n'a pu dire qu'Ada adopta son propre fils. Du reste le fait de l'hérédité ne se trouve ni dans Strabon, ni dans Arrien." How useful a knowledge of grammar may often be to a historian! I shall not insult the reader by translating the Greek words which Sainte-Croix finds so obscure, but shall just remark that Ada's adoption of Alexander the Great is most distinctly mentioned by Arrian I. 23.

It must depend on the opinion we form about the list in Pliny, containing the name of Theangela, whether we can oppose any direct authority to another assertion of Sainte-Croix, in the same Memoire (p. 546.) that Halicarnassus never entirely recovered from its last fall (in the time of Alexander.) Strabo however, whom he quotes, (xiv. p. 656.) says nothing to bear him out. Caria, from its situation, probably suffered less than most other provinces of Asia Minor in the wars of the successors of Alexander. The satrap Cassander was a powerful prince, and assuredly did not neglect the advantageous site of Halicarnassus. But after the battle of Ipsus Caria fell into the hands of Lysimachus,* who, as he trans-

* See Niebuhr *Kleine Schriften* p. 291. In a discussion relating to the geography of Caria it may not be impertinent to remark that the Choloe, near which Attalus defeated the Gauls, and which Niebuhr (p. 284) says he has searched for in vain, and therefore suspects to be the scene of the last battle which Antiochus Hierax lost in Caria, seems clearly to be the *Χολόνη* mentioned by Ptolemy among the towns of the Galatian Pontus. See Harduin on Pliny vi. 3. where the true reading is probably Coloene.

planted Ephesus to the sea-side, and peopled it at the expense of Colophon and Lebedos, may have adopted a similar course for the restoration of the capital of Mausolus.

I must add an observation or two on the word *εἰσαγγελεὺς*, which has had so great a share in suggesting the preceding discussion. Sainte-Croix (Examen p. 39) has explained it in a way which, when it is considered as the title of the historian Chares, tends I think to perplex or mislead the reader. He says: "Diodore, en parlant du Perse Aristazane, dit: οὗτος δ' ἦν εἰσαγγελεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πιστότατος τῶν φίλων μετὰ Βαγῶαν. xvi. 47. Hesychius nous a conservé le nom Perse de cette charge: Ἀζαραπατεῖς, οἱ εἰσαγγελεῖς παρὰ Πέρσαις. vid. Wesseling ad Diodor. T. ii. p. 118." Now though Chares is called *ὁ εἰσαγγελεὺς* by Plutarch, I doubt very much whether he held the office which was described by the Persian word explained by Hesychius. His gloss has occasioned much controversy, as may be seen by the note in Albertus. But *Ἀζαραπατεῖς* seems to be one Greek way of writing a word which occurs in Daniel iii. 2, and is there rendered in our translation, *princes* (See Gesenius' Lexicon p. 29, and Bertholdt on Daniel p. 823). According to these learned orientalists it is equivalent to arch-satrap, or governor-general. The title *εἰσαγγελεὺς* does not indeed correspond to it in meaning; but yet it is so far equivalent to it, that either might be properly used to describe the same officer. But there was another Greek name for this officer, expressive of other functions, and probably translated from the Persian: this was *χιλίαρχος*. The passages of Ælian, Cornelius Nepos, and Arrian, which shew the power and dignity of the *χιλίαρχος*, and the identity of his office with that of the *εἰσαγγελεὺς*, are collected by Wesseling on Diod. Vol. ii. p. 293.; but he makes a remark on the words of Arrian which seems to me to be unfounded, and leads me to suspect that he did not understand the origin and history of the title. I am not aware that it has ever been distinctly explained: but I believe the following account of it will not be far from the truth. The Persian general who was entrusted with the command of the thousand horse guards, the flower of the Persian cavalry (Herod. vii. 40. viii. 113. τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην), was the king's most confidential servant, and as

such presented petitions, or in the Oriental style carried messages to him, and received his answers, and also introduced strangers into the royal presence. His functions were probably not confined to ceremonies, but answered partly to those of a grand vizier, and partly to those from which the office of chancellor took its rise in the states of modern Europe. But there can be little doubt that he had under him a number of officers, who without any trust or power assisted him in the performance of his ceremonial functions: among these were some who might be properly described as εἰσαγγελεῖς. In the court of Alexander, as appears from a comparison of Diodor. xviii. 3. 48, with Arrian, in Photius Bibl. 92, the commander of the companion cavalry stepped into the place of the Persian χιλίαρχος. This Wesseling half perceived, and yet, after quoting Ælian and Nepos, he remarks on the words of Arrian, Περδίκκαν χιλιαρχεῖν χιλιαρχίας, ἧς ἦρχεν Ἡφαιστίων· τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐπιτροπὴ τῆς ὅλης βασιλείας, *Putes de eodem munere Arrianum loqui. At secus est. Hephaestio praefectus erat alae equitum, quos ἑταίρους Macedones vocabant, quae dein praefectura Perdiccae fuit mandata, Nostro indice hujus lib. b. 3.* But if the office of χιλίαρχος was associated, as it seems to have been in the court of Persia, with that of prime minister, it might well be described in the terms used by Arrian. After the death of Alexander it sank a step, or rather changed its character. The person who held it was second in rank, not to the king, but to the commander-in-chief: as Cassander to Antigonus, and again to Polysperchon. (Diod. xviii. 39. 48.) But though the Persian χιλίαρχοι who filled this station (which is perhaps what Æschylus meant in the case of the χιλίαρχος Δαδάκης, Persæ 309) were not only εἰσαγγελεῖς, or ushers, but ἄζαραπατεῖς, or princes, I need scarcely remark that the latter title might not apply to all persons who bore the former, and that Chares of Mitylené assuredly never held the same office with Hephaestion, and Perdiceas. Between his and theirs there was probably at least as wide a difference as between a gold stick and the bâton of a commander-in-chief; though the same hand which has wielded the latter in the field may carry the former at court without detriment to the public, the converse would have been as false in the days of Alexander, had there been such things then, as it is in our own.

TRANSLATION OF PART OF THE FIRST
BOOK OF THE ÆNEID.

To the Editors of the PHILOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

YOUR letter reminding me of an expectation I some time since held out to you of allowing some specimens of my translation from the Æneid to be printed in the Philological Museum was not very acceptable: for I had abandoned the thought of ever sending into the world any part of that experiment,—for it was nothing more,—an experiment begun for amusement, and I now think a less fortunate one than when I first named it to you. Having been displeased in modern translations with the additions of incongruous matter, I began to translate with a resolve to keep clear of that fault, by adding nothing; but I became convinced that a spirited translation can scarcely be accomplished in the English language without admitting a principle of compensation. On this point however I do not wish to insist, and merely send the following passage, taken at random, from a wish to comply with your request.

W. W.

But Cytherea, studious to invent
Arts yet untried, upon new counsels bent,
Resolves that Cupid, chang'd in form and face
To young Ascanius, should assume his place;
Present the maddening gifts, and kindle heat
Of passion at the bosom's inmost seat.
She dreads the treacherous house, the double tongue;
She burns, she frets—by Juno's rancour stung;
The calm of night is powerless to remove
These cares, and thus she speaks to wingèd Love.

“O son, my strength, my power! who dost despise
(What, save thyself, none dares through earth and skies)

The giant-quelling bolts of Jove, I flee,
 O son, a suppliant to thy deity!
 What perils meet Æneas in his course,
 How Juno's hate with unrelenting force
 Pursues thy brother—this to thee is known;
 And oft-times hast thou made my griefs thine own.
 Him now the generous Dido by soft chains
 Of bland entreaty at her court detains;
 Junonian hospitalities prepare
 Such apt occasion that I dread a snare.
 Hence, ere some hostile god can intervene,
 Would I, by previous wiles, inflame the queen
 With passion for Æneas, such strong love
 That at my beck, mine only, she shall move.
 Hear, and assist;—the father's mandate calls
 His young Ascanius to the Tyrian walls;
 He comes, my dear delight,—and costliest things
 Preserv'd from fire and flood for presents brings.
 Him will I take, and in close covert keep,
 'Mid groves Idalian, lull'd to gentle sleep,
 Or on Cythera's far-sequestered steep,
 That he may neither know what hope is mine,
 Nor by his presence traverse the design.
 Do thou, but for a single night's brief space,
 Dissemble; be that boy in form and face!
 And when enraptured Dido shall receive
 Thee to her arms, and kisses interweave
 With many a fond embrace, while joy runs high,
 And goblets crown the proud festivity,
 Instil thy subtle poison, and inspire,
 At every touch, an unsuspected fire."

Love, at the word, before his mother's sight
 Puts off his wings, and walks, with proud delight,
 Like young Iulus; but the gentlest dews
 Of slumber Venus sheds, to circumfuse
 The true Ascanius steep'd in placid rest;
 Then wafts him, cherish'd on her careful breast,
 Through upper air to an Idalian glade,
 Where he on soft *amaracus* is laid,
 With breathing flowers embraced, and fragrant shade.

But Cupid, following cheerily his guide
 Achates, with the gifts to Carthage hied;
 And, as the hall he entered, there, between
 The sharers of her golden couch, was seen
 Reclin'd in festal pomp the Tyrian queen.
 The Trojans too (Æneas at their head)
 On couches lie, with purple overspread:
 Meantime in canisters is heap'd the bread,
 Pellucid water for the hands is borne,
 And napkins of smooth texture, finely shorn
 Within are fifty handmaids, who prepare,
 As they in order stand, the dainty fare;
 And fume the household deities with store
 Of odorous incense; while a hundred more
 Match'd with an equal number of like age,
 But each of manly sex, a docile page,
 Marshal the banquet, giving with due grace
 To cup or viand its appointed place.
 The Tyrians rushing in, an eager band,
 Their painted couches seek, obedient to command.
 They look with wonder on the gifts—they gaze
 Upon Iulus, dazzled with the rays
 That from his ardent countenance are flung,
 And charm'd to hear his simulating tongue;
 Nor pass unprais'd the robe and veil divine,
 Round which the yellow flowers and wandering foliage twine.

But chiefly Dido, to the coming ill
 Devoted, strives in vain her vast desires to fill;
 She views the gifts; upon the child then turns
 Insatiable looks, and gazing burns.
 To ease a father's cheated love he hung
 Upon Æneas, and around him clung;
 Then seeks the queen; with her his arts he tries;
 She fastens on the boy enamour'd eyes,
 Clasps in her arms, nor weens (O lot unblest!)
 How great a god, incumbent o'er her breast,
 Would fill it with his spirit. He, to please
 His Acidalian mother, by degrees
 Blots out Sichæus, studious to remove
 The dead, by influx of a living love,

By stealthy entrance of a perilous guest
 Troubling a heart that had been long at rest.

Now when the viands were withdrawn, and ceas'd
 The first division of the splendid feast,
 While round a vacant board the chiefs recline,
 Huge goblets are brought forth; they crown the wine;
 Voices of gladness roll the walls around;
 Those gladsome voices from the courts rebound;
 From gilded rafters many a blazing light
 Depends, and torches overcome the night.
 The minutes fly—till, at the queen's command,
 A bowl of state is offered to her hand:
 Then she, as Belus wont, and all the line
 From Belus, filled it to the brim with wine;
 Silence ensued. "O Jupiter, whose care
 Is hospitable dealing, grant my prayer!
 Productive day be this of lasting joy
 To Tyrians, and these exiles driven from Troy;
 A day to future generations dear!
 Let Bacchus, donor of soul-quick'ning cheer,
 Be present; kindly Juno, be thou near!
 And, Tyrians, may your choicest favours wait
 Upon this hour, the bond to celebrate!"
 She spake and shed an offering on the board;
 Then sipp'd the bowl whence she the wine had pour'd
 And gave to Bitias, urging the prompt lord;
 He rais'd the bowl, and took a long deep draught;
 Then every chief in turn the beverage quaff'd.

Graced with redundant hair, Iopas sings
 The lore of Atlas, to resounding strings,
 The labours of the Sun, the lunar wanderings;
 Whence human kind, and brute; what natural powers
 Engender lightning, whence are falling showers.
 He chaunts Arcturus,—that fraternal twain
 The glittering Bears,—the Pleiads fraught with rain;
 —Why suns in winter, shunning heaven's steep heights
 Post seaward,—what impedes the tardy nights.
 The learned song from Tyrian hearers draws
 Loud shouts,—the Trojans echo the applause.

—But, lengthening out the night with converse new,
 Large draughts of love unhappy Dido drew;
 Of Priam ask'd, of Hector—o'er and o'er—
 What arms the son of bright Aurora wore;—
 What steeds the car of Diomed could boast;
 Among the leaders of the Grecian host
 How look'd Achilles, their dread paramount—
 “But nay—the fatal wiles, O guest, recount,
 Retrace the Grecian cunning from its source,
 Your own grief and your friends'—your wandering course;
 For now, till this seventh summer have ye rang'd
 The sea, or trod the earth, to peace estrang'd.”

ON THE ACCESSION OF DARIUS
SON OF HYSTASPES.

MR GRESSWELL in his valuable Dissertations upon a Harmony of the Gospels¹ determines the accession of Darius to B. C. 522, and of Xerxes to B. C. 486, in opposition to the Astronomical Canon, because he supposes the allusions in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah to require that date for the accession of Darius; and he adapts Herodotus to this arrangement, by understanding the expedition of Xerxes (ἐστρατηλάτῃ)² of the march from Susa in B. C. 481, which throws back his accession to B. C. 486. His arguments may be distributed into five propositions, which shall be separately considered.

1. With respect to the Astronomical Canon, Mr Gresswell argues,³ that its authority is in no danger from this arrangement; for that it does not profess to be minutely exact, and pays no attention to parts of years: that the difference is only of three or four months; and that the successions of the subsequent kings is not disturbed by beginning the reign of Xerxes from B. C. 486.⁴

The arrangement, however, which Mr Gresswell proposes, is completely at variance with the Canon, and will place each reign one year higher than the date there assigned. For, by the method of computing which the Canon adopts, N. E. 227 is the first year of Darius: Smerdis therefore was slain after Jan. 1, B. C. 521. Again, N. E. 263 was the first year of Xerxes: Darius therefore died after Dec. 23, B. C. 486. N. E. 284 was the first of Artaxerxes, who accordingly began to reign after Dec. 17, B. C. 465. But if Xerxes died before December B. C. 465, and Artabanus was included in the reign which followed, in that case the Canon would have reckoned

¹ Vol. III. p. 298—307.

³ p. 304.

² VII. 20.

⁴ p. 303.

N.E. 283, commencing Dec. 18, B.C. 466, as the first of Artaxerxes. The same variation would also be produced in the preceding reigns. If the first of the 36 years of Darius was N. E. 226 (because he began to reign before Jan. 1, B. C. 521), then the first of the eight years of Cambyses would be N. E. 218, and the first of the nine years of Cyrus would be N. E. 209. A derangement of a year would be produced in every reign.

2. It is maintained⁵ that the Canon is not to be relied upon for complete accuracy; and that it would not begin with referring and ever after continue to refer its reigns to a nominal ἀρχή, if it had been always possible to ascertain the true: and it is argued that, when the same rule is applied to the reigns of the successors of Alexander and Augustus, this was most probably done for the sake of uniformity, that the construction of the Canon might be the same from first to last. I should rather argue on the contrary that, as the Canon adopted a nominal ἀρχή in the later reigns, where the true day of the accession was known, it did not adopt a nominal ἀρχή in the early reigns because the true beginnings were unknown, but for some other reason. That reason was, that a standard might be obtained without fractions of years, by which astronomical observations might be registered. On this account they adopted the Egyptian year which had no fraction of a day, and assigned to each king the entire year of Nabonassar in which his reign began, that there might be no fraction of a year.

Mr Gresswell⁶ assumes that this document was composed by Ptolemy, in an age too late to know the truth. But this canon existed long before the time of Ptolemy. It is thus described by Syncellus p. 206. B.—207. B. ἡ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἀρχὴ λείπεται στοιχειωθῆναι, ἥτις ἀπὸ Σαλμανασάρ, ὃν καὶ Ναβονάσαρον καλοῦσι, λαμβάνεται παρὰ τε Χαλδαίοις ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀστέρων ψηφοφορίᾳ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μαθηματικοῖς, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συντάξει τῇ τῆς ἀστρονομίας τοῖς ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου χρώμενος ἔτεσιν.—πάντων γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀκριβέστεραν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι, συνάγουσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ναβονασάρου ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἦτοι ζ' ἔτος Ἀλεξάνδρου—ἔτη

⁵ p. 305—307.

⁶ p. 305.

υιθ', ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη υκδ'.—
 ἀπὸ δὲ Ναβονασάρου τοὺς χρόνους τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων κινήσεως
 Χαλδαῖοι ἠκρίβωσαν καὶ ἀπὸ Χαλδαίων οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι μαθη-
 ματικοὶ λαβόντες, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Βήρωσσός
 φασιν οἱ τὰς Χαλδαϊκὰς ἀρχαιολογίας περιειληφότες, Να-
 βονάσαρος συναγαγὼν τὰς πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων
 ἠφάνισεν, ὅπως ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ καταρίθμησις γίνεται. p. 326. D.
 ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀριδαίου—καθ' ὃ ἔτος
 καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος τὴν τῶν προχείρων κανόνων
 ψηφηφορίαν ἐπήξατο. Berossus and Alexander Polyhistor
 must have known the existence of this list of reigns, since
 they assigned the reason why it began with Nabonassar and
 not from an earlier point. And it is here implied that Pto-
 lemy continued the Canon from the death of Alexander to his
 own time. But even the second portion of this catalogue of
 reigns, included within N. E. 425—718, and extending from
 the death of Alexander to the death of Cleopatra, already
 existed in part at least before the time of Ptolemy, since
 Hipparchus 270 years before Ptolemy computed by the years
 from the death of Alexander: Ptol. μεγ. συνταξ. p. 112.
 ἀναγράφει ὁ Ἰππαρχος τετηρηκέναι τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν
 σελήνην τῷ ρϛ' ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς.⁷
 There is no reason, then, for rejecting this list of reigns,
 as if it had been composed in an age too late, when sufficient
 evidence of the true accessions was not within the reach of
 the compilers.

3. On the passage of Herodotus Mr Gresswell observes,⁸
 that it is a distinction without a difference to question whether
 the στρατηλασία of Xerxes commenced from Susa in 481, or
 from Sardis in 480: that the expedition was truly and pro-
 perly begun when Xerxes set out from Susa; that the army
 of Xerxes could not have marched from Persia to Sardis in
 less than four months' time; that he set out from Susa in the
 autumn of 481 and arrived at Sardis in the winter, which places
 the death of Darius towards the close of summer in 486.
 But it may be answered that the army of Xerxes never
 marched from Susa at all. The troops were appointed to

⁷ See Fast. Hellen. Part III. p. 119. Comp. Theon. ad Ptol. p. 247. where
 for ἔτει ϛ' read ἔτει ρϛ'.

⁸ p. 299. 300.

assemble in Cappadocia (Herodot. vii. 26), where Xerxes joined them, a distance of nearly three months' march from Susa. He could not then be said *στρατηλατεῖν*, when he was travelling without an army. This circumstance alone, that no army assembled at Susa, and that Xerxes had to make a progress into Cappadocia before he could assume the command, justifies the opinion that Herodotus did not date the expedition from Susa, but that it was reckoned to commence with the campaign in which the hostile territory was entered.

4. It is argued that the Canon is at variance with Zechariah and Haggai on two accounts. The first objection is thus expressed :⁹ "Zech. i. 7, as a later prophecy than Zech. i. 1, "delivered in the eighth Jewish month in the 2nd of Darius, "was later than Hag. i. 10, delivered in the ninth: for Zech. "i. 7 was delivered in the eleventh.—If, then, the 1st of "Darius bore date from January B. C. 521, his second would "bear date from January B. C. 520, and the eleventh sacred "month, which belonged to that 2nd year, must have preceded "not followed the ninth, which belonged to the same: nor was "it possible for the eleventh of the sacred year to have come "within the 2nd of Darius and yet to have been later than "the ninth, unless the years of Darius bore date some time "between the eleventh month and the ninth."

This inconsistency is produced by assuming that January 1, was intended for the actual day of the accession of Darius, contrary to the known principles of the Canon, as they are acknowledged by Mr Gresswell himself. The Canon only determines that Darius began to reign within the year of Nabonassar 217; that is, at some time after Jan. 1, and before Dec. 30, B. C. 521. Thus, because Alexander began to reign in Asia in N. E. 417, his reign is dated from Nov. 14, B. C. 332, although the battle of Arbela occurred eleven months afterwards: because Aridæus began to reign within N. E. 425, his years are dated from Nov. 12, B. C. 324, although Alexander died eight months later. These dates are not to be ascribed to error, but are adapted to the object in view, which was, not to record the day of each accession historically, but to obtain

⁹ p. 298.

a series of years without a fraction, without however departing out of the year in which the accession really happened. Darius, then, might have begun to reign in March or April, and the account of the Canon is perfectly consistent with the account of the prophets. We may arrange the notices in this manner.

2^o. Darii.

1st of the 6th month [August]: Hag. i. 1.

24th of the 6th month [September]: Hag. i. 15.

21st of the 7th month [October]: Hag. ii. 1.

8th month [Oct. Nov.]: Zech. i. 1.

24th of the 9th month [December]: Hag. ii. 10.

24th of the 11th month [February]: Zech. i. 7.

These passages only attest that Darius began to reign after the end of February and before the end of July.

5. The second objection to the date of the Canon (founded on the prophets) is, that it interferes with a sabbatical year. Mr Gresswell observes:¹⁰ “The ninth month in the 2nd of “Darius (according to the Canon), was *Casleu* B. C. 520, and “the words of Haggai ii. 18—*Consider now from this day “and upward, from the four and twentieth day of the ninth “month, even from the day that the foundation of the Lord’s “temple was laid, consider it. Is the seed yet in the barn?— “From this day I will bless you*—appear to justify the inference that there had been this year the usual seed time, and “consequently that B. C. 520 was not a sabbatical year.”—¹¹ “Seed time was arrived or passed: *Casleu* 24th in the second “year of Darius.”—¹² “We are reduced to this dilemma, “either of supposing that no sabbatical years were celebrated “in the time of Haggai and Zechariah, as they were before “and after them, or not by the same rule in their time by “which they had been celebrated before and by which they “were celebrated after; or of supposing that the second of “Darius did not coincide with B. C. 520, and if so, neither “did his first coincide with B. C. 521.”

Whether or not B. C. 520 was a sabbatical year, is not material to the present argument. For that passage of the

¹⁰ p. 298.

¹¹ p. 307.

¹² p. 304.

prophet refers to the produce which was in future to be gathered in for food, and not to the seed which had been already sown at the preceding seed time. The whole passage stands thus: *Is the seed yet in the barn? Yea as yet the vine and the fig-tree, and the pomegranate, and the olive-tree, hath not brought forth: from this day I will bless you.* Thus explained by W. Lowth: "Is the harvest already laid up in the barn? Or are any fruits of the earth gathered in? No certainly. This is only the ninth month, when no judgment can be made of the year following: yet from this time I promise you a fruitful year as an encouragement to you to carry on the building." It is so understood by the interpreters: the Vulgate Latin: *Numquid jam semen in germine est? et adhuc vinea et ficus et malogranatum et lignum olivae non floruit?* The Chaldaic paraphrase: *An adhuc frumentum in area? et an adhuc vitis et ficus et mala punica et arbores olivae non ferunt?* The Syriac version: *Animadvertite quomodo non exstet semen in area.* The Septuagint has an error: εἰ ἔτι ἐπιγνωσθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλῳ, καὶ ἔτι ἡ ἄμπελος καὶ ἡ συκὴ καὶ ἡ ῥοὰ καὶ τὰ ξύλα τῆς ἐλαίας τὰ οὐ φέροντα καρπὸν· ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης εὐλογήσω.—for which Schleusner Thesaur. Vet. Test. v. ἐπιγινώσκω endeavours to account, by tracing it to a false reading. The same interpretation as that of the Septuagint has been adopted by the Arabic version: *Ponite in cordibus vestris quod adhuc ab area cognoscetur.* But even this interpretation refers to the future produce and not to the preceding seed time; and is so understood by Theodoret Tom. II. p. 1589, whose exposition of this passage is formed upon the Septuagint to the following effect: *τοσαύτην γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀφθονίαν χορηγήσω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ λοιπὸν ἀγνοῆσαι τῆς ἄλῳ τὰ μέτρα· καὶ τοὺς ὑγροὺς δὲ ὑμῖν μετ' εὐλογίας παρέξω καρποὺς, καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων τὴν φορὰν χορηγήσω.*

Upon the whole then, we are satisfied with the dates as they stood before: and there appears to be nothing in Herodotus or in the contemporary prophets which is inconsistent with the dates of the Astronomical Canon. And the date of the Canon for the reign of Darius is further confirmed by Eusebius Præp. x. 9. p. 483. C. who in an elaborate cal-

culatation, reckons the second year of Darius to coincide with Ol. 65. 1. B. C. $5 \frac{20}{19}$. Δαρείου τὸ δεύτερον κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ζέ' ὀλυμπιάδος καταντᾷ· where he adds, ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Δαρείου ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ὀλυμπιάδα ἔτη συνάγοιτ' ἂν σνς' ὀλυμπιάδες ζδ'· which again gives Ol. 64. 4. B. C. $52 \frac{1}{0}$ for the first year of Darius.

H. F. C.

ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE CIVIL AND LITERARY CHRONOLOGY OF GREECE.

THE following notes upon a few passages in the Civil and Literary Chronology of Greece, as it is exhibited in the third part of the *Fasti Hellenici*, will rectify some errors, will supply some new testimonies, and will vindicate some points by additional observations.

P. 7. B. C. 271. *Zenodotus*:—Grammaticus MS. apud Meineke Quæst. Scen. III. p. 3. *Alexander Ætolus et Lycophron Chalcidensis et Zenodotus Ephesius impulsu regis Ptolemæi Philadelphî cognomento—artis poetices libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt, Alexander tragœdias, Lycophron comœdias, Zenodotus vero Homeri poemata.* This passage confirms the date here given for *Zenodotus*, by placing his revision of *Homer* in the reign of *Philadelphus*, and refutes those who have placed it in the reign of *Soter*.

P. 203. B. C. 46. *Juba*:—I am reminded by a passage in Mr Gresswell's dissertations¹ of an error in the account of the time of *Juba's* death. For "sixty" years substitute "fifty" years: and at p. 261. B. C. 1, for "*Juba* survived this period some years: conf. a. 46," insert the following: "*Archelaus*, the tetrarch of Judea, married the widow of *Juba*: Joseph. Bell. II. 7, 4. Γλαφύρα ἦν θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως—συνώκησε δὲ Ἰόβα τῷ βασιλεύοντι Λιβύης· οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἐπανελθοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ χηρεύουσιν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ θεασάμενος ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος ἦλθεν ὥστε παραχρῆμα—ἐκείνην ἀγαγέσθαι. Conf. Ant. XVII. 13, 4. *Glaphyra* died μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἀφίξεως χρόνον. Idem Bell. II. 7, 4. But as *Archelaus*, after his marriage, was banished in A. D. 6, the death of *Juba* cannot well have

¹ Vol. I. p. 222.

happened later than A. D. 4, about fifty years after the triumph of *Cæsar*, and about five years after the present date."

P. 254. B. C. 4. Death of *Herod*:—Mr Gresswell² dates the death of *Herod* at the spring of B. C. 3, and not at the spring of B. C. 4. Some of the facts which he has collected are irrelevant, because they determine nothing: others may be adapted to either date; others contribute to establish the earlier date, the spring of B. C. 4.

We will first examine the first class of facts, those which determine nothing upon this point.

1. ³"If *Herod* was nearly 70 at the time of his death, he must have been born in the spring or summer; and if he was 25 complete, as we have supposed, in U. C. 707 (B. C. 47), he would be about to enter his 70th year in U. C. 751 (B. C. 3)." That *Herod* was about 70 at his death is testified by *Josephus*. But his age in B. C. 47 is not ascertained, because *Josephus* in that place, by an error, has fifteen years: πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη⁴.

2. ⁵"The foundation of *Cæsarea Philippi* is ascribed to *Philip* the tetrarch. *Eckhel* Tom. III. p. 342 has shewn that the foundation is neither earlier nor later than U. C. 751. This is a strong presumptive argument that the reign of *Philip* its founder is to be dated from this year and from this year only." There is not the slightest proof that the city was founded in the very year of *Philip*'s accession: and *Eckhel* makes this very circumstance, that it could not be founded till the following year, one of his arguments for placing its era at U. C. 751: *Constat Herodem Philippi patrem mortuum in vere U. C. 750, neque Philippum statim patre mortuo tetrarchiam adivisse, sed post multas moras et donec Augustus de dividendo inter filios Herodis regno sententiam dixisset.*—*Hæc dum rata fierent facile effluxerit annus 750, ac tum denique potuit condendis urbibus applicare animum, nimirum anno 751.*

3. ⁶"It is no objection (to the lower date B. C. 3) that *Caius Cæsar* was present at the council when *Augustus* decided on the will of *Herod*." *Josephus* Ant. xvii. 9, 5. Γάϊον—

² In his *Dissertations on a Harmony of the Gospels* Vol. i. p. 213—217. 245—252.

³ p. 214.

⁵ p. 218.

⁴ See Mr Gresswell himself p. 204.

⁶ p. 221.

ποιητὸν αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρῶτόν τε καθεδούμενον παρέλαβε. Bell. II. 2, 4. συνέδριον ἀθροίζει τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν—Γάϊον πρῶτως ἐκάθισε. Caius received the *toga virilis* in B. C. 57. His presence, therefore, at the council has no weight in determining whether it was held in B. C. 4 or in B. C. 3.

4. ⁸“A coin of Ascalon in Eckhel Tom. III. p. 446 exhibits a double date, $\frac{5\nu}{\beta\rho}$, that is, 56 and 102. Now the occurrence of coins with double dates being a rare circumstance, it is an obvious conjecture that the double date on this coin was an index of something peculiar, and of something which concerned Ascalon. The larger date, as Eckhel demonstrates⁹, is to be referred to U. C. 650. It follows that the coin was struck between the autumn U. C. 751 and the autumn of 752. Now, when Augustus decided on the will of Herod, Ascalon was transferred from the dominion of Herod to that of the Roman president of Syria.—It is probable that this coin with the double date was struck expressly to commemorate this change. The minor number in order to synchronise with the greater must be dated from the autumn U. C. 696: and this year is the very year before 697, when Gabinius, after his consulship, came into Syria: soon after which it is probable he caused Gaza with other towns, including perhaps Ascalon, to be rebuilt or repaired. From the autumn of the year before might be dated the first close connexion of these towns with the Roman government; the memory whereof the people of Ascalon might desire to revive by such a coin as this. If so, this transfer to the Roman government, and therefore the death of Herod, took place in 751.” In what is here said of Gabinius Mr Gresswell follows Eckhel p. 447. *Initium epochæ anni 5ν figendum ab autumno 696.—cum igitur anno 697 beneficiis a Gabinio donati æram inchoarent, ejus principium autumno præcedenti, qui fuit 696, illigaverunt.* But if this coin was struck at the close of B. C. 3 (when that year of the era commenced), to commemorate their transfer to the Roman government (which

⁷ See F. H. p. 254.

⁸ Gresswell Vol. I. p. 219.

⁹ Its era had already been fixed before Eckhel by Norisius de epoch. Syrom. p. 505, whom Eckhel quotes.

is only a conjecture), this would be no proof that Herod died in the preceding spring, because a longer interval would naturally elapse before Augustus had decided the question at Rome, and had signified the change to the proconsul of Syria.

The second class of facts consists of those which may be adapted to either date.

1. ¹⁰“The government of Philip the tetrarch.—Its 36th year expired with U. C. 787 *ineunte*, and consequently it began with 751 *ineunte*.” Reckoned from spring B. C. 4, his 37th year would be completed in the eighth month of the 20th of Tiberius; reckoned from B. C. 3, it would be completed in the eighth month of the 21st year. The 37 years in Josephus being taken for current years will stand with the later date, but being taken for complete, will require the earlier.

2. ¹¹“If the length of the reign of Herod be computed at 37 years, and it began in U. C. 714, it ended in 751: if it be computed at 34, and began in 717, it ended in 751.” This is precisely the same case as the former. Mr Gresswell admits ¹² that Josephus reckons by current years as often as complete: and in the reign of Philip he understands *ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα* to mean “36 years complete and the 37th current.” The years, then, assigned to Herod may stand with either date.

3. The coin of Antipas rather belongs to the third class of facts. Mr Gresswell observes ¹³ that a coin of Antipas marks his 43rd year, and that, if the coin was struck in U. C. 792, A. D. 39, the first year of Antipas would be at B. C. 4; but that if this tetrarch commenced in B. C. 3, the coin was struck in A. D. 40. He admits, however, ¹⁴ that in the summer of A. D. 40 Agrippa was already in possession of the dominions of Antipas. He admits also ¹⁵ that the interview of Antipas with Caligula at Baiaë (Joseph. Ant. xviii. 7, 2) and his deposition might be in the summer of 792, A. D. 39; and in this case is under the necessity of supposing that the coin was struck after Antipas had been deposed ¹⁶. It is obvious that this coin is more naturally explained, if the reign of Antipas began in the spring of B. C. 4, and his 43rd year in the spring of A. D. 39; and we assent to the judgment pronounced

¹⁰ p. 217.

¹⁴ p. 229.

¹¹ p. 213.

¹⁵ p. 235.

¹² p. 207.

¹⁶ p. 236.

¹³ p. 228.

(after Norisius) by Eckhel Tom. III. p. 489. *Herodis mortem ex Josephi testimoniis ad tempus vernum 750 fixum egregie confirmat citatus Herodis Antipæ numus cum anno μγ'. Cæpit annum primum numerare a patris morte: ergo annus numi μγ' inivit in vere anni 792 [A. D. 39]*¹⁷.

The following are in favour of the earlier date, the spring of B. C. 4.

1. The eclipse in March B. C. 4, mentioned by Josephus. Mr Gresswell contends¹⁸ that this could not be the eclipse which Josephus records before the death of Herod, and suspects some mis-statement. He observes¹⁹ no mention of any eclipse in the parallel passage of the War, although this part of the history in other respects is as circumstantial as the contemporary portion of the Antiquities. But the Antiquities were written after the War, supplying many things which in the War were omitted: and Mr Gresswell acknowledges²⁰ that the Antiquities are more accurate than the War.

2. Dio fixes the deposition of Archelaus to A. D. 6. Mr Gresswell²¹ calls this an erroneous statement. It is erroneous because²² “the census of Cyrenius is placed in the 37th year after the battle of Actium, and in the same year as the deprivation of Archelaus.” But Josephus himself admits an interval: Ant. xvii. 13, 2. ἐκεῖνον μὲν φυγάδα ἐλαύνει δούς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Βιένναν πόλιν—τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπηνέγκατο. Then follows §. 5. τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων, πέμπεται Κυρήνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς ἀποτιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ τὸν Ἀρχελάου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον.

Mr Gresswell argues on the interval between the eclipse and the death of Herod as follows²³: Having assumed that all the events between the eclipse and the death of Herod

¹⁷ Mr Gresswell p. 463—475 examines the time of the council at Berytus for the purpose of shewing that this council determines the death of Herod to the lower date B. C. 3. That council indeed, by a management of the circumstances, may be adapted to that lower date, but it does not prove or establish that date. And this council may be referred to the second class of facts; those which may agree with either of the two dates; or rather perhaps to the first class, or those which determine nothing.

¹⁸ 245—253.

¹⁹ p. 252.

²⁰ p. 202.

²¹ p. 214.

²² Ibid.

²³ p. 247.

must be comprehended within fourteen days at the utmost, he observes, "The death of Antipater is one of these events: and Antipater was put to death five days before the death of Herod. The events, then, between the eclipse and the death of Antipater must have occurred within nine days at the utmost. What are these events? 1. The progressive advancement of Herod's disorder, which was slow and lingering, &c. 2. A journey from Jericho to Callirrhoe—the time passed there—the return to Jericho again. 3. After this return, the mission of orders throughout all his dominions to the principal men to repair to Jericho, and their assembling at Jericho accordingly. 4. The arrival of Augustus' answer from Rome, and the interval between that arrival and the death of Antipater." But "the five days" are only "the fifth day" in Ant. xvii. 8, 1. *ἡμέρα πέμπτη μεθ' ὃ Ἀντίπατρον κτείνει τὸν υἱὸν τελευτᾷ*. And the terms "slow and lingering" in No. 1 are not in Josephus. On No. 3 we may remark, it is not said in Josephus that the orders to the principal men to repair to Jericho were sent after his return: it is only said that they were then assembled in consequence of his orders: *ἀφικομένων προστάγματι τῷ αὐτοῦ* Ant. xvii. 6, 5. In No. 4 there is no interval in Josephus between the assembling of the principal men and the arrival of the messengers. They arrived at the same time: *ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο καὶ ἦκον ἐπιστολαί* Bell. i. 33, 7. *ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλοντος αὐτοῦ—γράμματα παρῆν* Ant. xvii. 7, 1. They arrived while he was giving his orders. Nor any interval between their arrival and the death of Antipater: conf. Bell. i. 33, 7. Ant. xvii. 7, 1. The assembling of the chief men, Herod's orders respecting them, the arrival of letters from Rome, and the death of Antipater, might all have happened in the same day.

On the whole, then, we adhere to the earlier date. All the other testimonies agree with that date no less than with the spring of B. C. 3. But this lower date, U. C. 751, B. C. 3, can only be established by a strained interpretation of the coin of Antipas, and by imputing error to Dio in his account of Archelaus, and error to Josephus in his account of the eclipse.

P. 302. d. "The passage does not appear in the Armenian copy:" This notice, which Hieronymus places at the

year 1999, the 16th year of Herod, does occur in the Armenian copy: but it occurs at the year 1996, the 13th year of Herod; three years nearer to the true era than the date of Hieronymus.

P. 317. h. Coins of *Antiochus Magnus*:—The perusal of Eckhel on the coins of the kings of Syria, contained in tom. III. p. 209—248 of his work, *doctrina numorum veterum*, has enabled me, in addition to the coins supplied by Vaillant and Frœlich, to give some coins which will illustrate or correct the history. Eckhel p. 221 supplies a third coin of *Antiochus Magnus* bearing a date: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. ριέ. anno 115. The 26th year of his reign.

P. 327. e. Coins of *Antiochus* the ward of *Trypho*:—Eckhel p. 232 adds another: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Διονύσου. θξρ. anno 169. And another, βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς. ζξρ. anno 167. But this last is perhaps of doubtful authority.

P. 332. m. “*Sidetes* was slain in the middle of the 184th year:”—Eckhel however, p. 236, produces two coins of the 185th year: *Annus επρ extat in æneis duobus*: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐυεργέτου. επρ. anno 185. And one of the 186th: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐυεργέτου. 5πρ. anno 186. According to this date *Sidetes* was living at least in October B. C. 127, eighteen months after his supposed death. Either therefore *Antiochus* survived his defeat in the spring of B. C. 128, or the spring described in *Diodorus* was the spring of B. C. 126. Eckhel p. 235 adopts the former opinion: *Videtur ergo Demetrius U. C. 624 (A. S. 183) fratris Antiochi ope ab exilio restitutus amicum fratrem in regni communionem vocasse, aut saltem in partem Syriæ regem constituisse, donec U. C. 627 (A. S. 186) diem obiit cæsus a sacerdotibus, ut refert auctor libri 2 Maccab. i. 10.* This opinion has many difficulties. 1. The Book of *Maccabees* places his death in the 188th year, which was within the reign of *Grypus* and *Cleopatra*; and that part of the book is suspicious for other reasons²⁴. 2. *Demetrius* was not likely to admit his brother on friendly terms. *Cyzicenus* the son of *Sidetes* was obliged to withdraw beyond his reach: and

²⁴ See *Prideaux* Vol. III. p. 253.

according to some accounts Arsaces dismissed Demetrius in order to embarrass the affairs of Sidetes. And besides, in the years 185, 186, Demetrius was not master of all Syria, but was contending with Zebina. 3. That Sidetes died in the war, either by his own hands or by the enemy, is related by the Chronographer, by Justin, by Appian, by Orosius v. 10, and above all by Posidonius²⁵, who was almost a contemporary, since he was probably born within the reign of Sidetes²⁶, and whose authority is on this account of great weight. Antiochus Sidetes was engaged in the war in the spring of B. C. 129. This is attested by all the authorities. But the expression of the epitomator, *bella gesta*, seems to imply more than one campaign; and the terms of Plutarch, τὸ δεύτερον στρατεύσας, would be intelligible, if Sidetes after his first campaign in B. C. 129, in which he conquered Babylonia²⁷, made a second irruption in B. C. 127, which

²⁵ Bake ad Posidon. fragm. p. 145 understands Posidonius of Antiochus Theus: *Locuples auctor nobis Posidonius primam illam sub Antiocho II defectionem Parthorum significavit. Athen. x. p. 439. Eundem Antiochum cognomine Theum intelligit Athen. xii. p. 540.* But Theus died by poison from the hands of Laodicæ: See Fast. Hellen. Part III. p. 311. Nor could Arsaces have spoken of τὴν Ἀρσάκου βασιλείαν in the time of Theus, before the empire existed. These terms would express a long established kingdom rather than a newly recovered liberty. There can be no doubt, then, that Wesseling ad Diod. tom. x. p. 346, and Schweighæuser ad Athen. x. p. 439, are right in understanding Posidonius to speak of Sidetes; and that the same Antiochus is described in those two passages, who is called in Athen. v. p. 210 Δημητρίου υἱός. Conf. Schw. ad Athen. v. p. 210. The observation of Mr Bake p. 147 that Posidonius describes *Theus* in the 14th book, because he describes *Grypus* in the 28th, is no argument: for the order of time cannot be traced in the fragments of the history. He describes Antiochus Grypus again in *lib. 34*: Athen. vi. p. 246, d. and yet in *lib. 4*, Heracleo, who survived Grypus, is described: Athen. iv. p. 153, b. Hierax, who lived under the 7th Ptolemy B. C. 145, is also mentioned in *lib. 4*: Athen. vi. p. 252, e. In *lib. 7*, the embassy of Scipio B. C. 143, or at least the 7th Ptolemy, is described: Athen. xii. p. 549, e. In *lib. 8*, Damophilus the cause of the servile war in Sicily (who was contemporary with Sidetes): Athen. xii. p. 542, b. In *lib. 22*, Harpalus B. C. 322: Athen. xiii. p. 594, e. Antiochus Sidetes might therefore be mentioned in *libb. 14. 16.*

²⁶ See Fast. Hellen. Part III. p. 195.

²⁷ Justin. xxxviii. 10. *Antiochus cum Babyloniā occupasset magnus haberi cæpit.* Oros. v. 10. *Antiochus non contentus Babylonia atque Ecbatana totoque Mediæ imperio adversus Phrahatem congressus et victus est.*

ended in his defeat: and we might suspect that the winter and spring described by the authorities were the winter and spring of A. S. 186, B. C. 127 $\frac{7}{6}$. In this case the error of Justin would consist in circumscribing within one year the events which occupied three years. This arrangement, placing his defeat and death in the spring of B. C. 126, will make no alteration in the years assigned to his reign. His nine years were terminated at the return of Demetrius²⁸.

P. 334. x. Coins of Zebina: No. 5. Ἀλεξανδρέων (sc. *Alexandriæ ad Issum sitæ*). Eckhel p. 256 gives this coin to Antiochus Epiphanes king of Commagenë, and affirms that the date is ἐτ. ιρ. anno 110. sc. *epochæ Alexandrinæ* = U. C. 796 = A. D. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. He adds p. 237 two coins of Zebina: βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου. θπρ. ςρ. annis 189, 190.

P. 336. m. Coins of Cleopatra and Grypus:—Eckhel p. 238: βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. Σιδω. ιερ. ἄσ. αςρ. anno 191. βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας καὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. βςρ. 192. The last year of Cleopatra. To the coins of Grypus Eckhel adds p. 239, βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. 5ςρ. anno 196. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. ηςρ. anno 198.

P. 337. q. Coins of Cyzicenus:—Eckhel p. 242. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Σιδω. ιερ. ἄσ. σ. *Sidoniorum*: anno 200.

P. 339. *Demetrius Eucærus*:—Eckhel p. 245.

1. βασιλέως Δημητρίου θεοῦ φιλοπάτορος Σωτήρος. ηισ. anno 218.

2. p. 365. βασιλέως Δημητρίου. Σιδωνίων. ακ. anno *Sidoniorum* 21 = A. S. 222.

3. βασιλέως Δημητρίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος Σωτήρος. δκσ. anno 224.

Insignes hi numi hactenus ignoti fuere, dum eos Belleyus ex museo Pellerinii vulgaret, post ipse possessor restitueret. In his non modo redivivos habemus annos epochæ inde ab Antiocho IX. ex moneta extorres, sed etiam ab ipsis his annis in historiæ et chronologiæ commodum hac ætate admodum implexæ illustres fructus capimus. Eckhel p. 245. The dates of these coins are consistent with the times

²⁸ Antiochus Sidetes began to reign in the 175th year of the era: The renewed reign of Demetrius was dated from the 184th.

which I have here assigned. Cyzicenus died in the 217th year according to other testimonies. Demetrius Eucærus began to reign according to these coins in the 218th year; probably towards the end of that year, the middle of B. C. 94. Seleucus came between them: and his reign of a year will remain at B. C. 95. During the years expressed in these coins the competitors, Demetrius, Philippus, and Eusebes, were reigning at the same time in different parts of Syria. The last date, the year 224, attests that Demetrius was not finally expelled by his brother Philip till after the autumn of B. C. 89, when that year commenced.

P. 339. m. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Νικηφόρου. This coin is given by Eckhel p. 224, 247, to *Antiochus Epiphanes*.

P. 340. *Tigranes*:—Eckhel p. 247 supplies coins of Tigranes which bear dates: βασιλέως βασιλέων Τιγράνου. 5λσ. anno 236. This year commenced in autumn B. C. 77, marking the 7th year of his occupation of Syria. βασιλέως βασιλέων Τιγράνου μεγάλου. αμσ. anno 241. In this year, commencing in autumn B. C. 72, Mithridates after the victory of Lucullus took refuge in Armenia²⁹.

P. 342—344. h. *Antiochus Commagenus*:—After having read the observations of Eckhel, I do not repent of the opinion expressed upon this subject. Eckhel indeed remarks tom. III. p. 248: *Impetravit (Asiaticus) a Pompeio ut in Commagene et parte Mesopotamiae rex agnosceretur*. But he adds p. 254, *Antiochus (Commagenus) quem Lucullus in fidem recepit Vaillantio idem creditur cum Asiatico, sed cujus illud historici fide possit stabiliri non reperit Massonus*. With respect to the symbol of the anchor, on which Frœlich founds an argument, Eckhel p. 256 observes: *Ad-dita in nonnullis numis ancora verisimile facit Antiochum aut revera a Seleucidis genus duxisse aut istud in vulgus credi voluisse; nisi forte alia de causa proprium fuit Commagenorum symbolum*.

P. 490. x. No. 3. “Corcyra was founded—date of Eratosthenes.” Substitute the following passage: “Corcyra was founded according to one account at the same time as

²⁹ See F. H. B. C. 72. p. 164.

Syracuse, B. C. 734: according to another, in B. C. 708. These numbers, 708 + 600, or 734 + 600, give B. C. 1308 or 1334 for the Trojan era of Timæus, about 125 or 151 years above the date of Eratosthenes."

P. 619. "The last day of *Loüs* might be Aug. 30."— I have neglected to take into the account the station of the intercalary month, which would interpose between *Loüs* of the intercalary year and *Dius* of the year following, throwing back the last day of *Loüs* thirty days farther from Oct. 28. The lowest date then for *Loüs* would occur, not in the intercalary year itself, but in the year which followed; and, when *Dius* began on Oct. 28, *Loüs* would terminate on Aug. 18³⁰, which would have fallen upon the 12th of *Metagitnion* in Ol. 110. 2, removing *Loüs* twelve days farther from *Boëdromion* than is here supposed.

H. F. C.

³⁰ The beginnings of the months would probably be these:

	Days.	
1. <i>Dius</i>	29	Oct. 28.
2. <i>Apellæus</i>	30	Nov. 26.
3. <i>Andymæus</i>	29	Dec. 26.
4. <i>Peritius</i>	30	Jan. 24.
5. <i>Dystrus</i>	29	Feb. 23.
6. <i>Xanthicus</i>	30	Mar. 24.
7. <i>Artemisius</i>	29	Apr. 23.
8. <i>Dæsius</i>	30	May 22.
9. <i>Panemus</i>	29	June 21.
10. <i>Loüs</i>	30	July 20 — Aug. 18.

ON THE ROOT OF ΕΙΛΕΩ,
AND SOME OF ITS DERIVATIVES
IN THE GREEK, LATIN, AND TEUTONIC LANGUAGES.

THE following observations are an attempt to trace some of the derivatives of one root through the three great divisions of the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic languages. The connexion of these three tongues is already sufficiently established; and I may use with reference to them the words which ¹Rask applies to another case, in which there exists, he says, “flexionum et
“classium vocum, vel universæ interioris structuræ quasi com-
“munio, quæ non, nisi ex antiquissimo illo et communi illarum
“gentium vinculo atque cognatione repetita, rectè explicari
“posse videtur.” It is this communion of the families of words which the present article is intended slightly to illustrate; and doubtless other instances of parallelism, which have escaped my notice, will occur to many of my readers. The point, however, to which it is wished to call the attention of the reader, is not so much the general *resemblance* of any two members of the different families one to another, as their *analogy*, or the relation in which both stand to a common stock.

The etymology and meaning of several words of the class I am about to speak of have been discussed at length by Buttmann in his *Lexilogus*². As however I conceive that the idea of roundness or rolling is more or less to be traced in many words where that learned writer has denied its existence, it will be necessary to go through his principal arguments with some minuteness: and though to encounter such learning and

¹ Anglo Saxon Gram. Postscript.

² Articles 48. 88. 90.

such ingenuity may seem presumptuous, I shall briefly examine the chief instances which he brings forward, and whilst I owe to himself the weapons with which I oppose him, leave my readers to judge of the result.

I consider that the existence of the two roots *Feλ*, or *FeλF*, whence *ἐλίσσω*, *volvo*, and (as I suppose) *εἰλέω*, and *Ελ*, whence *ἐλάω*, *ἐλαύνω*, and the Latin *pello*, is clear as stated by ³Müller. It is also evident that many cases may occur in which the derivatives of these two roots will be difficult to distinguish: but the objection to Buttman is, that whilst he most ⁴sensibly disclaims any wish to force the members of the one family into the other, he is in reality pursuing the very course which he blames. The theme according to him is *ἐλω*, or *ἐλλω*: that it has the digamma is clear from the perf. pass. *ἔελμαι*, and from the hiatus before *ἔλσαι* in Il. A. 409; the present pass. part. of *εἶλω*, *εἰλόμενος*, is found Il. I. 215, and in the same passage the imperfect of the lengthened form *εἰλέω*. *Ἐάλην*—*ἀλῆναι* is the aor. 2. pass. analogous to *ἐστάλην* from *στέλλω*, or *ἐκάρην* from *κείρω*, according as we derive it from *ἐλλω* or *εἶλω*. The application of all these forms to the motion of a crowd is so common both in Homer and Herodotus that it is needless to cite passages. But in all these cases the waving motion so evident in a large body of men will allow us to suppose that the idea of rolling is contained in the root. The scholiasts and Eustathius explain them by *συνεστράφη* and similar expressions; and the analogy of the Greek *εἶλη*, *ἴλη*, *ὄμιλος*, *οὔλαμος*, to the Latin *vulgus* as related to *volvo*⁵, and to such expressions as *globus virorum*, and “a plump of spears⁶” in English, seems to have weight. It must however be allowed that in some cases the notion of pushing or driving is the most obvious, as in the old law quoted by ⁷Lysias: *ὅστις δὲ ἀπίλλει τῇ θύρᾳ ἐνδον τοῦ κλέπτου ὄντος*, which he explains by *ἀποκλείειν*. Here ⁸the

³ Dorians. Vol. I. p. 323. note t, English Translation.

⁴ Lexilog. II. p. 166.

⁵ P. Knight. Proleg. ad Hom. p. 82.

⁶ Notes to Marmion, Canto I.

⁷ In Theomn. p. 117. 37.

⁸ *ἀπίλλειν τῇ θύρᾳ* may either signify to exclude at the door, or more probably with the door, as in Aristoph. Vesp. 775. *οὐδεὶς σ' ἀποκλείσει θεσμοθέτης τῇ κίγκλιδι*. See likewise Photius in *κατουλάδα*, p. 150. 9.

construction is not quite clear; but it is not impossible that there may be some reference to the motion of a door on hinges or on a pivot. *Εἰλίπους* certainly seems to be well translated by Voss, “das schwerwandelnde;” and the derivation of it from *ἐλίσσω* is better suited, as Buttman remarks, to the motion of a horse—the “sinuatque alterna volumina crurum” of Virgil. Nor has ⁹*εἰλίπους* the digamma in Homer, though the derivatives from the other root constantly retain it. Buttman¹⁰ seems to argue from the application of *ἔλσας*, *ἄλεις*, *ἑάλη* &c. to acts where no external impulse is implied, that the notion of rolling is entirely wanting. Here I cannot agree with him; for it seems as if the use of this verb, in the case of Idomeneus crouching behind his shield (Il. N. 408), of the spring of the lion on the hunter (Il. Υ. 168), and in that of the firm collected attitude of Agenor (Il. Φ. 576), or the preparing for action of Ulysses (Od. Ω. 527), excludes the idea of striking or impelling, and agrees with that of roundness. It is not very different from the German expression “mit geballter Faust,” used for the contracting and clenching the fingers, as the other is for the same action with reference to the limbs.

In the passage—Od. E. 132. H. 250.

—*νῆα θεὸν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῶ*

Ζεὺς ἔλσας ἐκέασσε—

Buttman himself seems inclined to adopt the reading of the Scholiast, *ἐλάσας*; but remarks that this does not remove the difficulty, since ¹¹ what strikes us as strange in the text, produces the same impression as a various reading; he might have added, in a less degree¹². The *ἤλσατο βούς* of ¹³Ibycus for *ἠλάσατο* he gets over by attributing it to lyric licence, and perhaps with justice.

⁹ Heyne Excurs. ad Il. τ. Thiersch 158. 4.

¹⁰ Lexilog. II. p. 146.

¹¹ Lexilog. II. p. 143.

¹² In the following passage of Callinus ap Stob. LI. 19. v. 9—

ἀλλά τις ἰθὺς ἵτω

ἔγχος ἀνασχόμενος καὶ ὑπ’ ἄσπίδος ἄλκιμον ἦτορ

ἔλσας, τὸ πρῶτον μιγνυμένου πολέμου—

ἔλσας appears to bear the sense of *collecting* or *concentrating*.

¹³ Etym. M. p. 428. 28.

The two passages on which he dwells particularly¹⁵, appear to be by no means inconsistent with the other view. The first is Il. Φ. 8,

—— ἡμίσεες δὲ
ἐς ποταμὸν εἰλεῦντο βαθύρροον——

of the driving a number of men into a river. Surely if Terence could say with reference to one person¹⁶,

hunc ego in mediam viam
provolvam,

the notion is much more applicable to the tumbling of man over man in a routed army. The second passage is Od. Λ. 571, where Ulysses describes Orion as *θηρὰς ὁμοῦ εἰλεῦντα*. "Here," says Buttmann, "one sees how the idea of inclosing arose from that of driving before one." Perhaps the connection of the two notions cannot be better illustrated than by the lines where Virgil paints Æneas bringing Turnus to bay, just as Orion does the beasts of chase¹⁷,

Ergo amens diversa fuga petit aequora Turnus,
Et nunc huc, inde huc *diversos implicat orbes*.
Undique enim densa Teucri includere corona;
Atque hinc vasta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt.

εἶλαρ is perhaps analogous to our word *bulwark*, according to the etymology of Skinner, "a *boll* globus et *work* opus." The Etym. M. says *εἶλαρ παρὰ τὸ εἶλω τὸ συγκλείω*. Buttmann's own remarks¹⁸ furnish a sufficient answer on the subject of the fragment of Euripides, *οὐρανὸν δ' ὑπέλλουσ'* (or *ὑπίλλουσ'*) *ὑπὸ λεοντόπουν βάσιν Ἐκαθέζετο*, and of the passage of Sophocles¹⁹, *σοὶ δ' ὑπίλλουσι στόμα*, especially if compared with the note of Hermann and with the scholiast. In Aristophanes Nub. 751—

μὴ νῦν περὶ σαυτὸν εἶλλε τὴν γνώμην αἰεί,
ἀλλ' ἀποχάλα τὴν φροντίδ' εἰς τὸν αἶρα—

the Scholiast says *εἶλω τὸ στρέφω παρὰ τοῖς κοινοῖς περισπωμένως, εἶλω δὲ βαρυτόνως παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς*, and surely

¹⁵ p. 147.

¹⁷ Æneid xii. 743.

¹⁶ Andr. iv. 4. 37. cf. Arnold Thuc. ii. 76.

¹⁸ ii. p. 150.

¹⁹ Soph. Ant. 509.

the *περὶ παντὸν* is greatly in favor of this meaning. The passage of Thucydides, II. 76, *ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνείλλοντες*, is satisfactorily explained by Dr Arnold, who supposes that the notion of compression may be derived from that of screwing, and is thus connected with a circular movement. The expressions of Herodotus, *συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω*, IV. 67, and *τῶν ἐν ποσὶν εἰλευμένων*, II. 76, are at least as much against Buttmann as for him. It may however be observed with regard to the last passage, that in Buttmann's translation, "*herum treiben*," the first word is essential to the meaning. Xenophon²⁰ uses the words *ἐξίλλουσι τὰ ἵχνη* with reference to hounds, which seem to be explained in favor of our hypothesis by the quotations of Schneider from Arrian in his note on the passage, *ἐξελίσσουσα τὸν λαγὼν, ἐξελίζας τὸν δρόμον*. We would compare the line of Nicander,

φεῦγε δ' αἰὲς σκολίην τε καὶ οὐ μίαν ἀτραπὸν ἴλλων,

with the "*alternisque orbibus orbem Impediunt*" of Virgil. To turn to Plato, in the well-known passage—²¹ *γῆν—εἰλουμένην περὶ τὸν διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένην*—Bekker reads with the Paris manuscript *εἰλλομένην*. These words are referred to by Aristotle²² as meaning that the earth revolves round its axis: Simplicius, and (according to Buttmann) Plutarch, Galen, and Proclus are against him. Simplicius²³ says *τὸ δὲ ἰλλομένην εἰ διὰ τὸ ἰ γράφεται, τὴν προσδεδεμένην σημαίνει*; and he then refers to the use of *ἴλλας*; where however the fact that *ἴλλας* did not mean *δεσμός generally*, but *ὁ ἀπὸ λόγου δεσμός*, is not to be forgotten. The passages of Eustathius will be quoted hereafter. The very reasonable objection²⁴, *ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει οὕτω λέγοντι ἴλλεσθαι οὐκ εὐλογον ἀντιλέγειν, ὥς ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὔτε τῆς λέξεως τὸ σημαινόμενον εἶκος ἦν ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν οὔτε τὸν τοῦ Πλάτωνος σκοπόν*, was made to Simplicius in his own day. The coincidence of the terms *εἰλαεῖν*, *στρεβλοῦν*, and *torcular*, is allowed by Buttmann to be singular; and the passage of

²⁰ de Venat. vi. 15.

²¹ Timæus p. 41. 13. Bekker.

²² de coelo II. 13.

²³ in Aristot. de coelo. p. 125. ed. Ald.

²⁴ Simplicius in Aristot. de coelo. p. 126. ed. Ald.

²⁵Eustathius to which he alludes, bears upon one or two other points. "Ἰλλαδες δέ φασι κατ' Ἰωνας δεσμοὶ ἐξ ἱμάντων ἢ λύγων, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰλῶ ἢ ἴλλω, τὸ συστρέφω, ὡς ἐν εἴδει στρεβλώσεως. λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοιαύτης σημασίας τὸ εἰλεῖν, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ Πανσανίας εἰπὼν, εἰλαεῖν, στρεβλοῦν, πιέζειν. At the same time I consider the apparent identity of *τραπεῖν* as accidental, and agree with Buttman in looking upon this verb as allied to *treten*,²⁶ *trappen*, *traben*, &c.: but there is a vast difference between the chance of finding two roots, and that of finding many, coinciding in meaning and in form. From inattention to this, Buttman's learning and ingenuity seem to have led him to a false conclusion. By invalidating each instance separately he by no means gets over the singular fact that the idea of roundness, more or less remote, runs through them all; and in many cases is absolutely the predominant, though, he would suppose, the secondary notion. To this may be added the constant use of *συστρέφειν* by the grammarians in interpreting these words, and that Buttman's theory would leave *ἐλικός*, *ἴλλος*, *ἰλλός*, *ἴλιξ*, κ.τ.λ. wholly unaccounted for. He would cast them as orphans on the wide world, or at any rate tear them from those to whom they seem nearest related, both by outward feature and inward spirit.

To turn to the root in which the notion of roundness may be traced, perhaps the nearest word to it in modern languages may be found in the adjective *wel*, round: which occurs in the *Nibelungen Lied*,²⁷

Man trüch ir zu dem ringe einen swaren stein,

Groz und ungefüge, michel und *wel*.

Welt in the sense of *to roll* occurs in ²⁸old Scotch; and is used by Gawain Douglas both in a neuter and active sense, as is also *welter*, which remains with us in the former. In these words we may see the connection between the idea of a circular motion and that of *any* impelling force, and also probably in our kindred words to *whirl*, and to *hurl*.²⁹ *Welter* corresponds as accurately with the Latin *volutio* as the Anglo-

²⁵ p. 947. ed. Rom.

²⁷ l. 1811. Grimm. Gramm. II. 32.

²⁹ See Arnold on Thuc. II. 76.

²⁶ See Adelung Dict. in v.

²⁸ See Jamieson Dict. in v.

Saxon *wealwian* does with *volvo* and ³⁰Φελύω or Φεύω. Apparently from the same root and with the same idea of roundness is derived the Latin ³¹*bullā*, a bubble of water; the change of B and V is too common to need notice. With the verb derived from *bullā*, *bullire*, we may compare the Icelandic verb ³²*Vell*, ebullio: a similar word, to *wall*, was according to Hickes in use at Droitwich. The A. Saxon *weallan* is used in all the senses of the Latin *aestuo*, that is, of bubbling, thence of being hot, and metaphorically of the agitation of the ³³mind. In *weallan* the notion of bubbling was the first: then it seems to have been transferred from the effect to the cause, from the bubbling of the liquid to the heat which made it bubble. Sanscrit scholars may possibly be able to say which was the original idea in *aestuo*. This Saxon verb, having been used to signify heat, appears to have been transferred to a very different effect of heat, the union or *welding* of metal, and thence of other bodies. Gawain Douglas in the eighth *Æneid* says—

In every place seven ply they *wel* and *cal*:

and in a quotation from More's *true crucifixe* in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary we find *wall* as a neuter verb with a more extensive sense:

So foul at strife, they can nor mixe nor *wall*.

Jamieson adds that *wall* is still applied to the caking of coals.

The original sense of *weallan* is nearly preserved in our verb *to well*, as used by Spenser and Dryden, and in the common substantive; as also in the German *welle*, *quell*, and *quellen*, where the change of the first letter is the same as in the Scotch *quhat* for *what*.

The Greek ἱλιγξ may be placed by the side of the old substantive *wele*. Hesychius says ἱλιξ συστροφῇ ὑδάτων: and

³⁰ P. Knight Proleg. ad Homerum p. 156. Lips.

³¹ *Bell* is probably derived from *Bulla*. Ducange gives a line with different meanings of this word,

Bulla, tumor laticis, *Nola*, sidus, gemma, sigillum.

Nola was the little round bell used in trappings of horses, and so the substitution of the word *bullā* for it is sufficiently intelligible.

³² Hickes Thes. II. 91.

³³ Cf. Virgil *Æn.* VII. 461.

the following passage of Diodorus leaves no doubt of its meaning—
 μεγάλων δὲ ρείθρων εἰς ἓνα τόπον συρράπτοντων, ἱλιγγες
 πολλαὶ καὶ φοβεραὶ συνίσταντο. Literally therefore it is
vortex, or *wele*, as used by Gawain Douglas,

with wirland *welis* and mekill yellow sand,
 and in the ballad of young Huntin,

They doukit in at ae weill-head
 And out ay at the other.

If we reject Jamieson's derivation of *welley*, a quagmire, which he quotes from Bellenden, and conjectures may mean the *eye* or center of the well or spring, we may compare it with ³⁴Φέλος in Greek, which as well as ³⁵ἱλύς is probably connected with the notion of rolling.

Buttmann disputes the meaning of ἱλλω in ³⁶Sophocles; from ἱλλω however is derived ἱλλος the eye; which the Etym. Magn. explains ³⁷thus: ἱλλοὶ δὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ ῥαδίως εἰλούμενοι καὶ εὐμετάφοροι πρὸς ἑκάτερα. But, ἱλλός, ὀξύτόνως, ὁ τὸν ἱλλον διάστροφος.³⁸ A derivative verb, ἐπιλλίζω is found in Od. Σ. 11. From this same quality of the eye was drawn the epithet ἐλικῶπις as explained by Graevius and Dawes, to which a parallel is found in a passage of the ³⁹Winter's Tale—

Come Sir Page,
 Look on us with your *welkin* eye—

destined like so many others to shew the audacity of Johnson. We are sufficiently familiar with this word in the sense of *sky*; and in this sense we could hardly expect to find any thing analogous to it in Greek or Latin. A word which means *rolling* was naturally applied to the heaven in a climate where it usually was ⁴⁰cloudy, and thus presents a striking contrast with the Latin *cælum*, κοῖλον,

³⁴ Dionysius i. 20.

³⁵ Lennep. in v.

³⁶ Antig. 340.

³⁷ in v. δευδίλλων cf. in ἐνιλλώπειν et σίλλοι.

³⁸ Eustath. p. 768. l. 35. ed. Rom.

³⁹ See Tooke's Diversions of Purley, ii. 322. ed. 8vo.

⁴⁰ It is also curious that the root of the word for Heaven in the Celtic and, I believe, in the Slavonian languages, is *Neb*, or *Nev*. Lluyd in his Archæologia Brit. gives *Niful* as a cloud, *Nev* as heaven in Welsh. pp. 278. 281. cf. Adelung's Mithridates. Vol. ii.

marking "the azure depth of air." *Welkin* is, indeed, sometimes applied to a clear sky; but it is common enough for a word drawn from the *usual* appearance of an object to be employed to denote it under *all* circumstances. The prevalence of this practice is what makes etymology so useful as a standard whereby to try any new application of a word, and thus to prevent the confusion of one idea with another. It may be objected that the revolution of the heavenly bodies led to the name; but besides that this is far less obvious to a rude people, the Anglo Saxon *wolc*, a cloud, and its modern German representative, confirm the former view.

If it be admitted that the root of the Teutonic *wel* and the Greek *Φειλέω* are one and the same, we may establish a collateral relationship between two words apparently very dissimilar,—the Latin *salix* and our word *willow*. The Saxon is ⁴¹*wileg*; and *wilega* is a willow-basket, which are probably derived from *wilian* or *wiligan* volvere. Vossius derives "*salix* a *saliendo*," as *ἰτέα παρὰ τὸ ἵεναι*; there can however be little doubt that we must trace it to the provincial word *ἐλίκη*. ⁴²Theophrastus says, *καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ περὶ Ἀρκαδίαν οὐκ ἰτέαν ἀλλὰ ἐλίκην*, which we shall have less hesitation in taking as the root of *salix* from its belonging to Arcadia, the head quarters of the Pelasgi, and the country so linked by tradition to Italy. With regard to the interchange of the aspirate, the digamma, and the Latin S, we are sufficiently familiar with it in the personal pronoun *Feó* and its cases, not to mention other instances. Another word has been already alluded to, of which the ancient ⁴³pronunciation cannot have been very unlike our Saxon *wileg*; viz. *ἴλλας*, a with or willow band: and in addition to the passage of Eustathius quoted above two others may be inserted, as it is a point bearing strongly on the probable root of the words disputed by Buttman⁴⁴. *ὄρα δὲ ὅπως ἀγενῶς τοῦς Πριαμίδας ὁ ἀστεῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐδέσμησεν, οὐ γὰρ ἱμάσιν ἀλλὰ λύγοις, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ βόες συνδούμενοι ἔλκονται, ἴλλασιν ὥς πού φησιν ὁ ποιητής*,

⁴¹ Lye in v.

⁴³ *ΦιλFασιν* P. Knight. Il. H. 572.

⁴² Hist. plant. iii. 12.

⁴⁴ Eustath. p. 834. 39.

ἡγουν συνεστραμμένοις δεσμοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλλω ῥήματος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἔλλος ὁ στραβός. and again ⁴⁵ἔλλειν γὰρ τὸ συστρέφειν. ὅθεν καὶ ἔλλας παρ' Ἰωσιν ὁ ἀπὸ λύγου δεσμός. Nor is this the only word from the same root in which twisting is the principal idea: we have ⁴⁶παρὰ δὲ Νικάνδρῳ φησὶν ἐλάνη, ὁ ἐκ καλάμων δεσμός; and again ἐλλεδανός, II. Σ. 554, which is thus derived by the same commentator: ⁴⁷ἐλλεδανός—παρὰ τὸ εἰλῶ τραπέντος τοῦ ι συνήθως εἰς ν, ὅπερ εὐθύς εἰς λ κανονικῶς μετέπεσεν· ὥσπερ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ῥιγῶ ῥιγεδανός οὕτω παρὰ τὸ εἰλῶ ἐλλεδανός. It signifies the band which binds the sheaves, and which is necessarily twisted.

With regard to the variation of the breathing ⁴⁸Buttmann remarks that we must attribute it to the disuse of the digamma; that the aspirate was adopted by the Athenians particularly, the soft breathing by the Ionians, and the later κοινοί, and that we are justified in writing ἐάλην instead of ἐάλην, adopting the Ionian pronunciation and that of the later epic poetry.

Another case in which we find the interchange of the W, the Σ, and the digamma, is connected with the present subject; I allude to οὐλος in its various senses, a word, in the investigation of which Buttmann has shown very great sagacity and learning, especially in the discussion on οὐλαί and οὐλοχύται. I shall venture to begin by giving some of the meanings of οὐλος, and incur the reproach of acting ⁴⁹unphilosophically in attempting to ascertain whether they may not be reduced to one or two radical ideas.

It is an epithet of τάπης, χλαῖνα, in which sense it occurs so commonly as to make it unnecessary to cite any passages, and in nearly the same sense is applied to hair both in Homer and Herodotus. The only passages which might create a doubt as to its meaning are the two, Od. Ξ. 231, Ψ. 158—καδδὲ κάρητος Οὔλας ἦκε κόμας, where the notion of curling seems somewhat incompatible with the flow of the locks: but Eustathius explains it by συνεστραμ-

⁴⁵ p. 176. l. 33.

⁴⁷ p. 1162. l. 33.

⁴⁹ Lexilog. i. p. 184.

⁴⁶ Eustath. p. 1571. l. 9.

⁴⁸ Lexilog. ii. p. 157.

μέναι, and in both cases it is applied to Ulysses, to whom long flowing hair would be certainly unsuitable.

These senses of the word οὔλος are manifestly the same; and in both the idea of curling seems to be the original. We may thus compare it with the German⁵⁰ *Wolle*, and the Latin *solox*. Festus explains this latter word as “*lana crassa vel pecus lana contectum*,” and it survived in the provinces: at least we find it in Tertullian de Pallio, 4: “*Endromidis solocem aliqua multitia synthesisi extruxit*.”

The next sense to be considered is that of ὅλος, for which οὔλος evidently stands in Od. Ω. 118.

Μηνὶ δ' ἄρ' οὔλῳ πάντα περήσομεν εὔρεα πόντον.

and again in Od. P. 343.

Ἄρτον τ' οὔλον ἐλών⁵¹.

It also occurs in the same sense in the Hymn to Mercury, l. 113—137. That this sense of completeness is connected with that of⁵² roundness does not seem by any means improbable. We are reminded of the “*totus teres atque rotundus*” of Horace, and of the fancy of the⁵³ perfection of a sphere, and its superiority over every other figure.

In a nearly similar sense οὔλος occurs in οὔλον κεκλήγοντες, Il. P. 756. 759; where Gesner, on Orph. Argon. 955, explains it “*juvenile quid clangentes h. e. vehementer, totis viribus, uti solent juvenes*⁵⁴”; it would thus be analogous to “*et omnis in hoc sum*” of Horace, and the expression of

⁵⁰ cf. Thiersch. Gr. Gr. 172. note.

⁵¹ I have followed the scholiast, who takes οὔλος for ὅλος; Knight however reads ἄρτον **ΦόλΦον**, probably in the sense of a round loaf, a *roll*, from **ΦέλΦω**. In support of this view it should be mentioned that ὅλος never occurs in the Iliad or in the genuine parts of the Odyssey; the spuriousness of the last book of the latter being one of the few points of Homeric criticism on which all scholars seem to be agreed.

⁵² Is there not somewhat of a similar connection between the two ideas in the intensive use of περί, as in περιφράδης?

⁵³ Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. 10.

⁵⁴ He mounted himself on his stead so tall,
And her on a fair palfraye.
He slung his bugle about his neck,
And roundlye they rode awaye.

Childe of Elle. PERCY, Vol. i.

⁵⁵ Polybius with respect to Minucius when left by Fabius
 πρὸς τῷ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ τῷ κινδυνεύειν ὅλος καὶ πᾶς
 ἦν. In Il. E. 461. 717, where οὔλος is applied to Mars, and in
 Il. Φ. 536, where it is applied to Achilles, it appears to be
 a derivative from ὀλεῖν, in the sense of *destructive*, and to
 have no connexion with the root of οὔλος, *round*. Wherever
 it means *destructive* it has not the digamma⁵⁶; but in Il.
 B. 8, that letter is required. Payne Knight, understanding
 it as ὅλος, writes βάσκ' εἴθ' ὅλοF' ὄνειρε. Perhaps it is
 better with ⁵⁷Thiersch to take it in the sense of "full,
 clear, perfect," and therefore for ὅλος. With regard to
 the aspirate it is sufficient to say in the words of ⁵⁸Eustathius,
 καὶ ὅτι ψιλοῦται διὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν τοῦ υ ἐπένθεσιν δῆλον.
 Ὅλος certainly remains in the Latin *solus* and *solidus*; and
 Festus tells us, "*sollo* Oscè dicitur id quod nos totum
 vocamus:" "*sollers* in omni re prudens;" our own *whole*
 is probably from the same source; and thus the analogy
 to ἐλίκη *salix* and *willow* will be complete.

The next word to be examined is the substantive οὐλή and
 the verb οὐλώ, of which we have the imperative ⁵⁹οὐλέ τε καὶ
 μέγα χαῖρε in Homer; and in Hesychius there is οὐλίαιεν, ἐν
 ὑγίαια φυλάσσοιεν—οὐλιάσθε, ὄνησιν τινα ἔχετε. The account
 which the latter gives of the whole ⁶⁰family is οὐλον ποτέ
 μὲν τὸ μάλακον καὶ ἀπαλόν, ποτέ δὲ τὸ ὑγιές καὶ ὀλόκλη-
 ρον. καὶ τὸ ὀλέθριον. κυρίως δὲ, τὸ συνεστραμμένον καὶ παραχῶ-
 δες, οὐλον. It might at first sight seem that there was
 some connection between these words and the Anglo-Saxon
hælan to heal, itself a derivative probably from *helan* to cover.
 The coincidence indeed is singular, that in both languages one
 of the two words should apply to a flesh-wound, and the other
 to the general health. Horne Tooke⁶¹ strings together ten
 words, of which *hale* and *whole* are two, and says briefly "that
 they are all the same past participle of the Anglo-Saxon verb
helan, tegere;" whereas the past participle of that verb, as given
 by Lye, is *heled*, and the verb belongs to what ⁶²Rask calls the

⁵⁵ III. 94. cf. Schweigh. Lexic. Pol.

⁵⁷ Gr. Gr. 172. note.

⁵⁹ Od. ω. 401.

⁶¹ II. 377.

⁵⁶ Heyne excurs. ad. Il. τ.

⁵⁸ p. 1868.

⁶⁰ Hesych. Alberti II. 814.

⁶² Anglo-Saxon Gr. Translation.

first conjugation, first order, and to the first class, which form the perfect in *ode*, and the past participle in *od* without a change of vowel. Unless indeed Horne Tooke had authority for supposing that there had existed a different form of the verb, and that a process had taken place, similar to that which has occurred with many verbs in modern German, which once formed the preterite and participle by the change of vowel, but are now conjugated on the simpler system.

Perhaps after all *hælan* is related to the root *heil*, the Greek βελ—τίων, and the Latin *validus* and *salus*: but assuming for the moment that it does come from *helan* to cover, the case will be this. There is a sort of similarity between οὐλή and *helan*, inasmuch as the former means the *covering* of a flesh-wound; and in the case of οὐλε, an apparent analogy to the course by which *hælan* passed from the *recovery* of such a wound to the soundness of the whole body. But ⁶³Eustathius is probably right when he says, τὸ δὲ οὐλε καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑγίαινε. τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅλος καὶ ὑγιῆς ἔσο. ἐκ δὲ τοιούτου ῥήματος καὶ ἡ τοῦ τραύματος οὐλή, ὀλότης οὔσα καὶ αὐτὴ σώματος. And in another passage he says, ⁶⁴ὅτι δὲ ἡ οὐλή παρὰ τὸ ὅλον γίνεται ὡς ἐπιγινομένη ἔλκει ὀλωθέντι, τουτέστιν εἰς ὀλότητα ἐλθόντι, δῆλον. Thus it would appear that in the case of οὐλω the more extensive signification was narrowed to that of οὐλή at a time when all medicine was surgery: whereas in that of *helan* and *hælan* a word originally only applicable to that injury which a people of warriors and hunters are most exposed to, has by a reverse process been transferred to the state of the whole system.

We must now pass on to consider briefly οὐλαί, which is generally said by the lexicographers to be so named from the grains being unbroken: and it must be owned that the passage of Suidas is very strong, especially καὶ τὰς μὲν κριθὰς μέχρι νῦν ὅλας χέουσιν οἱ ἐπιθύοντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς. Buttmann however suspects this derivation to be entirely a fancy of the lexicographers and scholiasts; and so far the question admits of little doubt. For, in the first place, if οὐλαὶ stands for ὅλαι (κριθαί), how comes the accent changed? especially when the existence of the word οὐλή, a scar, was an inducement to retain

⁶³ p. 1965. l. 31.

⁶⁴ p. 1869. l. 20.

it. Again the Latin word is *mola*, which stands in the same relation to ὀλαί, that *Mars* does to Ἄρης, *mar* to ἄρρην, μάλη, μασχάλη to *ala* and *axilla*. Now *mola* is clearly related to *molere*; and why may not ὀλή come from ἀλέω, or ἔλω (the root of ἐλάω), as μόνη from μένω, or βολή from βάλλω? We have the word ὄλμος, a mortar for bruising or pounding, with the aspirate, as ὄρμος from εἶρω, or ἄρμα from ἄρω. The word ἄλευρον also comes from ἀλέω, and it seems very probable that the German *mahlen* and its frequentative *malmen* belong to the same stock⁶⁵. That which is ὄλμος in Greek is in the Austrian dialect called *malter*, and in the Lower Saxon *möser*, which seems to connect it with *mörser*. The passage quoted by ⁶⁶Buttmann from Porphyrius favors the idea of the first fruits having been offered ground; and the expression of Aristoph. Eq. 1167,—ἐκ τῶν ὀλῶν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου μεμαγμένων,—implies that they might be kneaded. From the interpretation of Hesychius, οὐλάς, κριθάς, οὐλοι, οὐλα, δράγματα, from the names of the hymns to Ceres, οὐλοι and ἰοὐλοι,⁶⁷ and the term ὄλυρα applied to a similar kind of grain, it certainly seems probable that ὀλή was driven out of common use by the term κριθή, as Buttmann supposes, yet still retained its place, where old words and old customs would be most likely to do so, in the sacrifices. Thus both at Rome and Athens *rex* and βασιλεὺς remained in their pontifical sense, when expelled in their civil.

On the other hand it should be stated that the presence of the digamma, as deduced from the following passages of the grammarians, makes against the identity of ὀλή and *mola*. Suidas in δερβιστήρ. πλεονάζουσι δὲ τὸ β οἱ Συρακούσιοι, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀλβάχνιον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀλάχνιον, τὸ τὰς οὐλάς ἔχον. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ κανοῦν ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθουν τὰς οὐλάς. Hesychius in εὐπλουτον. οὐλοχύτας τὰ κανᾶ ἃ οἱ Δωριεῖς ὀλβακήια. The Etymol. Mag. in δερβιστήρ and ὄλεχον mentions ὀλβαχνον, and ὀλβάχνιον, and Hesychius has ὀλβάχνιον. It is clear that these are various corruptions of the word ὀλβαχήιον (Müller, Dorians, Vol. II. p. 498.), and that the β here stands for the

⁶⁵ Adelung Germ. Dict. in v. Mörser.

⁶⁶ Lexil. I. p. 196.

⁶⁷ Athen. xiv. p. 618 D. cf. Spanheim ad Callim. H. in Cererem I.

digamma; so that ὀλβαχήμεον, like οὐλοχήμε, is derived from οὐλή and χέω. Now if ὀλή and *mola* are the same word, we may reasonably wonder at the absence of all trace of the digamma in the Latin form, where it is generally most visible. According to this explanation, therefore, the word would be ὀλφή, ὀλβά, οὐλή, and ὀλή; and it may have been applied to grain in general from the notion of roundness. Thus the meaning of οὐλή and οὐλοχήμε would agree with that given by the grammarians, though the etymology would be different. Whether the coincidence of ὀλή and *mola*, ἀλεῖν and *molere*, outweighs these arguments, the reader must judge.

To examine the relation of *wohl*, *valde*, *salus* &c. and that of *roll*, *full*, ὀ-φέλ-λω, and *sollen*, though highly interesting, would demand a long and detailed inquiry. It would be well if any person competent to the task would investigate a subject so attractive in its own nature, its bearings upon our native tongue, and its connection with our classical studies.

E. W. H.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION,

AND

VOTE BY BALLOT IN THE ATHENIAN STATE.

THE Journal of Education, which from its general ability and accuracy deserves attention even where its doctrines cannot be readily admitted, in a criticism on some Greek and English lexicons, contains the following remarks :

“The words *ψηφος* and *ψηφίζομαι* seem to be in general correctly explained in the lexicons, and among the significations of *ψηφίζομαι* we find *to give a vote by means of a pebble or counter*. Though this is quite true, it does not explain the thing fully ; one of the most important meanings of this word in Demosthenes is, to vote by ballot, that is, secretly, as the orator distinctly expresses it in his oration against Neæra*, where he is speaking of the precaution adopted in giving a foreigner the rights of citizenship. We contend for the same signification, as applicable to the choice of magistrates, in the word *λαγχάνω*, which is often very absurdly explained as chosen by lot. With respect to the choice of magistrates at Athens, when it was not done by *χειροτονία*, or show of hands, it was effected by the ballot. In a note, apparently added by the translator†, Vol. II. p. 278, of Boeckh’s Public Œconomy of Athens, we read,—‘Lastly Aristides gave all the Athenians the right of filling the situation of archon by casting lots, without any distinction of property, &c.’ Mr Boeckh also all along talks of choosing archons by lot (see p. 276) : we wish he would inform us how this strange business of casting lots for the archonship among all the citizens of Athens was managed.

* This passage will be extracted presently.

† The note was not added by the translator, but belongs, as is stated in the translation, to the author.

The word *διαιτητής* is simply translated an 'arbiter' by Dunbar. Donnegan adds, 'persons who acted as umpires to decide matters in litigation; they were named by the archon, or chosen by the parties themselves.' There were certainly two kinds of *diætetæ*, but it is our opinion that one set (the *κληρωτοί*) were public functionaries, chosen by ballot." N° V. p. 118.

These remarks on the meaning of the terms *λαγχάνειν* and *κληροῦν*, as applied to the nomination of magistrates, are recommended only by their novelty; for they appear to be wholly unfounded, and to be contradicted by the plainest and most convincing evidence. The original meaning of the word *κλῆρος* is placed out of all doubt by the well-known passages of Homer, where Hector and Ulysses are described as shaking in a helmet the *κλῆροι* of Paris and Menelaus, in order to decide which should cast his spear first (Il. γ. 316. 325); and where several of the Greek chieftains mark their *κλῆροι*, which are shaken in a helmet in order to determine who should fight with Hector (Il. η. 175, 182). In like manner the messenger in Æschylus says of the seven Chieftains at Thebes, v. 55,

*κληρουμένους δ' ἔλειπον, ὥς πάλῳ λαχὼν
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πύλας ἄγοι λόχον.*

Indeed the ordinary sense of the word *κλῆρος* is so well ascertained, that it is needless to cite passages in illustration of it: and so far *κλῆρος* has no reference to any choice or preference of man, but expresses solely a determination by chance, over which the human will has no influence. What reason therefore is there for supposing that this word obtained a new signification when it was applied to political matters? In the Politics of Aristotle, offices determined by *κλῆρος* are frequently opposed to those determined by *αἵρεσις* (IV. 15, VI. 5); sometimes magistrates are to be selected by *κλῆρος* from a larger number nominated by *αἵρεσις* (II. 4)*: now if in these cases *κλῆρος* signified secret voting, and not appointment by the casting of lots, there would be no opposition between the two classes of magistrates, as *αἵρεσις* clearly denotes all kinds of election,

* By the change in the constitution of Florence which took place in 1324, the magistracies were likewise made *κληρωτοὶ ἐξ αἵρετῶν*: see Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. I. p. 301. ed. 4to.

whether by open or secret vote: yet the tendency of nominating public officers by κλήρος was so strongly marked, that Aristotle in his Rhetoric makes this the test of a democracy: ἔστι δὲ δημοκρατία μὲν πολιτεία ἐν ἣ κλήρῳ διανέμονται τὰς ἀρχάς, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ἐν ἣ οἱ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων (I. 8. 4): where the distinction between a democracy and an oligarchy plainly is, that in one the offices are determined by lot, in the other none are eligible except persons possessing a certain amount of property. If only those within the census were eligible, whether they were appointed by open or secret suffrages, the government, according to this definition, would have equally been an oligarchy. See also Aristot. Pol. iv. 9. The political sense of κλήρος is further determined by another passage in the Rhetoric of Aristotle, where, in speaking of illustrations, he says: παραβολὴ δὲ τὰ Σωκρατικά· οἷον εἴ τις λέγοι ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κληρωτοὺς ἄρχειν· ὅμοιον γὰρ ὥσπερ εἴ τις τοὺς ἀθλητὰς κληροίη μὴ οἱ δύνανται ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν, ἢ τῶν πλωτήρων ὃν τινα δεῖ κυβερνᾶν κληρώσειεν, ὥς δεόν τὸν λαχόντα ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον (II. 20. 4). This remark of Socrates, as we learn from Xenophon, was turned against him by his accusers, and brought forward as a proof of his disaffection to the state (Mem. i. 2. 9), where the expression is not κληροῦν but ἀπὸ κνάμου καθιστάναι, and not κληρωτός but κυαμεντός. Comp. Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 747. 2. Herod. vi. 109. Petit. Leg. Att. III. 22. But if we understand ἄρχων κληρωτός to mean a magistrate appointed by secret votes, the illustration used by Socrates would be inapplicable: for there would be nothing absurd in selecting the best athlete or the best steersman by *secret* vote: the absurdity consists in leaving them to be selected by *chance*. A ship's company in a storm would doubtless choose the best pilot to navigate the vessel, in whatever manner they gave their votes, if they were entitled to vote at all: but it would obviously endanger the ship, if the steerer was determined by drawing lots, or by a cast of the dice. So in another passage of the Memorabilia, magistrates κλήρῳ λαχόντες are opposed to those ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων αἰρεθέντες (III. 9. 10.); where αἰρεθεῖς does not mean elected by *open* votes, but *elected* generally by the judgment of men, as opposed to an appointment by pure

chance. So Aristotle says, that a king who did not reign for his subjects' good would be a κληρωτὸς βασιλεύς, i. e. a king who obtained his office by chance (Eth. Nic. VIII. 10. 2).

If, where there is so much conclusive evidence, one testimony could be more conclusive than another, a passage in the speech of Demosthenes against Boeotus περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος might properly be so called; where the orator dwells on the various inconveniences caused by two brothers of the same δῆμος bearing the same name. "In the first place (he says), when the state is filling any public office by lot (ἐὰν ἀρχὴν ἡντινοῦν ἡ πόλις κληροῖ), how will it be known which of the two is meant, if the name comes up? unless indeed some mark is added on the brazen tablet, and even then it cannot be determined to whom it refers, and each will contend that he is the person. Again, if one brother should persuade the other that he shall have the office, whatever happens; the lots will be cast with two tablets for one person, which is an offence punishable with death." pp. 997. 998: see also Harpocrat. in πινάκια. Now if κληρὸς here signified the vote by ballot, or any kind of vote whatever, there could not be any doubt which of two persons was intended, as an appeal to the voters would at once settle the question: the argument moreover about one persuading the other would be unmeaning, if the decision was effected by any other means than chance: nor would it have been made a capital offense for a single voter to give two votes, as in the large numbers of the Athenian assemblies one vote more or less would not be a matter of importance; whereas in the casting of lots, if the name of one person was written on two tablets, he would obviously have twice as good a chance as any other.

With regard to the Athenian diætetæ, whom the Journal of Education declares to have been elected by secret suffrage, Pollux speaks as follows: διαιτηταὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων ἐκληροῦντο, καὶ ἐπεκληροῦντο αὐτοῖς αἱ διαίται, καὶ ἀτιμία ἀφώριστο τῷ μὴ διαιτήσαντι τὴν ἐπικληρωθεῖσαν διαίταν, VIII. 126. Now if the diætetæ were appointed by the secret votes of the citizens, the causes proposed for their arbitration must likewise have been assigned to them by vote, and not, as all probability and analogy suggest, by lot. It cannot therefore be doubted that the

diætetae, as well as the causes referred to them, were determined by chance.

It appears that in the deliberative assemblies of Athens and other Greek states the votes were usually given openly, by χειροτονία, or a show of hands, whether for the election of magistrates or any other purpose: secret voting was the exception, and was only resorted to when peculiar security was desired. Hence Æschines in Timarch. p. 15. 10, opposes χειροτονηθεῖς to λαχών, leaving out the consideration of election by secret suffrage. But whenever the case of secret voting occurs, it is expressed by proper and definite terms, and never by the word, κληροῦν or λαγχάνειν. Thus the clause κρύβδην ψηφίζομένων τῶν βουλευτῶν occurs in a law in Æsch. in Timarch. p. 5. 40, the βουλευταὶ generally voting openly, by χειροτονία: see Demosth. in Androt. p. 599. 22. The difference between the silence of secret voting and the uproar of open suffrage is expressed in the oration of the false Demosthenes by the words, ἑτέραν τὴν κρύβδην ψῆφον τοῦ φανερώς θορύβου, p. 142. 25. After a foreigner had been made an Athenian citizen, it was necessary that at the next ecclesia more than 6000 citizens should confirm his admission by their secret votes (κρύβδην ψηφίζόμενοι), Pseudo-Demosth. in Neær. p. 1375. A similar law existed with regard to the ἄτιμοι and public debtors: Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 715. In the courts of justice too the dicasts or judges voted by ballot, that is, in such a manner that it could not be seen how each voted. That the votes in judicial proceedings were, in the ordinary course, given secretly at Megara appears from a passage of Thucydides; who states that, when the aristocratical party were restored in 424. B. C. by the Lacedæmonian influence, having obtained possession of the chief offices, they selected a hundred of their principal enemies, and compelled the people to *give their votes openly* (ψῆφον φανεράν διενεγκεῖν): by which means the accused were condemned and executed; and an oligarchy was established, iv, 74. At Athens we know, from numerous and detailed accounts, that the judges voted secretly. Every judge was furnished with two pebbles, distinguished by proper marks, and, when summoned by the crier, each went in turn to a raised platform, on which were two καδίσκοι

or urns, one of metal, the other of wood: the ball signifying the opinion he intended to express was then dropped into the metal urn, the other was placed in the wooden. When all had voted, the presiding officer emptied all the balls from the metal urn upon a table, and counted the two kinds. (See Meier and Schömann, *Attische Process*, p. 720—4. Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 345*). In the time of the Thirty Tyrants the judicial power was taken from the popular courts, and transferred to the senate, which had been packed by the new rulers (Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 11): and in order that the senators might exercise no discretion in the acquittal or condemnation of persons accused, the votes were given openly by laying the balls on two tables placed in front of the Thirty (Lysias in *Agorat*, p. 133. 7). In all these cases the *φανερὰ ψήφος* is opposed not to *κληροῦν* or *λαγχάνειν*, but to *κρύβδην ψηφίζεσθαι*: nor are terms in any way connected with the notion of lots or chance ever applied to the votes of the dicasts, although that subject is mentioned in very many places, and although it is certain that their votes were given secretly, or (to use the common phrase) that they voted by ballot.

With regard to the difficulty of managing the mechanical part of the process, suggested by the *Journal of Education*, it is as easy to conceive that certain public offices were divided by lot among the citizens of Athens, as that a lottery should be drawn containing 20000 tickets. There were complete lists of the Athenian citizens in the public registers; and the number would not have been too great for a lottery, even if all the citizens (which was not the case) had been eligible to all

* The pebble was dropped into the urn through a long conical tube, called *κημός* (see Photius in v. &c.); and as this tube was probably of some length, and the urn itself of considerable size, in order to enable several hundred persons to vote, the stone striking against the metal bottom made a sharp loud noise: which sound the Athenians imitated by the monosyllable *κόγξ*; as we learn from a well-known article of Hesychius, lately emended and explained by Lobeck, which has given occasion to so many mystical fancies: *κόγξ, ὁμοίως πάξ, ἐπιφώνημα τετελεσμένοις. καὶ τῆς δικαστικῆς ψήφου ἤχος, ὡς ὁ τῆς κλεψύδρας.* See *Aglaoph.* p. 776. 778.

magistracies from their 20th year, and had never been absent on foreign service.

“The Reform-bill is good for nought (said a would-be legislator the other day), without the ballot. Nothing is good for anything, without the ballot.” “And what’s the good of the ballot?” “Why! don’t you know that? you quite surprise me by your ignorance. The good of the ballot is this: that your name, and my name, and all our names, will be written on pieces of paper, and put into a box, and then the first that comes out is to go up as member to the Parliament: and so I shall have just as good a chance of being the member as the first lord in all the land.” The writer in the Journal of Education will perhaps smile at this speech, and say that the poor fellow was misled by an erroneous etymological fancy that *ballot* must be some kind of *lot*. An Athenian would tell him that if a blunder be inverted it still continues to be a blunder, and that, if a *ballot* be not a kind of *lot*, neither is a *lot* a kind of *ballot*.

G. C. L.

IMAGINARY CONVERSATION.

SOLON AND PISISTRATUS.

PISISTRATUS.

HERE is a proof, Solon, if any were wanting, that either my power is small, or my inclination to abuse it: you speak just as freely to me as formerly, and add unreservedly, which you never did before, the keenest sarcasms and the bitterest reproaches. Even such a smile as that, so expressive of incredulity and contempt, would arouse a desire of vengeance, difficult to controul, in any whom you could justly call impostor and usurper.

SOLON.

I do you no injustice, Pisistratus, which I should do if I feared you. Neither your policy nor your temper, neither your early education nor the society you have since frequented, and whose power over the mind and affections you cannot at once throw off, would permitt you to kill or imprison, or even to insult or hurt me. Such an action, you well know, would excite in the people of Athens as vehement a sensation as your imposture of the wounds, and you would lose your authority as rapidly as you acquired it. This however, you also know, is not the consideration which hath induced me to approach you, and to entreat your return, while the path is yet open, to reason and humanity.

PISISTRATUS.

What inhumanity, my friend, have I committed?

SOLON.

No deaths, no tortures, no imprisonments, no stripes: but worse than these; the conversion of our species into a lower; a crime which the poets never feigned, in the wild attempts of the Titans or others who rebelled against the gods, and against the order they established here below.

PISISTRATUS.

Why then should you feign it of me?

SOLON.

I do not feign it; and you yourself shall bear me witness, that no citizen is further removed from falsehood, from the perversion of truth by the heat of passion, than Solon. Choose between the friendship of the wise and the adulation of the vulgar. Choose, do I say, Pisistratus? no, you cannot: your choice is already made. Choose then between a city in the dust and a city flourishing.

PISISTRATUS.

How so? who could hesitate?

SOLON.

If the souls of the citizens are debased, who cares whether its walls and houses be still upright or thrown down? When free men become the property of one, when they are brought to believe that their interests repose on his alone, and must arise from them, their best energies are broken irreparably. They consider his will as the rule of their conduct, leading to emolument and dignity, securing from spoliation, from scorn, from contumely, from chains, and seize this compendious blessing (such they think it) without exertion and without reflexion. From which cause alone there are several ancient nations so abject, that they have not produced, in many thousand years, as many rational creatures, as we have seen together round one table in the narrowest lane of Athens.

PISISTRATUS.

But, Solon, you yourself are an example, ill treated as you have been, that the levity of the Athenian people requires a guide and leader.

SOLON.

There are those who by their discourses and conduct inflate and push forward this levity, that the guide and leader may be called for; and who then offer their kind services, modestly and by means of friends, in pity to the weaknesses

of their fellow-citizens; taking care not only of their follies, but also their little store of wisdom, putting it out to interest where they see fit, and directing how and where it shall be expended. Generous hearts! the Lacedemonians themselves, in the excess of their democracy, never were more zealous that corn and oil should be thrown into the common stock, than these are that minds should, and that no one swell a single line above another. Their own meanwhile are fully adequate to all necessary and useful purposes, and constitute them a superintending Providence over the rest.

PISISTRATUS.

Solon, I did not think you so addicted to derision: you make me join you. This in the latter part is a description of despotism; a monster of Asia, and not yet known even in the most uncivilized region of Europe. For the Thracians and others, who have chieftains, have no kings; much less despots. In speaking of them, we use the word carelessly, not thinking it worth our while to form names for such creatures, any more than to form collars and bracelets for them, or rings (if they use them) for their ears and noses.

SOLON.

Preposterous as this is, there are things more so, under our eyes: for instance, that the sound should become lame, the wise foolish, and this by no affliction of disease or age. You go further; and appear to wish that a man should become a child again: for what is it else, when he has governed himself, that he should go back to be governed by another? and for no better reason than because, as he is told, that other has been knocked down and stabbed. Incontrovertible proofs of his strength, his prudence, and the love he has been capable of conciliating in those about him!

PISISTRATUS.

Solon! it would better become the gravity of your age, the dignity of your character, and the office you assume of adviser, to address me with decorous and liberal moderation, and to treat me as you find me.

SOLON.

So small a choice of words is left us, when we pass out of atticism into barbarism, that I know not whether you, distinguished as you are both for the abundance and the selection of them, would call yourself in preference *despot* or *tyrant*. The latter is usually the most violent, at least in the beginning; the former the most pernicious. Tyrants, like ravens and vultures, are solitary: they either are swept off, or languish and pine away, and leave no brood in their places. Despots, as the origin of them is amid the swamps and wildernesses, take deeper root, and germinate more broadly in the loose putrescent soil, and propagate their likenesses for several generations; a brood which (such is the power of habitude) does not seem monstrous, even to those whose corn, wine, and oil, it swallows up every day, and whose children it consumes in its freaks and festivals. I am ignorant under what number of them, at the present day, mankind in various countries lies prostrate; just as ignorant as I am, how many are the deserts and caverns of the earth, or the eddies and whirlpools of the sea; but I should not be surprised to find it stated, that, in Asia and Africa, there may be a dozen or more of all sizes. Europe has never yet been amazed at such a portent, either in the most corrupted or the most uncivilized of her nations, as a hereditary chief in possession of absolute power.

PISISTRATUS.

The first despots were tyrannical and cruel.

SOLON.

And so the last will be. This is wanting, on some occasions, to arouse a people from the lethargy of servitude; and therefor I would rather see the cruelest usurper than the mildest despot. Under him men lose the dignity of their nature; under the other they recover it.

PISISTRATUS.

Hereditary despots too have been dethroned.

SOLON.

Certainly: for, besotted as those must be who have endured them, some subject at last hath had the hardihood and spirit to kick that fellow in the face and trample on him, who insists that the shoe must fit him because it fitted his father and grandfather, and that, if his foot will not enter, he will pare and rasp it.

PISISTRATUS.

The worst of wickedness is that of bearing hard on the unfortunate; and near it is that of running down the fortunate: yet these are the two commonest occupations of mankind. We are despised if we are helpless; we are teased by petulance and tormented by reprehension if we are strong. One tribe of barbarians would drag us into their own dry deserts, and strip us to the skin: another would pierce us with arrows for being naked. What is to be done?

SOLON.

Simpler men run into no such perplexities. Your great wisdom, O Pisistratus! will enable you in some measure to defend your conduct; but your heart is the more vulnerable from its very greatness.

PISISTRATUS.

I intend to exert the authority that is conferred on me by the people, in the maintenance of your laws, knowing no better.

SOLON.

Better there may be, but you will render worse necessary; and would you have it said hereafter by those who read them, *Pisistratus was less wise than Solon?*

PISISTRATUS.

It must be said so; for none among men has enjoyed so high a character as you, in wisdom and integrity.

SOLON.

Either you lie now, Pisistratus, or you lied when you abolished my institutions.

PISISTRATUS.

They exist, and shall exist, I swear to you.

SOLON.

Yes, they exist like the letters in a burnt paper, which are looked down on from curiosity, and just legible, while the last of the consuming fire is remaining; but they crumble at a touch, and indeed fly before it, weightless and incoherent.

Do you desire, Pisistratus, that your family shall inherit your anxieties? If you really feel none yourself, which you never will persuade me, nor (I think) attempt it, still you may be much happier, much more secure and tranquil, by ceasing to possess what you have acquired of late, provided you cease early; for long possession of any property makes us anxious to retain it, and insensible, if not to the cares it brings with it, at least to the real cause of them. Tyrants will never be persuaded that their alarms and sorrows, their perplexity and melancholy, are the product of tyranny: they will not attribute a tittle of them to their own obstinacy and perverseness, but look for it all in another's. They would move every thing and be moved by nothing; and yet lighter things move them than any other particle of mankind.

PISISTRATUS.

You are talking, Solon, of mere fools.

SOLON.

The worst of fools, Pisistratus, are those who once had wisdom. Not to possess what is good is a misfortune; to throw it away is a folly: but to change what we know hath served us, and would serve us still, for what never has and never can, for what on the contrary hath always been pernicious to the holder, is the action of an incorrigible idiot. Observations on arbitrary power can never be made usefully to its possessors. There is not a foot-page about them at the bath whose converse on this subject is not more reasonable than mine would be. I could adduce no argument which he would not controvert, by the magical words *practical things* and *present times*: a shrug of the shoulder would upset all that my meditations have taught me, in half a century of laborious inquiry and intense thought. *These are*

theories, he would tell his master, fit for Attica before the olive was sown among us. Old men must always have their way... will their own grey beards never teach them that time changes things?

One fortune hath ever befallen those whom the indignant gods have cursed with despotical power: to feed upon falsehood, to loathe and sicken at truth, to avoid the friendly, to discard the wise, to suspect the honest, and to abominate the brave. Like grubs in rotten kernels, they coil up for safety in dark hollowness, and see nothing but death in bursting from it. Altho they place violence in the highest rank of dignities and virtues, and draw closely round their bodies those whose valour, from the center to the extremities, should animate the state, yet they associate the most intimately with singers, with buffoons, with tellers of tales, with prodigies of eating and drinking, with mountebanks, with diviners. These captivate and enthrall their enfeebled and abject spirits; and the first cry that rouses them from their torpour is the cry that demands their blood. Then would it appear by their countenances, that all the terroure they had scattered among thousands, had come secretly back again into its vast repository, and was issuing forth from every limb and feature, from every pore, from every hair upon their heads.

What is man, at last, O Pisistratus, when he is all he hath ever wished to be! the fortunate, the powerful, the supreme! Life in its fairest form (such he considers it) comes only to flatter and deceive him. Disappointments take their turn, and harass him; weakness and maladies cast him down: pleasures catch him again when he rises from them, to misguide and blind and carry him away: ambition struggles with those pleasures, and only in struggling with them seems to be his friend: they marr one another, and distract him: enemies encompass him; associates desert him; rivalries thwart, persecutions haunt him: another's thoughts molest and injure him; his own do worse than join with them: and yet he shudders and shrinks back at nothing so much as the creaking of that door by which alone there is any escape.

Pisistratus! O Pisistratus! do we tire out the patience of mankind, do we prey upon our own hearts, for this?

Does Nature crave it? Does Wisdom dictate it? Can Power avert it? Descend then from a precipice, it is difficult to stand, it is impossible to repose on. Take the arm that would lead you and support you back, and restore you to your friends and country. He who places himself far above them, is (any child might tell you) far from them. What on earth can be imagined so horrible and disheartening, as to live without ever seeing one creature of the same species! Being a tyrant, or despot, you are in this calamity. Imprisonment in a dungeon could not reduce you to it: false friends have done that for you which enemies could but attempt. If such is the harvest of their zeal, when they are unsated and alert, what is that which remains to be gathered in by you, when they are full and weary? Bitterness; the bitterness of infamy! And how will you quench it? By swallowing the gall of self-reproach!

Let me put to you a few questions, near to the point: you will answer them, I am confident, easily and affably.

Pisistratus, have you not felt yourself the happier, when, in the fulness of your heart, you have made a large offering to the gods?

PISISTRATUS.

Solon, I am not impious: I have made many such offerings to them, and have always been the happier.

SOLON.

Did they need your sacrifice?

PISISTRATUS.

They need nothing from us mortals; but I was happy in the performance of what I have been taught is my duty.

SOLON.

Piously, virtuously, and reasonably said, my friend. The gods did not indeed want your sacrifice: they, who give everything, can want nothing. The Athenians do want a sacrifice from you: *they* have an urgent necessity of something; the necessity of that very thing which you have taken from them, and which it can cost you nothing to replace. You have always been happier, you confess, in giving to the gods what

you could have yourself used in your own house: believe me, you will not be less so in giving back to your fellow citizens what you have taken out of theirs, and what you very well know they will seize when they can, together with your property and life. You have been taught, you tell me, that sacrifice to the gods is a duty: be it so: but who taught you it? Was it a wiser man than you or I? Or was it at a time of life when your reason was more mature than at present, or your interests better understood? No good man ever gave any thing without being the more happy for it, unless to the undeserving, nor ever took any thing away without being the less so. But here is anxiety and suspicion, a fear of the strong, a subjection to the weak; here is fawning, in order to be fawned on again, as among suckling whelps half awake. He alone is the master of his fellow men, who can instruct and improve them; while he who makes the people another thing from what it was, is master of that other thing, but not of the people. And supposing we could direct the city exactly as we would, is our greatness to be founded on this? A ditcher may do greater things: he may turn a torrent (a thing even more turbid and more precipitate) by his ditch. A sudden increase of power, like a sudden increase of blood, gives pleasure; but, the new excitement being once gratified, the pleasure ceases.

I do not imagine the children of the powerful to be at any time more contented than the children of others, altho I concede that the powerful themselves may be so for some moments, paying however very dearly for those moments, by more in quantity and in value. Give a stranger, who has rendered you no service, four talents: the suddenness of the gift surprises and delights him: take them away again, saying, *Excuse me; I intended them for your brother; still, not wholly to disappoint you, I give you two*.. what think you; do you augment or diminish that man's store of happiness?

PISISTRATUS.

It must depend on his temper and character: but I think in nearly all instances you would diminish it.

SOLON.

Certainly. When we cannot have what we expect, we are dissatisfied; and what we have ceases to afford us pleasure. We are like infants: deprive them of one toy, and they push the rest away, or break them, and turn their faces from you, crying inconsolably.

If you desire an increase of happiness, do not look for it, O Pisistratus, in an increase of power. Follow the laws of nature on the earth. Spread the seeds of it far and wide: your crop shall be in proportion to your industry and liberality. What you concentrate in yourself, you stifle; you propagate what you communicate.

Still silent?... Who is at the door?

PISISTRATUS.

The boys.

SOLON.

Come, my little fugitives, turn back again hither! come to me, Hippias and Hipparchus. I wish you had entered earlier; that you might have witnessed my expostulation with your father, and that your tender age might have produced upon him the effect my declining one has failed in. Children, you have lost your patrimony. Start not, Pisistratus! I do not tell them that you have squandered it away: no; I will never teach them irreverence to their parent: aid me, I entreat you, to teach them reverence. Do not, while the thing is recoverable, deprive them of filial love, of a free city, of popular esteem, of congenial sports, of kind confidence, of that which all ages run in pursuit of, equals. Children seek those of the same age, men those of the same condition. Misfortunes come upon all: who can best ward them off? not those above us nor those below, but those on a level with ourselves. Tell me, Pisistratus, what arm hath ever raised up the pillow of a dying despot? He has loosened the bonds of nature: in no hour, and least of all in the last, can they be strengthened and drawn together. It is a custom, as you know, for you have not yet forgotten all our customs, to conduct youths with us when we mark the boundaries of our lands, that they may give their testimony on any suit about

them in time to come. Unfortunate boys! their testimony cannot be received: the landmarks are removed from their own inheritance by their own father. Armed men are placed in front of them for ever, and their pleasantest walks throughout life must be guarded by armed men. Who would endure it? one of the hardest things to which the captive, or even the criminal, is condemned. The restraints which every one would wish away, are eternally about them; those which the best of us require thro life, are removed from them on entering it. Their passions not only are uncontrolled, but excited, fed, and flattered, by all around, and mostly by their teachers. Do not expose them to worse monsters than the young Athenians were exposed to in the time of Theseus. Never hath our city, before or since, endured such calamity, such ignominy. A king, a conqueror, an injured and exasperated enemy, imposed them: shall a citizen, shall a beneficent man, shall a father, devise more cruel and more shameful terms, and admitt none but his own offspring to fulfill them? That monster perhaps was fabulous..O that these were so! and that pride, injustice, lust, were tractable to any clue or conquerable by any courage of despotism!

Weak man! will sighing suffocate them? will holding down the head confound them?

Hippias and Hipparchus, you are now the children of Solon, the orphans of Pisistratus. If I have any wisdom, it is the wisdom of experience: it shall cost you nothing from me, from others much. I present to you a fruit which the gods themselves have fenced round, not only from the animals, but from most men; one which I have nurtured and watched day and night for seventy years, reckoning from the time when my letters and duties were first taught me; a lovely, sweet, and wholesome fruit, my children, and which, like the ambrosia of the blessed in Olympus, grows by participation and enjoyment.

You receive it attentively and gratefully: your father, who ought to know its value, listens and rejects it. I am not angry with him for this; and, if I censure him before you, I blame myself also in his presence. Too frequently have I repeated my admonition: I am throwing my time away..I who have so little left me: I am consuming my

heart with sorrow... when sorrow and solitudes should have ceased... and for whom? for him principally who will derive no good from it, and will suffer none to flow on others, not even on those the dearest to him. Think, my children, how unwise a man is Solon, how hard a man Pisistratus, how mistaken in both are the Athenians. Study to avoid our errors, to correct our faults, and, by simplicity of life, by moderation in your hopes and wishes, to set a purer and (grant it, heaven!) a more stable example than we have done.

W. S. L.

ON THE HISTORICAL REFERENCES, AND THE ALLUSIONS IN HORACE.

FROM THE GERMAN OF BUTTMANN.

IT is an opinion cherisht more or less by almost all the commentators on Horace, that we are destitute of one of the chief requisites for understanding this favorite poet of all ages, from being almost entirely unacquainted with the occasions that gave rise to the several pieces, and with a number of circumstances references to which are sometimes found in particular passages, sometimes run through a whole poem. For this complaint there are two grounds, one of which applies to all the ancient authors. Every writer has a certain circle of historical facts before him, which he conceives he may assume to be notorious to all persons of education among his countrymen. These are mostly sufficiently remarkable in themselves to come within the sphere embraced by the learned even of other countries in afterages. That chance however, to the controll of which all traditions are subject, will often efface these features of former times, or conceal them from our view. And thus there are confessedly passages in the prosewriters as well as the poets, in Virgil as well as Homer, in Horace as well as Pindar, the references in which we are still unable to understand. To complain of difficulties of this kind in Horace more than in other writers, nay, I would say, to complain of them at all, is senseless. These deficiencies are among that infinite multitude of chasms in our knowledge, by which in every department of science we are tempted to explore their recesses. The objects, in the room of which we find these gaps, belong to that vast mass of things which human knowledge is destined to comprehend: such of them as fly or seem to fly from us, we must strive unremittingly to catch. Fortunate combinations

have already brought many lost things to light in a way which is not only more honorable but also more beneficial to the human mind, than if they had come down to us by means of distinctly intelligible records.

Poems however like Horace's, it is true, do not confine themselves to such matters as are deserving of public notoriety: we everywhere find touches taken from private and social life, which from their nature have been consigned, and could not but be consigned, to oblivion. These form the other ground of the forementioned complaint: and it is mainly on account of these that the ancient grammarians are so vehemently censured for having given us so little information, and in that little moreover so much that is erroneous. It would be absurd to deny that many of the poems, many scattered passages in them would have a fresh charm for us, if we were acquainted with certain circumstances, under which the poet composed them, or which were floating before his mind. But what presumption prompts us to regret an object of luxury, as if it were an object of necessity! For so far as necessity goes, I think I may maintain that we may be reasonably expected to know, or to be able to know, all that Horace meant to be known by his readers. I say merely, *we may be expected to know*,—partly on account of the deficiencies admitted above, which are common to all writings, and so cannot afford a ground for any special complaint,—partly on account of some other limitations, which we shall soon perceive to be unimportant. Here in the first place it is necessary to draw a line between the lyrical poems and the satirical ones in the widest sense of the word. With regard to the former my proposition, I am convinced, holds true to the fullest extent. In all other branches of poetry the objects spoken of are more or less an essential part of the poem: but in lyrical poetry the poem is its own end, and the objects mentioned in it fall so much into the background, that they seem, like the words, to belong merely to its materials and form. A part of these objects the reader becomes acquainted with by the ordinary processes of education. Whatever besides is requisite to the understanding of a lyrical poem, the poet must contrive to convey to him in the course of the work itself, or, in proportion as he fails to do

so, it falls short of what it ought to be. A note, a scholium on a lyrical poem cannot contain anything but some recondite piece of lore, which we might do very well without, or some explanation for the sake of such readers as are deficient in general information. And in the spirit of the ancients I will add, that every title prefixt to a poem with any other view than to serve as a name by which to call it—as for instance the *Edipus* or the *Eneid*—every title which is designed to give any hint, however slight, to the reader, is spurious. Had the poet himself placed it there with this purpose, it would have been a part of the poem standing out of the poem: it would have been an absurdity, and the poet so far would have been no poet¹.

Far the largest part of the titles to Horace's poems consist of *ad* with the name of the person to whom the poem is addrest. This is just our own mode of dedication, which we ascribe to the ancients. It is true that, when we dedicate a work to anybody, if it be a volume, there must at least be a leaf, if a poem, a title, announcing the name to which we wish to do honour: and thus a dedication becomes an empty form, devoid of any real meaning. The ingenious practice of the ancients, in speaking on a matter which toucht their heart nearly, was to fancy that some person whom they loved or esteemed was standing by them, and to shape their thoughts as if they were talking to him. This could not be exprest in a better or livelier way than by a simple vocative, which they introduced in a suitable place, but the pleasing effect of which is altogether missed, if we have already had to read the name at full length at the head of the poem. Let a person for instance only read the odes to *Fuscus* and to *Postumus* (I. 22, II. 14), and he

¹ Though examples of such titles are met with in the works of genuine poets of our own times, they are no bar to this sentence. The objection stated in the text holds against them in full force; and it is impossible to justify them: an excuse however may be found. Our poets, who in every successive generation have composed their works more and more for the eye, instead of for the ear, being misled too by the grammarians who gave the ancient authors, the sources of our modern literature, their present outward form, have habitually learnt to look upon the title of a poem as really a part of it, though lying beyond the rules of the metre.

will feel the truth of my assertion. When Horace, in copying a pretty Greek poem, such as

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσης πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω,

renders it word for word in this manner,

Nullam, *Vare*, sacra vite prius severis arborem,

one clearly sees that his sole view in this address was to give his imitation a livelier air, and that a title, which makes the poem look like a poetical epistle actually sent to Varus, and called forth by some real occurrence, is a complete absurdity. From these remarks it is clear in the first place that, like every title of whatever kind, which points out the object of a poem any further than that object is distinctly and fully exprest in the poem itself, every dedicatory title, which is not grounded on a vocative of this sort, is utterly wrong, and has grown out of some blunder or some arbitrary interpolation. Of the titles of this class, found in the manuscripts of Horace, I will only here mention the one retained in most of the editions before the sixteenth ode of the first book, *ad Tyndaridem*. This is the well-known palinode beginning, *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior*, which, Acro tells us, is an imitation of the palinode of Stesichorus to Helen. The editors, and even Gesner among the rest, hold this to be the reason why Horace, as is indicated by the title, gave his offended mistress the name of Tyndaris, and interpret the first line as an allusion to Leda and Helen. Tempting as this illusion may be, it soon melts entirely away into air. For first the ode itself merely contains the descriptive invocation just quoted, without the name of any person in the vocative: nor is there anything at all singular in this; the 5th ode in the second book, to take an instance, is just a similar anonymous address. On the other hand the very next ode, i. 17, is actually an invitation to a mistress called *Tyndaris*; and thus one easily sees how the grammarians got this name, and put it before the preceding ode, which seemed to them to be in need of a title. But Acro's statement moreover has been too inconsiderately adopted. The beginning of Stesichorus' palinode has been preserved in a well-known passage of Plato's *Phædrus*, p. 243. a: Οὐκ

ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος, οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσέλμοις, οὐδ' ἴκεο Πέργανον Τροίας. Consequently the idea of anything like an actual imitation is altogether out of the question: for surely in an imitation such a celebrated commencement, which besides contained the substance of the whole recantation, must at least in some measure have been retained or copied. But further, there is nothing whatever in the whole ode that we can suppose to have been borrowed from the Greek poem. Stesichorus, as we see, declared in explicit terms, and going into details, that there was no truth in what earlier poets, and he himself following in their train, had related to the shame of Helen; and by so doing he appeased the wrath of the heroine, who had deprived him of his eyesight. In our ode nothing is retracted, except by the word *recantatis* at the end (*Fias recantatis amica Opprobriis*): Horace merely confesses that a lampoon which he had written formerly was reprehensible, and pleads the anger of youth in his excuse: whereupon the chief part of the ode is filled with a description of the workings of anger. Every one must see how illsuited this would have been to the poem of Stesichorus, who had not sinned against the heroine out of anger, but had merely repeated the stories of the old bards in his own compositions. Some ancient commentator therefore must no doubt have been led by this ode, which contained a recantation, to speak of palinodes generally, and of that celebrated example of them; and ignorant scholiasts misinterpreted him to say that Horace's ode was an imitation. And this mistake may have promoted the reception of the title *ad Tyndaridem*.

With regard to those odes however which do actually contain an address to a person mentioned by name in them, all that posterity wanted, and what the earliest grammarians who edited them ought to have supplied, was a note on each of these vocatives, stating more precisely, what in Horace's time was needless, who the person alluded to was. This too is what an editor of good taste in our days should confine himself to, altogether omitting all the titles of this sort.

The case no doubt is different with regard to those odes in which the poet does not merely address a real historical personage, but in which he evidently takes his subject from

some circumstance connected with him, or from some peculiar mood of his mind, and, while he affectionately praises or describes him, thus gives the whole poem more or less of an individual character, notwithstanding the general purposes he may at the same time have in view. The titles even to these indeed are by no means genuine: but, as guideposts for enabling the reader to make out at once where he is, such titles as *ad Pompejum Grosphum* (II. 7), *ad Lollium* (IV. 9), *ad Navem Virgilii* (I. 3), are just as serviceable as *Augusti laudes* (IV. 5), *Drusi laudes* (IV. 4), and the like; although it would be better if even these stood in a table of contents at the beginning. The absurdity of the present titles, taken collectively, appears also from this,—that, while, as we have just seen, the accidental occurrence of a vocative in an ode is made the ground for heading it with a name very slightly, if at all, connected with its subject, when the poet on the other hand couches his thoughts in such a form that the name he is doing honour to appears only in the third person, although the whole ode relates to him, like that on Numida's return (I. 36), it is still left without any title, as if it were on some general topic.

No mistake however can be more unfortunate, than that of looking on the odes of Horace as a number of occasional poems, each of which, at the time when it was composed, was grounded, as a matter of course, on some real occurrence, and could not be understood to the full extent of its meaning except at the moment and by the persons concerned in it, though Horace publisht it some time after, because it flattered one of his friends, or because it happened to be lying in his portfolio. The only end that Horace kept constantly in view, was to give the Grecian lyre to Latium. With this design he took many of the best subjects, with which the Greek models furnisht him, fitted for being treated lyrically, and imitated those models, but in a genial spirit of imitation: at times, as one may fairly presume of such a writer, his own imagination supplied him with like subjects: now and then too—for who will deny this?—incidents in his own life, or among his friends, afforded him materials which he made use of for a similar purpose. When in the course of a few years his pen had thrown off a number of such essays,

he collected a portion, though, as we know and see, only a small one, of his earlier and later pieces, which by steadily and laboriously polishing them he had brought near to what he considered as perfection, and, uniting them in a book, now at length sent them out into the world. Nobody, it is to be hoped, will fancy that each of these collections was conveyed by Horace with a number of scholiums; or that high and low in Rome were familiarly acquainted with all the anecdotal incidents, with all the relations of domestic life or of gallantry, which gave rise to each several ode, or that our poet, whose grave and noble purpose we have just stated, went about his task so negligently, as to bind up even a single flower in the posy he placed before the public, the real excellence of which could not be fully discerned without a knowledge of such trivialities as the Romans were no less ignorant of than we are. The reader who looks at all the allusions in Horace's lyrical poems, with the exception of the patriotical ones, from an ideal point of view, will, so far at least, be fully able to relish every beauty that they contain. And are there not many poetical representations, from which a person taking an ideal view of them must derive a higher enjoyment, than such as know all about their real source, a source not always of the purest kind? But we are so far from appreciating the good fortune that has befallen us, of only seeing the ancient poets in a world of their own creation, that, even where no incident of any kind can be extorted from the contents of a poem, we at least remark, to the inexpressible disgust of every soundminded reader, how such an ode may perhaps have been offered to such a patron at a banquet, or such a one was sent wrapt round a present to such a girl's house, or such another was suddenly recited at a well-seized moment to a friend. Can we let nothing lie in the grave, that we even embody nonentities?

This preposterous attempt to treat the poet as a historian, to set up the shadowy incidents found in each poem as a reality, and over and above this to patch them up by combining it with others, is at the same time in many ways injurious to the dignity of his character: it burthens him with all the weaknesses, humoursomenesses, and contradictions, which are presumed in the situations his fancy copied from

others, or itself created, but which frequently are only deduced from combining several poems together. Critics have not been restrained by shame from making Horace himself, because such is the picture given in the first ode of the fourth book, in his fiftieth year gravely make up his mind to cure himself of his amorous weaknesses, and in the midst of these resolutions bedew his grey beard with tears of longing after the beautiful Ligurinus; and that too after having set him to play the same farce a little before, on occasion of the twenty-sixth ode of the third book, as the lover of Chloe. A poet must beware of indulging in variations of his poetical ideas: a time will come when they will be laid to his charge as inconsistencies in his own character. The great number and variety of girls and boys mentioned, our poet must have fancied, would have screened him from the imputation of having real persons in view. But no! our age has not failed to combine this with the *mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores*, which the poet in jest makes his slave taunt him with; and so we have ascertained that these names are a small selection from the rest, whom the poet deemed worthy of his poetical vein, or perchance to become the partners of his immortality.

That the Greek names which occur in Horace's odes are to be regarded on the whole as fictitious, is clearly manifest to any one who merely passes a few of them in review. In i. 22, a wolf appears just as the poet is singing of his *Lalage*: in ii. 5, a friend is advised to put off making love to *Lalage*, until the girl is grown up. In i. 19 and 30, Horace is fervently in love with *Glycera*: when we turn over the leaf, we find him, in i. 33, exhorting Tibullus not to write such piteous ditties about the cruel *Glycera*. I know not how it has happened that the commentators here have found no difficulty in the recurrence of this name, but merely in the circumstance that, though we have Tibulluses elegies, there is not a word in them about any *Glycera*. But why do I call it a difficulty? one of them finds out that she is Tibulluses Nemesis, another that she is his Neæra; and Jani has a still better shift. *Potuit alia esse, quam post ceteras amaret; in quam quas elegias fecit, non amplius exstent. Non laborandum est in talibus.* In i. 8, the poet scolds *Lydia*

for making her lover, Sybaris, so effeminate: in this ode there is not a spark of jealousy; which however flames up in i. 13, on occasion of the violent love between *Lydia* and the boy Telephus: in i. 25, *Lydia* is grown old, and the young men no longer visit her: but when we come to iii. 19, the love for *Lydia* gives rise to the incomparable dialogue, *Donec gratus eram tibi*. The ancients had the skill to construct such poems, so that each speech tells by whom it is spoken: but we let the editors treat us all our lives as school-boys, and interline such dialogues after the fashion of our plays with the names. To their sedulity we are indebted for the alternation of the lyrical name *Lydia* with the name *Horatius* in this exquisite work of art: and yet even in an English poem we should be offended at seeing *Collins* by the side of *Phyllis*. In the other form of this name, *Lyde*, one has the clearest evidence that Horace, when he used the same name more than once in odes standing quite apart from each other, did not even attach the same character to it. But even this plain hint of the way in which he meant the historical form of his odes to be understood, has been in vain. In ii. 11, *Lyde* is a *scortum*, who, though living in a retired house, wants only a signal from a young drinking-party to come and join their revel: in iii. 11 (that is, if we follow the chronology of the publication of these poems, some years later) Horace calls upon Mercury himself to move the cruel heart of *Lyde* by the example of the Danaids. Jani in the discharge of his duty as a commentator refers the youthful reader of this passage to the former ode. This, if there was a grain of meaning in it, can only have meant that the poet has here polisht up a much earlier piece, written in the days when *Lyde* was still coy. At the same time however he remarks that in the 28th ode of the same book she seems to have grown rather old and even grave. But when he comes to the latter ode he repents of this overhasty note. This last *Lyde*, whose *munita sapientia* does not bring out the wine-flask quickly enough for the jovial bard, strikes him as much too soberminded for a woman of pleasure; and he is convinced from the tone of the whole ode that *Lyde* here is merely an assumed name for a *matrona Romana nobilis, honesta, docta eadem, item valde gravis ac severa, ceterum*

amica (decoro sensu) Horatii. It must not be concealed however that Jani's great master preceded him in taking these historical views: and this authority will serve as an excuse for contending thus minutely against a procedure the absurdity of which many would have seen the moment it was pointed out to them. That the names of mistresses in Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, which run through a series of poems, are of a somewhat different kind, may be easily perceived. But the eighth elegy in the first book of Tibullus is addrest to a certain *Pholoë*, not connected with the poet, who rebukes her for her affected prudery toward the young *Marathus*. It is possible that here too he had real persons in his eye.. it is possible, but perfectly immaterial: and yet Heyne, for the sake of saying something about the matter, turned over his Horace, and drew up the following incomprehensible note: *Pholoë inter claras ejus aetatis puellas etiam ex Horatio nota est, ubi, I. Carm. 33. 7, aspera puella Cyrum fastidit, alium mollem puerum; et II. 5. 17, est ea Pholoë fugax. Chloridis eam filiam fuisse idem Horatius colligere jubet nos, III. 15. 7, 8.* It is worth while to look at these passages of Horace. The first is this: *Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida Cyri torret amor; Cyrus in asperam Declinat Pholoën; sed prius Appulis Jungentur capreae lupis Quam turpi Pholoë peccet adultero:* whence Broukhusius discovers that Cyrus is the real name of Tibulluses Marathus. In II. 5. 17, it is said that Lalage, though as yet too young, will hereafter be an object of love, *quantum non Pholoë fugax, Non Chloris, albo sic humero nitens.* And in III. 15. 7, Chloris is warned to desist from her youthful gallantries by the words: *Non si quid Pholoën satis, Et te, Chlorig, decet: filia rectius Expugnat juvenum domos.* How can the virtuous, timid Pholoë be the same as this one, who yet seems to be very young, since her mother is still carrying on intrigues? And this mother, is she the same Chloris, who in the other ode is spoken of as just on a par with Pholoë? But these prejudices of the commentators had taken such fast hold even of Heyne, that they carried him along with them over all these inconsistencies².

² Mitscherlich, in the argument to Od. I. 16, mentions a curious instance of this strange propensity to convert Horace's girls into real personages. It relates to the abovementioned Tyndaris. An Englishman, John Whitefield,

Among the Greek names of favorite girls however that of *Cinara*—IV. 1. 3, 4: *Non sub qualis eram bonae Sub regno Cinarae*—is remarkable from its recurring in the epistles in such a manner that it can hardly refer to a merely poetical person: I. 7. 27: *Reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum, et Inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae*. And again, I. 14. 33, speaking of himself, *Quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci*. From these passages, combined with Od. IV. 13. 22, *sed Cinarae breves Annos fata dederunt*, it seems very probable that this name was given by Horace to a real girl, whom he had loved in his early youth. But is it not also remarkable that this very name never comes in except incidentally, just in the way in which people allude to any wellknown fact, and that there is not a single ode address to it? True, she died early, while Horace's lyrical poems belong to his maturer years. But the only way in which critics have been able to maintain the reality of many incidents, startling to an ordinary reader of the odes, has been by assuming that there are youthful poems among them, which Horace brushed up later in life: and this seems in fact to be confirmed by scattered chronological allusions found in particular odes, for instance in II. 7. This exception only confirms our rule, that all such girls are to be regarded as poetical personages, unless Horace's poems themselves contain some distinct evidence to the contrary.

The same conclusion however which holds good with regard to these, we must needs admit also with regard to the much less numerous list of boys; for instance with regard to *Ligurinus*, and to the *Lycidas* mentioned in the ode to Sestius, I. 4, as the favorite of all the *juventus*, who stands there in so purely poetical a light. For that on the other hand, when a Greek name is introduced, in an ode address to a

has written a separate dissertation entitled, *Conjectures on the Tyndaris of Horace*, 1777. 4. An inscription in Fabretti, in which Julia Tyndaris, a freedwoman of the Thracian king Rhœmetalces, is spoken of as the proprietress of a hereditary burial-place, was too tempting for him not to make out that this must be the very Tyndaris mentioned in the titles to Horace's two odes, and so she becomes a Thracian woman and a poetess. Nevertheless she is also *Thressa Chloe*, and *Venus marina*, and *Sidonia Chloe*, and the authoress of the ode to Rome commonly ascribed to Erinne.

Roman, in such wise as to be connected with the main subject of the poem, like that of the deeply mourned *Mystes* in the ode to Valgius, II, 9,—that in such cases, I say, a name of this kind, whether real or fictitious, must apply to a real person,—that generally speaking several of the unknown names in Horace, as in other poets, may refer to real persons,—who will deny? This no way impairs the consistency of their poetical character; for even the real persons stand in the light of merely ideal ones in the eyes of those for whom these poems were designed³. Who on the other hand will fail to perceive that the *Cyrus* whom we have just seen between Lycoris and Pholoë, and who also appears in I. 17, in connexion with Tyndaris, and, I confess, under very similar colours, is a poetical person? Who will deny that what holds of Lydia, applies also to *Telephus*, the *puer furens* whose *cervix rosea* and *cerea brachia* inflame this very Lydia with a passion like that described in I. 13? When therefore in the fourth book, written at a much later period, in the eleventh ode, in which the poet in the tone of a person now grown old addresses Phyllis as his last love, we again meet with *Telephus* in this strophe—

Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
Non tuæ sortis juvenem, puella
Dives et lasciva, tenetque grata
Compede vinctum—

are we a bit better warranted in assuming that there was but one *Telephus*, than before that there was but one *Lydia*, one *Lyde*, or one *Pholoë*? In fine there is also an ode addressed to *Telephus* (III. 19), where we still have the image of a handsome youth who is successful in love (*Puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero Tempestiva petit Rhode*); but at the same time he is engaged in learned researches about the antiquities of Greece. Acro's expression, *Telephum Graecum poetam*, is merely a natural inference from the mythological

³ Jani does his utmost to prevent this, and in the case of *Mystes* by the most insipid of all conjectures, namely that he was probably an excellent lad, whom Valgius had adopted, *et cui Mysten agnomen domesticum privatim dederit, quod initiatus esset certis quibusdam mysteriis, forte Musarum, cum in eo Valgius poeticas dotes animadvertisset.*

topics mentioned as the objects of these inquiries, especially from the line, *Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio*. Modern commentators have filled up the details of the picture. Telephus is made out to be a Greek youth of rank, who lives in Rome on his income, is fond of antiquarian studies, and when he is once buried in them is hardly to be torn away from his books,—with more of the same idle babble. Those good old scholars, Gerard Vossius and Fabricius, never dreamt of anything of the sort: else they would not have failed to enrich their literary histories, in which they carefully stick in every name they can pick up, with that of this Telephus. But it also looks rather ill, that this wellbred learned Greek, who lived on such intimate terms with Horace, is never heard of in any other place. The best information about him may be gleaned from the other two odes: Telephus is a poetical name, which Horace uses when it suits his purpose, as here for instance, where he wanted such a one to give an air of individuality to an ode beginning with the humorous reproof: “you tell us a great deal about the race of Codrus and of Eacus, and about the Trojan war; but as to how, where, and on what we are to dine today, you don’t say a word.” This is so clear, that this ode written to a poetical Telephus would warrant us, were any warrant requisite, in drawing the same inference with regard to *Thaliarchus*, to whom the ninth ode of the first book is addrest—though neither the palpably poetical character of his name (*rex convivii*), nor the lines which are almost literally translated from Alcæus, deterred Jani from fancying that Horace, when he wrote this little poem, was at Thaliarchuses country-house near Soracte:—and so might it with regard to *Xanthias*, the Phocian, in II. 4, whom this national appellative⁴ does not turn into a real person, any more than a similar one

⁴ The editors, who in the title and notes to this ode constantly write *Phoceus Phoceum*, seem all without exception to have supposed that *Xanthias Phoceus* was a man with two names. This would be so very unusual for a Greek, that it would preclude the notion of his being a merely fictitious personage, since fictions must needs follow general analogy. But *Ξανθίας Φωκεὺς* in Greek can only mean *Xanthias the Phocian*; and Horace here, as in so many other places, took the Greek form as the less common one.

does the Thurian *Ornytus*,—with her passion for whom Lydia (III. 9) tries to provoke her old lover,—or the Liparean *Hebrus* (III. 12), or others of the same sort. These epithets, which occur every now and then, are merely designed to give the poems a fresher look of individuality, which, where there is a great number of bare poetical names, is easily lost, and in some measure to vary the manner of the invocations: which is evidently the purpose also of the expression, *dicat Opuntiae Frater Megillae*, I. 27.

For we must not disguise from ourselves that Horace is not one of the poets who wrote from a mere impulse of nature, a class which comprised even Sappho and Alcæus. These were supplied by their own feelings and passions, and by what they saw around them, with the materials which their imagination wrought*. In Horace the materials and persons are themselves the product of art: he had to create them just as much as his imagery and his words. Had he been a poet in Rome, of the same cast as they were in Lesbos, we should behold Roman scenes and names in him everywhere, as well as in the great panegyrical odes, which are not included in the present discussion. If we take a rapid survey of his works, we clearly see that his procedure was as follows. He now and then enlivens his imitations of Greek poems by introducing Roman names: but all these belong to persons of high birth,

* The fragments of Sappho (says Welcker, in his excellent vindication of her character) may be almost made use of as historical documents: so entirely does the character of her poetry, and indeed that of the whole Doro-Eolic lyrical school, differ from that of all subsequent eminent poets of the same class, owing to the strong expression of reality and personality unequivocally apparent, as well in the general style and treatment of a subject, as in a number of little peculiarities and local details. These poems have all the look of great antiquity, are stiff, if one chooses so to term it, and want grace, and, like the character of her race, with all the ardour of their feelings have an honest oldfashioned straightforwardness. The thoughts and subjects are not obscure and ambiguous, not disguised by ingenious contrivances under fictitious masks, but simple and plain: the feelings expressed are taken from the life: and the unity belonging to a character and temper, not the birth of a sudden thought, but genuine and permanent, and gifted with the same unity and individuality as nature herself, from which they sprang, is so palpable that one may fancy one discerns traces of it in every syllable. The contrast which Buttmann has drawn between this and the artificial style of Horace's works, must convince every one who reads it.

influence, or character; and hence we know almost all of them, and are only in doubt with regard to one or two, which may be the person in question, where there are several bearing the same name. All these (ever excepting the great political odes) either appear merely by name, as persons whom the poet is addressing, or in some very simple relation, as for instance that of love, of sorrow for the loss of a friend, or again in certain moods and dispositions, and of course always in a favorable light. But whenever the poet goes into the details of private and everyday life, whenever there is anything remarkable in the situation or grouping of his characters, he has always recourse to Greek names. We will only collect a few of the most striking of these situations. In III. 20, *Nearchus*, a beautiful boy, is an object of rival love to a girl and to a youth named *Pyrrhus*: the poet warns the latter against the girl's jealousy. In II. 4, *Xanthias*, a Phocian, of noble descent, is very violently in love with his maid, but feels ashamed of his love: he is comforted by a reference to similar incidents in mythical ages, and is reminded in a tone of perfect gravity and seriousness that she too may be of royal extraction. In III. 7, *Asterie* has parted with her husband, *Gyges*: the poet tells her that her husband's fidelity triumphantly withstands all the allurements of his hostess *Chloe*, and exhorts her to be equally faithful in resisting the charms of her neighbour *Enipeus*. In III. 12, *Neobule* is inflamed with love for *Hebrus*, the Liparean, whom she is in the habit of seeing when he is swimming or performing other manly exercises: but a hardhearted uncle thwarts her love. In III. 19, the noise of a banquet, at which the poet means to be present along with *Telephus*, is to reach the ears of *Lycus*, an old man in the neighbourhood, and of his young and handsome wife. If to these pictures we add those alluded to above, of *Cyrus*, *Lycoris*, and *Pholoë*,—of *Chloris* and *Pholoë* as mother and daughter,—of the nameless lover of the young *Lalage*,—of the poet himself, *Lydia*, and *Telephus*,—of *Lydia* and *Sybaris*,—we shall be amazed, not merely that it was possible to take all these for names of real persons, not merely that Horace should have been supposed to have been perpetually beset by a pack of Greeks, but, in a general point of view, how anybody should

not have perceived that these were merely pictures selected by the playful fancy of an elaborate artist.

I only know one passage in which there appears to be a similar group, and yet the persons composing it bear, one a Greek, the other a Roman name: which according to my notions is quite inconsistent with an ideal picture. It occurs in the 36th ode of the first book, which I must insert here at length:

Et ture et fidibus juvat
 Placare et vituli sanguine debito
 Custodes Numidae deos;
 Qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
 Caris multa sodalibus,
 Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
 Quam dulci Lamiae, memor
 Actae non alio rege puertiae,
 Mutataeque simul togae.
 Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota;
 Neu promptae modus amphorae,
 Neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum;
 Neu multi Damalis meri
 Bassum Threïcia vincat amystide;
 Neu desint epulis rosae,
 Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium.
 Omnes in Damalin putres
 Deponent oculos: nec Damalis novo
 Divelletur adultero
 Lascivis hederis ambitiosior.

One fancies at first that *Damalis* and *Bassus* here must needs be a joint group, whom the poet brings in drinking in rivalry with each other, as an imaginative incident to set off the banquet he gives notice of. But what a strange way of representing such an idea it would be, by a mere warning to one of the competitors, and that too to the man, not to let the girl surpass him in drinking! And is there not something flat in the whole poem, if we look on these two as extraneous figures merely dragged in for the amusement of the rest? If we call to mind however that *Bassus* is a thoroughly Roman name, and that all other

names of the same kind in the odes belong without exception to eminent Romans, the poem acquires a very satisfactory and a much more elegant character. Damalis is now the only person introduced in it whom on the principle laid down above we have to regard as imaginary. She is the perfect counterpart to the Lyde whom we have seen in II. 11 (*Quis devium scortum eliciet domo Lyden?*), as this banquet is to the one there. Only that this is to be a much gayer and choicer one; and Plautius Numida, in honour of his return, is among other things to have an entertainer whom he has never seen before (vv. 18, 19). *Bassus* on the other hand is one of Numida's intimate friends, whom the poet mentions in preference to the rest, as he does *Lamia* just above. The allusion to the stout drinking-bout, which naturally belonged to such an occasion, is now brought in much more gracefully by the challenge to *Bassus*, in which with humorous sportiveness he is told that today, having to celebrate the return of his bosom-friend, he must take care not to let *Damalis* outdo him in drinking, though on ordinary occasions she was a match for anybody. As to the question who this *Bassus* was, so many families bore this surname, and we know so little of Numida himself, that we need not trouble ourselves about it: although if the Q. Cæcilius Bassus, whom we read of in Cicero and other writers as a leading person among the Pompeian party, had a son, he would be just such a youth as we want.

Those commentators however who conceive that the Greek names likewise stand for Greeks actually so called, add to their absurdity by their inconsistency in assuming without any scruple, whenever the former notion will not square well, especially when there are any touches of peculiar Roman manners, that such names are fictitious, and used to designate certain Roman men and women. Yet on the other hand those touches of Roman manners would be a very insufficient reason for pursuing the latter method uniformly throughout. Horace, in imitating the lyric poetry of the Greeks, did not copy those features in his models which were too peculiarly Greek, and too alien to a Roman ear, but only those Greek tints and touches which through the intimacy of the men of letters with the Greek authors had gained a kind

of poetical currency; and thus giving his imaginary subjects Greek names and forms, he transferred them to Roman scenes; which he could do with the more ease, since the ancients, as is well known, were not under the same constraint as we are to be pedantic with regard even to real anachronisms and anachorisms in the treatment of a poetical theme. Thus, as he calls the friend, to whom he points out mount *Soracte*, *Thaliarchus*, he likewise makes the *Lydia* who is in love with *Ornytus*, the *Thurian*, compare herself with *Ilia*, and speaks of *Sybaris* (I. 8), and *Hebrus*, the *Liparean* (III. 12), as swimming in the *Tiber* and exercising in the *Campus*. All these are neither Greeks nor Romans, but poetical persons, though with a little shading taken from prosaic reality they may readily pass and be regarded as Romans.

Nay, to carry my opposition to these gossiping anecdote-mongers to its fullest extent, I will admit that it is possible, that it is not improbable, that many an ode may in reality have referred originally to certain circumstances in Rome and in Horace's neighbourhood; and yet it is not to be viewed with such a reference. A poetical idea, suggested by some particular occasion, may have been purposely remoulded by the poet, when he designed it for publication, into a purely poetical scene with fictitious names. A genuine occasional poem, if it moves within the lower sphere of every-day life, has always too many minute individual features, which are of no value except to the author's acquaintances. A poet who wishes to take his place as a national poet, and to produce works of art entire and perfect in themselves, at least according to the idea of such works exemplified in Horace's odes, can make use of but little of what such an occasional muse supplies him with: and even in this little he will have to prune away some things that descend too far into common reality, and to invent other things that are wanting to complete the poetical picture, while at the same time by introducing occasional touches he gives this picture a pleasing air of individual nature. Now it would be a silly imposition if he were to allow what is no longer historically true to retain a shadow of such truth by keeping names taken out of common life. But still sillier is the endeavour to baffle his design.

I will here repeat, and more distinctly than before, what, I think, after the foregoing arguments will be admitted to be true, and after the observations annexed to them will be intelligible. Non-reality is an essential feature of Horace's odes. His aim was to find, or to create, lyrical subjects undebased by any trivial admixture; and having done so he transfused his imagination into them, in order to work them up. This is the point of view we must take, that we may form a just notion how excellent Horace is even in his odes, and refrain from demanding anything unreasonable from him. With this aim he sometimes made use of real occurrences, to which he gave an ideal character. Such of these as belonged to the history of his country he could only idealize by ennobling them, without being able entirely to strip them of the accidents of real history. Consequently we must be acquainted with history in order to understand the odes of this class. In all the others the real circumstances, which may have contributed to their origin, have been entirely recast in an ideal mould; and a reader has a very erroneous notion of Horace's poetical character, if he is anxious to ascertain the historical groundwork of these odes, under a notion that a part of their beauty will otherwise be hid from him, or if he wants to know more than the poems themselves reveal. Horace gave them to the world as his contribution to lyric poetry: he must have taken care, for it must have been a matter of importance to him, that both his own age and afterages should be able to comprehend them fully as such. But he can never have dreamt that they would be employed as materials for patching up a domestic chronicle of his own family and that of Mæcenæ and certain of their friends⁵.

⁵ I do not mean however to find fault with every historical conjecture which a teacher may think good to deliver to his pupils. Every poem of the kind here alluded to has no doubt a historical groundwork, though in most instances only an assumed one: but in many of his transitions from one thought to another the poet leaves a portion of this historical groundwork to be supplied by the imagination of his readers, which is by no means meant to lie idle, but derives a part of its gratification from this very employment of filling up what is wanting. To exercise minds in such a task, when their capacity for it is yet dormant, is no mean part of an instructor's office; and this can only be done by the help of such assumptions, which the teacher on one

The case is somewhat different, I am well aware, with the satirical works: for, since satire, more especially that of Horace, which is an offspring of the Athenian old comedy, derives its best seasoning from personalities, it is self-evident that his contemporaries alone could thoroughly enjoy it, that for us to do so equally is absolutely impossible, and that all pieces of historical information touching the objects which Horace had in view may aid us more clearly to discern the satirical point of particular passages, even when the objects themselves are of no interest. It is also clear that, though afterages cannot catch the satirical touches except under certain restrictions, this was not a sufficient reason to deter the poet from rescuing them from oblivion: for on the one hand his own age was sure to retain the full apprehension of them undiminished for a considerable length of time; and on the other hand every truly spirited personal satire, and indeed every touch of character however peculiar, if it be handed down to us by a clearsighted author whose eyes are always fixed on the general principles of human nature, preserves its chief charm unaltered. Wheresoever a reader from his remoteness in space or time loses any of the details of the picture, his imagination will supply them more or less correctly in proportion as it is more or less akin to the poet's. It would have been a piece of good luck no doubt, if, to take an instance, we had a rather more explicit account of the two Novii and their circumstances: but though we have it not, does the want of it take away the main charm of that light incidental stroke of comic humour?

Obeundus Marsya, qui se

Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.

1. Sat. vi. 120.

Does not the passage itself plainly shew that this Novius was a fellow who was to be seen every day by the statue of Marsyas engaged in some legal process? and can we not frame to ourselves a conception of physical ugliness, aggravated by

day builds up before his pupil, and on another makes his pupil rebuild after his model. Only people should not send these intellectual exercises to the press; nor end in flattering themselves that they have made out how everything went on in Horace's closet and in Mecenases antechamber.

the moral qualities it denotes, and sufficient to warrant the humorous notion that the real reason why the flea satyr's face expresses such intolerable pain, is that this odious pettifogger is always coming athwart his eyes? So that even with regard to the satirical works my assertion on the main holds good. The chief enjoyment which they are meant to afford to an intelligent and not merely inquisitive reader, the principal object for which they have been preserved, namely, that we may behold works which are masterpieces in their kind, continues unimpaired down to the present day. And when we consider what we still have, and on the other hand that a complete transfer of ourselves into the relations of ancient society, while it appears from what has been said to be merely of minor importance, is a thing impossible and beyond all calculation, we shall check every exaggerated wish for such information, as if it were a matter of great moment; and all the laborious conjectures piled up to make amends for the want of it, which are not unlikely in the end to make us mistake airbubbles for real history, will be banisht from our commentaries on the satires as well as on the odes.

The epodes in this respect, as in all others, occupy a middle place between the satires and the odes. Horace in these was imitating the sarcastic Iambic and lyric poet, Archilochus, and with this end would assuredly at times, as in the odes, make use of ideal subjects. The character of this species however would naturally bring him into nearer connexion with real and everyday life. Hence I regard it as more than mere accident, that in the fifteenth epode, the plan of which in other respects comes very near that of the odes, we should find, what in them we should in vain look for, the poet's own name by the side of the girl's whom he reproves:

O dolitura mea multum virtute *Neaera*!

Nam si quid in *Flacco* viri est,

Non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes.

From the same cause here as in the satires the persons lampooned have Roman names, some of which moreover occur also in them,—*Alfius*, *Maevius*, *Canidia*. Under these

circumstances it is hard to say whether the two vehement invectives in the fourth and sixth epode, in which there is no name, were levelled at real persons or not; or in the former case (which indeed is the more probable) whether the persons aimed at are those whose names on the authority of the scholiast appear in the titles. With regard to this ignorance of ours we may say what we have said with reference to the satires. Happy combinations, which lead us to persons known to us from other sources, are no paltry contribution toward the study of Horace: though even without this we may yet derive sufficient amusement, as the poet designed, from the satirical force displayed here.

After all that has been said hitherto there still remains one product of ingenuity, which is common to both the branches of composition cultivated by Horace, and with regard to which we may occasionally miss his full meaning: I refer to the mere allusions to actual occurrences, which the poet for some reason or other does not choose to name distinctly. Here again the fact alluded to may either come within the range of things deserving of general notoriety; and if so we may still detect the allusion, and enjoy the pleasure connected with doing so, though under the selfsame restrictions, by which the spirit of inquiry is stimulated, as prevail in all the other departments of the knowledge of antiquity: or that fact may be some petty matter of private life; and in this case we must abide in ignorance of it, unless either some antient statement concerning it has come down to us, or some acute conjecture (which however is no less likely to trip than the assumptions I have already censured) hits the mark. Among the modern commentators the endeavour to hunt out double-meanings and allusions has been carried so far, more especially by Baxter, that this whole class has thereby fallen into disrepute, and one can hardly help feeling ashamed of using the word *dilogia* in a note. Hence this matter seems to me to need a little more accurate investigation, that we may beware of falling into the opposite error.

A double-meaning or allusion—for it is not easy to lay down any essential distinction between these two ideas—differs from an allegory in this. An allegory is the saying

one thing, and meaning another: a double-meaning or *dilogy* is the saying only one thing, but having two things in view. The latter, as this definition shews, is in fact a mere piece of play, as is implied in the word *allusion*: and hence it is chiefly found in jocose or satirical poems: but it is not excluded from those of a more serious cast, provided the poet does not betray too strong a fondness for this display of ingenuity, and provided the double-meaning itself does not violate a rule, by which it should always be bound; namely, that, of the two thoughts which the poet has in view, one must fit in so obviously and so compactly with the context, as no way to transgress the laws of poetical beauty; so that if the reader merely catches this one, he may still lack nothing which is needful to understand the poem thoroughly, so far as regards its main scope. It is only in such a case that the reader, on noticing the secondary meaning, whether it occurs to him of itself, or from its anecdotal nature requires to be pointed out by a commentator, will deem it an ingenious addition which hightens the charm of a passage or a poem. I will cite an instance in point, where the secondary allusion lies merely in a particular word, and where the double-meaning has been recognized by other critics, with whom I concur.

The short ode which stands the 34th in the first book, ends with setting forth the rapid vicissitudes of fortune.

Valet ima summis

Mutare et insignem attenuat deus,

Obscura promens: hinc apicem rapax

Fortuna cum stridore acuto

Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

These words are perfectly clear; and no person of sound judgement will fail to recognize the simple and general meaning conveyed by the last lines, which unless they are taken in this general light are out of keeping with the dignified tone of the others; nor will he look out for any specific historical allusion, as if it were the first and only object of the poet's thought. *Apex* is the summit of every thing that rises upward. The summit of eminence, of prosperity, of glory, of power, the goddess bears with a shrill noise away from one

place, and in another exalts what had hitherto been low. But *apex* is also the peculiar name for the headdress of the Persian kings: and just about the time, when by the most probable calculation the odes of this book must have been written, a revolution took place in the Parthian empire, the most powerful state in the world next to Rome, whereby Tiridates was dethroned and driven out of the country, and Phraates was reestablished in his stead,—an event which Horace expressly refers to in the second ode of the next book in a different train of thought: *Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten Dissidens plebi numero beatorum Eximit Virtus*. The distinct mention of this event, which in this latter passage comes in so admirably and with such effect, would be out of place in the former. A piece of news in confirmation of a general aphorism would to my taste be a pitiful ending for an elevated strain of but sixteen lines. But when left in its generality, and expressed in choice language, the idea accords with the dignity of the whole ode; while a grave allusion delicately introduced by the selection of a single word, at a time when that event was probably an object of universal attention, could not fail to produce a very pleasing impression*.

* There can be little doubt too that Horace was also thinking of the omen of Lucius Tarquinius: the image and the expressions—*hinc apicem rapax Fortuna cum stridore acuto Sustulit*—clearly allude to the eagle that carried up his bonnet *cum magno clangore*, as Livy tells the story; and though Livy calls the bonnet a *pileus*, Cicero (*de leg. i. 1*) uses the very word *apex*.

This passage in the original—both as it stands in the Berlin Transactions for 1804—1811, and as it is reprinted in the first volume of the author's *Mythologus*—is followed by a paragraph in which he adopts the double-meaning assigned by Baxter to the expression *mascula Sappho* in the 19th epistle of the first book. In the preface however to the second volume of his *Mythologus*, Buttmann apologizes for having repeated this insinuation against the great poetess, from not having read the admirable dissertation in which Welcker has shewn its total futility; and he adds: “to expunge this charge against Sappho of sinning against love, and against Horace of sinning against her, and to atone for my real sin against them both, I hold to be one of my most sacred duties, before I depart out of the circle of mankind: and thus accordingly I fulfill it.” These were among the last words which Buttmann wrote, the last he gave to the world; and they are worthy to be the last literary act of a man the chief business of whose life had been to discharge the duties of friendship. Welcker's essay—*Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit*—is indeed a most satisfactory and triumphant vindication of

In other passages we find a playful ambiguity of the same sort arising from their merely admitting of a twofold grammatical construction: and such, I conceive, is the case in the speech of Tiresias, which strikes us as so very strange, in the fifth satire of the second book. *O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non; Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.* The scholiast says: *Jocatur in Apollinem, ut satiricus.* This I readily believe; for the passage has all the air of a joke. But I cannot think that Horace was so flat a jester, that, when he wanted to laugh at soothsaying, he should make a soothsayer say: *What I foretell, will either fall out or not; for Apollo has given me the power of divining.* An alteration of the text has been proposed: to which however I cannot assent, not merely because it puts an end to the jest, which the scholiast evidently found here, but also because on general reasons, which must be obvious to every one acquainted with the history of the text of Horace, every unsupported conjecture, which offers any violence to the readings of the manuscripts, is exceedingly suspicious, if not utterly inadmissible. Horace, we see, wants to turn soothsaying into ridicule: how can he do this by the mouth of a soothsayer, except by making him say something, which, if taken in one though perhaps not the best and most correct way, suits his purpose, but, when rightly understood, means the very opposite? If a conjurer were to be brought in saying, *Quicquid jussero, aut erit nigrum aut album,* we should all understand this; nor, I think, could any material objection be raised against the

the tenth Muse from a foul and utterly groundless calumny, which is completely refuted by the fact that in no ancient author of any kind is there the slightest reference or allusion to it, except a mere rumour first mentioned by Suidas, which seems never to have been stated positively till the time of Domitius Calderinus in the fifteenth century, but which Bayle, in the zealous discharge of his favorite office of devil's advocate, has done his utmost to establish and diffuse. At the same time Welcker conceives (pp. 115—117) that the line of Horace—*Temperat Archilochi musam pede mascula Sappho*—does contain a double-meaning; and that while *mascula* refers in the first instance to her great and masculine genius, the two words *pede mascula* naturally suggested the notion of her celebrated leap, whether the story of that leap was originally founded in fact, or, as seems more probable, was originally a fiction propagated by the Greek comic poets.

omission of what is so easily supplied here as *prout jussero*. Now if we suppose that this and similar elliptical modes of expression were not unusual in common life, there might be many cases in which the omission might lead to ambiguity, and was therefore avoided by good and correct speakers. It might serve however very well for a joke. If my conjecture be well founded, a Roman in reading this passage, in which it is impossible that Tiresias should have spoken so plump against himself, would understand both what he meant to say, and what the jesting poet makes him say according to the natural sense of the words. Tiresias meant to say: *What I tell you, will happen if I tell you it will, and will not happen if I tell you it will not*: but in fact he says, what we all read here.

I shall pass over those simpler and more frequent instances of double-meaning, where a word, current both in a general and a peculiar sense, is used in the former, though at the same time with a play upon the latter;—as where Horace (Epist. i. 20. 2), wanting jestingly to make his book revolt from the thought of sallying out into the world and the bookshops, uses the expression *prostare*, a term especially applied to prostitutes, and carries on the same allusion by the word *pudicus* in the next line;—and I will turn to the purely historical class, where, while the reader finds one name, he is to fix his thoughts on another, which the author for some reason or other does not choose directly to mention. The double-meaning in such cases is not perfect, unless the actions and circumstances represented do really suit both the person named and the one alluded to. This, one soon sees, cannot be easily carried to such an extent as that every particular should apply accurately to both. The instances of this kind which we meet with are therefore nothing more than comparisons drest up in a more agreeable form, which at times too may be chosen from motives of delicacy or of prudence. The main law of this class again is, that whatever is said must thoroughly fit the objects avowedly named in the text, and that their history and condition must be set forth with sufficient completeness for the reader, without knowing, or before he knows, the secondary allusion, to be fully satisfied with what he reads, and to have a good

poem before him: nor must there be anything, save the preference and interest with which certain parts are brought forward, to betray the second meaning, in which the poet's feelings take more concern. Provided this be done in a satisfactory manner, the liberty allowed to every simile will be allowed to this class above all others; and a good judge will easily discern what touches belong to this hidden allusion, and what merely to the poetical execution and unity of the external form adopted. We have a remarkable specimen of this class in Virgil's fifth eclogue, which celebrates the death and deification of the mythical shepherd Daphnis, which however not merely a portion of the old grammarians, but men of acknowledgedly sound poetical taste, apply to Julius Cesar. I need only refer here to Vosses excellent account and explanation of it. A reader of this eclogue will at first see nothing but a representation of the same subject which is treated by Theocritus in his first idyl, though in a different spirit; and were he to strain all the rustic and mythical touches, which apply solely to Daphnis, in order to fit them by equivocal interpretations to Cesar, he would only shew his bad taste and want of poetical feeling. But the strong expressions of universal grief for the death of Daphnis, and the introduction of his mother mourning over him, which do not belong to the original story, above all his apotheosis, which likewise is a novel addition, and is described in such a tone of exultation, the words *deus, deus ille, Menalca!* convince us that the subject must be one of deeper interest to the Roman poet; and as soon as we catch hold of this clew, we easily recognize Cesar; and the mother is Venus, the progenitress of the Julian house.

One would naturally expect that the works of a lyrical poet, especially when they are so numerous as Horace's, would be just the place in which to look for allusions of this kind; yet for my own part I know of none such in him. The only ode which could be cited here with any sort of plausibility, is the 15th of the first book, where, while Paris is carrying off Helen, Nereus foretells the disastrous consequences of his perfidy, and prophetically enumerates the heroes before whom he will hereafter fly covered with shame. The application of this ode to Antony and Cleopatra was

made, as the title in the copies shews, even by the ancients: and it is true these two paramours of ancient fable, and the effeminate occupations of Paris as represented in contrast to those of the martial warriors of Greece, might supply a Roman who was attacht to Augustus, with very apt materials for such an allusion. Yet if we look at the ode closely, we find that there is not a trace of a direct double-meaning,—not an incident, not a touch, that points to anything peculiarly characteristic of Antony: nor is any of the Greek heroes in any way so conspicuous above the rest as to stand manifestly for Octavius. So that if Horace, when composing this ode, was really thinking of Antony, he at all events did not give it an allusive character: it may have been designed as a warning example, but is not an instance of double-meaning⁶.

6 Baxter indeed is not so nice about this matter; nor is it his fault if we do not find any of these double-meanings in Horace. In truth he betrays such an utter want of judgement on this point, that one can excuse such persons as are not capable of deciding for themselves with regard to particular cases, when they pass sentence of condemnation at once upon every double-meaning of whatever kind of which he speaks in his notes. Archytas being a virtuous man, who happened to perish once upon a time, is with him a sufficient ground for concluding that Archytas, in the dialogue between the mariner who finds his body, and the shade of the deceased (I. 28), must be Brutus, whom Horace *callida dilogia* mourns over. Above all however is his mind set upon Antony and Cleopatra; and having found them so distinctly in the ode referred to in the text, he never tires of looking out for them under a similar mask. In the third ode of the third book we again find Paris and Helen: *Ilion, Ilion, Fatalis incestusque iudex, Et mulier peregrina vertit In pulverem*. Here, it is true, the expression *mulier peregrina* was very well fitted to mislead a person whose thoughts were always fixt upon Cleopatra; so much so indeed, that he is not in the slightest deterred by the evil omen, that, were this the poet's meaning, the illfated Ilium mentioned in the same sentence must necessarily be Rome. In the sixth ode of the fourth book—*Dive, quem proles Niobe magnae Vindicem linguae, Tityosque raptor Sensit, et Trojae prope victor altae Phthius Achilles*—he turns Niobe into Cleopatra, and Achilles into Antony, while Tityus, who is stuck in between them, is nobody save himself. But on the 34th ode of the first book Baxter out-baxters himself. Horace tells us of a tremendous clap of thunder on a bright day, by which he was taught to think more reverently of the gods. Baxter in the argument also tells us something: *Antonio et Cleopatra praeter spem omnem separatis Horatius fingit se renuntiare Epicureismo et providentiam agnoscere*.

There might also be cases, one can conceive, in which the real or fictitious person mentioned should bear the very same name with the person alluded to: but here again I know no instance of the kind in Horace, nor should I have spoken of it unless Baxter had talkt about two such. In the 20th ode of the third book he has even the old scholiast Acro on his side. A youth called *Pyrrhus*, who is in love with a beautiful boy, is warned against irritating a Getulian lioness, that is, no doubt, a girl who is passionately in love with the same boy, and who will not let him be torn away from her without a fierce struggle. This *Pyrrhus* is interpreted to mean the renowned king of Epirus, and Rome is the lioness. But one cannot see what conceivable purpose is answered by this disguise, since there was no motive for talking covertly about a person who had been two centuries in his grave; or if the comparison was merely meant to be a display of ingenuity, it is not carried far enough, nor are the details sufficiently appropriate.

Still less is there any double-meaning in Baxter's other passage, 1. Sat. 3. 91. Here, among the petty offenses for which one must not quarrel with a friend, it is supposed, *mensave catillum Evandri manibus tritum dejecit*. The old writers *de personis Horatianis*, whom the scholiast cites, tell us that *Evander* here was the maker of the vessel, and moreover that he was an excellent carver and sculptor, whom Antony carried from Athens to Alexandria, and who came as a prisoner from thence to Rome, where he executed many admirable works. Some of the modern commentators on the other hand understand the word *tritum* in its usual sense, and suppose that the vase was one of great value for its antiquity, having once belonged to the primeval settler on the Palatine mount, the Arcadian *Evander*. Baxter does not scruple to conjecture that Horace probably had both of them in his head. That *terere* might occasionally be used as equivalent to *tornare* has been sufficiently proved by Bentley: but who can read it in connexion with *manibus*, without taking it in its commonest acceptation? If Horace was really thinking about *tornatum* and *Evander*, the artist, I know no way of acquitting him of having exprest himself awkwardly, save by Baxter's double-meaning. Yet in

what wretched taste this would be! If on the other hand we reflect that the sculptor Evander, to judge from our account of him, was not at Rome at the time when it is most probable that the satires of the first book were written, and consequently that he cannot have been so notorious to the Roman reading public, that such a passage should make them think of him rather than of the king so well known from the ancient story of the city, we shall be led to suppose, with greater justice, that the natural meaning of the expression *manibus tritum* left no room for the other more recondite one, and that accordingly there was no real ambiguity. Bentley indeed urges the improbability of anybody's having so old a piece of earthenware; but this objection is surely out of place here. In the third satire of the second book, where Damasippus is talking of his former virtuosoship, he says: *Olim nam quaerere amabam Quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere*. Are we to marvel here too that Sisyphus's foot-tub should have been still in existence? Or can Bentley really mean, as his note seems to imply, that if it had been a metallic vase, and not a piece of brittle pottery, it might actually have been a relic of those primeval mythical ages? The epigram of Martial (VIII. 6), which Bentley himself quotes, where a garrulous collector displays goblets which had belonged to Dido, to Nestor, and even to the Lapithæ, shews us how all this is to be understood: and thus Evander's porringer is a little humorous sideblow, which, even if we had no parallel passages to produce, ought to have been so regarded from the first in a writer like Horace.

When a poet in a lyrical or satirical composition introduces the persons he has in view under assumed names, this in most cases will occasion a real double-meaning. For a part at all events of his readers, he must foresee, will understand the poems or passages in which such names occur, as if they were on imaginary subjects: and only such as are better informed will detect those circumstances and occurrences of real life, at which the poet felt unwilling to point with his finger, if they are of a laudatory character, out of delicacy, but if they are satirical out of other easily conceivable motives. So that here again he is bound by the same rule as in other cases of double-meaning. The first-sight sense, that is, here the ideal

one, must be complete, well-rounded, and satisfactory. Granting therefore, what is no doubt possible, that there are many instances of the sort in Horace, of which we may not be aware, this does not rob us of anything needful for our purely esthetical purpose; any more than—to refer to a couple of modern instances of the lastmentioned kind—afterages would lack anything, if they were not to know that *Lerse* in Goetz of Berlichingen was so called, because Goethe wisht to erect an affectionate memorial to the simpleminded integrity of his friend, the coin-collector of that name; or if Schiller, in the fifth act of his *William Tell*, had chosen to commemorate any name less renowned than that of John Müller. Both these master-works would still be no less excellent and finisht than we now esteem them to be, and not only as wholes, but also in these particular parts.

I am far however from saying that such anecdotes are of no value, but merely that the value of the poems is independent of these by-touches. In whatever way we can gain an acquaintance with such allusions, it is worth the attention and painstaking of scholars to follow it out: for all such anecdotes, over and above the interest they may have in themselves, tend in some manner or other, and often in more than one, to aid us in our great task of withdrawing the veil from antiquity. The chief source of our information on this and all similar matters must always be sought in the remarks of the old scholiasts: and it is unaccountable how so many critics have been led so absurdly to misapply what on other points would be a correct estimate of their merits, as to reject every statement for which we have no other authority than a scholiast, unless it happens just to fall in with their own feelings. Since we have found on general principles that no allusion ought to be introduced into a poem, save in such a way that the poem or passage shall have a full sense and beauty independent thereof, it is clear that, though the obvious meaning may be perfectly satisfactory, this is not an adequate reason for pronouncing every secondary meaning, which a scholiast may find out, to be a silly piece of absurdity and an invention of some grammarian's brain. Yet this is the rule followed in many a commentary. Admitting the validity of all that is said about the ignorance

and want of judgement displayed by most of the compilers of scholia, this ought only to render us cautious and diligent sifters of every piece of information derived from them; nor does it any way militate against the truth of the following proposition, that all the historical anecdotes which we find in the scholiasts, and which are not at variance with what we know with certainty from other sources, nor bear on their face any manifestly suspicious marks of their origin, are to be regarded as so many grains of gold. Horace and Virgil, as we know, had the good fortune to be deemed classical authors among their countrymen so early and by such universal consent, that within a century of the death of Augustus they were almost the only writers expounded in the schools. Hence the grammarians began very soon to draw up explanatory works about them: and our scholiasts, who themselves lived in ancient times, were compilers from these lost commentaries. In several passages of the scholia on Horace (for instance 1. Sat. 1. 105. 3. 21, 91), one finds references of the following kind: *ii qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt, or sub nominibus relatum est.* So that collections of anecdotes on such subjects were made very early, and probably at a time when there were people still living who could furnish oral information about what had been the common town-talk in the days of Horace. It is true, our own daily experience teaches us what sort of things are the anecdotes often related even by trustworthy persons whether concerning men of letters or others: nor will anybody stand up for the critical discernment of the compilers, who besides must often have filled up the gaps so common in traditions by conjectures of their own: indeed I myself have just been discarding one of their stories, that about Evander, so far as it relates to Horace. But still we must always keep in mind what a mighty thing it would be for all the academies of Europe, if we had but an old Roman streetboy to crossquestion.

In detecting disguised names we may get some help from a hint which we draw from a passage of Apuleius (Apolog. p. 279. Elmenh). This writer tells us that the true name of Catulluses *Lesbia* was *Clodia*,—that of Tibulluses *Delia*, *Flavia*, or *Plautia* (for the reading is doubtful),—that of Propertiuses *Cynthia*, *Hostia*,—and that in like manner

the poet Tigidas called his *Metella*, *Perilla*. It has been noticed long ago that all these fictitious names have the same number of syllables and form the same metrical feet as the real ones, so that everybody acquainted with the fact in reading the lines may substitute the latter. This rule is expressly stated by Acro when he is applying it to 1. Sat. 2. 64; and Bentley speaks of it at some length in a note on the twelfth ode of the second book, where to the instances cited by Apuleius he adds a satirical one from a line of Persius, which ingeniously combines a double-meaning of the abovementioned historical class with the observance of this metrical restriction. It is the well-known passage where Persius (1. 121), alluding to Nero's poetical pretensions, wrote, *Auriculas asini Mida rex habet*, but where anybody might also read, *Auriculas asini Nero rex habet*. Hence too his timid friend Cornutus in editing the satires substituted, *Auriculas asini quis non habet?* which for a long time was the received reading: see Casaubon's note. I by no means intend to assert however that this metrical rule was followed invariably: but it obviously was a very natural one, and in most cases the one best suited to the poet's purpose; so that, if we find it observed in a passage where a name is said to be disguised, this is no slight confirmation of such an assertion.

If we turn to Horace we find that there is this additional authority in favour of a statement often repeated by the scholiasts, and which even without this we have no reason to doubt, to wit, that the name *Canidia*, under which Horace in his epodes and satires so severely lashes a person evidently well known in Rome at the time, stands for *Gratidia*, a Neapolitan, and a former mistress of his. True, this information does not avail us much, since we know nothing else of this Gratidia. But at least we have a clear proof that Horace also followed the same rule: and scanty as is the scholiast's account of this woman, we at least see plainly that he must have had books before him containing sundry minute particulars concerning the age of Horace and his affairs. I will remark besides that, in transforming *Gratidia* into *Canidia*, Horace maliciously derived the name of this woman, whom he everywhere describes as grown old amid her intrigues, from *canus* instead of from *gratus*.

After the metamorphosis this name has undergone, I find it difficult to refuse my assent to the explanation of another name, which has been suggested, not by a scholiast, but by a modern scholar. *Nasidienus* is the name given by Horace in the eighth satire of the second book to the rich man who entertains Mecenas and his friends, and who is so proud of his costly table and of the taste displayed in the choice of his dishes: and in the 58th line he calls him *Rufus*. Hence Lambinus infers that he was alluding to *Salvidienus Rufus*, who, as we learn from Suetonius (Aug. 66), from Dion Cassius (XLVIII. 33), from Velleius (II. 76), and from other writers, was raised from the very lowest rank by Augustus, and was even appointed consul while he was still a knight, without having been previously admitted to a seat in the senate, but who at last was put to death for engaging in a conspiracy against his benefactor. A man of such a character our satirist might regard as fair game. One might fancy indeed that the scholiast Acro had heard something about *Nasidienus*, since, without making any remark on the name, he says he was an *eques Romanus*, and a man of fashion in other respects, but pettily ostentatious of his wealth. One need not however be an old scholiast in order to give this account of him: it is implied, not excepting his being an *eques*, in Horace's portrait; for a rich man, with a name of a Roman cast, at whose house Mecenas dines, and of whom we know nothing else either as having held any office or otherwise, may be pretty safely termed an *eques*, even without the slightest historical authority. We cannot indeed produce any further evidence in favour of Lambinus's opinion: but if we reflect how exceedingly probable it is, that a man of eminence, who is described with such minuteness, would at all events be treated with some semblance of delicacy, and would not be brought forward into public view with all the letters of his name,—and that the principle followed in the substitution of *Canidia* for *Gratidia* is a fair proof that the name disguised under *Nasidienus* had the same number of syllables, each of the same quantity, and the same termination,—and when moreover we find that a *Salvidienus* bore the same surname of *Rufus*,—we can hardly reject so inviting a conjecture. Should any one however feel a scruple about making this *Salvidienus*, who

was a general of some repute in the Octavian party, play such a petty part, which rather befits a carpet-knight, he will find that Dion Cassius mentions a brother of his, who did not share in his renown, and of whom Dion merely tells us that he died during his brother's lifetime, and that his funeral was distinguisht by Augustus, from regard to the latter, with remarkable honours. So that this man must assuredly have died as a mere *eques* (if any one thinks fit to shew any deference for Acro's statement); and as he was nothing more than a peasant who had become master of a large fortune (Dion tells us that the general had tended cattle in his boyhood), all that Horace says of him is perfectly conceivable; and it is natural enough that, while his brother was commanding in the field, he should have thought it became a person of his eminence to give the minister a grand dinner. As to the surname *Rufus*, it would probably be common, as was usually the case, to the whole family. Should any one still think it unlikely that Horace, when he wanted a cloak for one name, should have had recourse to another actually in use, he should remember that we find the names *Canidius* and *Canidia* in plenty of cases, and so we do *Nasidius*, but no *Nasidienus*, that I am aware: at least I have in vain lookt for it in the places where the fullest lists of Roman names are to be met with; and the *Nasidienus*, who is mentioned in the epigram of Martial quoted by Bentley, assuredly was not a real person: indeed it is a common practice with satirists to borrow their fictitious names from their predecessors.

Above all is it difficult, or indeed, if one wants to beget anything like general conviction, absolutely impossible, to determine whether the poet really purposed to make such allusions in cases where our feelings and notions of propriety interfere; for in such one can never prevent everybody from looking at the matter from his own point of view. In the second satire of the first book Horace says: *Dum stulti vitant vitia, in contraria currunt: Malthinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui Inguen ad obscenum subductis usque facetus.* Acro here remarks: *Maecenatem tangit; varicosus enim fuit, delicatior et solutior*: where the word *varicosus* is meant to give a reason for his dressing in this way: for

it denotes a person who is disfigured by swellings of the veins, especially in his legs. The other scholiast merely says: *Malthini nomine quidam Maecenatem significari suspicantur*. So that he had no positive historical information, which indeed is not to be expected on such a point, but merely recorded an explanation which was current among men of letters. Its remarkable aptness appears from what we read in ancient writers touching the excess of luxury and effeminacy to which Mecenas abandoned himself in his mode of life and dress, and especially from Seneca's 114th epistle, where he compares Mecenas's way of living with the style of his eloquence. *Quomodo Maecenas vixerit, notius est, quam ut narrari nunc debeat: quomodo ambulaverit, quam delicatus fuerit, quam cupierit videri, quam vitia sua latere noluerit. Quid ergo? non oratio ejus aequae soluta est, quam ipse discinctus?* And further on, after quoting some passages from his speeches: *Non statim haec cum legeris hoc tibi occurret, hunc esse qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit?* Who in reading this passage can refrain from fancying that Seneca, when he wrote it, must have had Horace's well-known line in his head? When to all this is added the exact correspondence between the two names *Malthinus* and *Maecenas* according to the forementioned rule, not merely with reference to the metre, but in their general character and sound, we get a concurrence of arguments which everybody would undoubtedly acknowledge to be decisive, unless this was just a case where those considerations come into play, in respect to which almost everybody is wont to be wholly swayed by his feelings. I scarcely need point them out: can Horace have meant to turn Mecenas into ridicule? is this the behaviour of an affectionate friend to his friend? of a client to his chief patron? of a man of no power or influence to one who is all but omnipotent in the state? And the worst of all is, he who contends for the explanation given by the scholiasts, finds that, among the commentators who express a positive opinion, he has on his side a Cruquius and a Baxter, of whose preposterous views one has so often to complain, while he has to stand forth and confront a Lambinus, a Torrentius, a Gesner, a Wieland: the last of whom comes forward exclaiming *Who can believe it?* which might stagger even the boldest. But with

all reverence to these names be it said, that all these reasons for deciding the question, as such—for who will deny that they are valid reasons for doubting about it?—but as deciding the question they seem to me to be built on a totally wrong ground. Surely we do not read the moral writings of the ancients with the view of assuming that their feelings, notions, and relations coincided as nearly as possible with our own, and of being merely diverted with the different drapery in which they clothe them: but on the contrary the very point we want to ascertain is, how far their views coincided with ours or not. Hence in examining any historical statement we are bound to suppress our own sentiments, until we have made out on its own independent authority whether it be really historical, and what weight it deserves. Now I think I was warranted in alledging that the arguments in behalf of the allusion to Mécenas are a concurrence of evidence that in any other case would assuredly produce conviction, so far as conviction is attainable in such matters. In opposition to these our notion, unless we mean to set it up as a blind prejudice, can do nothing more than awaken a doubt, which, while we acknowledge that even a concurrence of testimony may be delusive, makes us look about for other grounds to determine the question.

In reply to a doubt urged in this way I would remark, that there is a great difference between jests which merely raise a laugh and those which excite contempt; and that the feelings, not only of individuals, but still more those of various nations and ages, on the point, in which of these two ways a jest on any particular subject is to be taken, are widely apart from each other. What a German would deem an affront, among Frenchmen gives a zest to conversation: and yet, in spite of the additional interval of time, we ascribe our own notions to antiquity. It is generally admitted that the ideas and feelings of honour in vogue among us spring in part from principles of a wholly different nature from those of the ancients. The limits by overstepping which decorum is infringed, the point to which raillery against a superior may be carried, cannot therefore be at all determined by a reference to our own views; but if we want to make them out, we must try to collect all the historical traces bearing on the

subject which are to be found in ancient authors, so that we may enter as far as possible into their feelings. Now if we do this, we find abundance of instances that ridicule, especially such as relates to manners or outward appearance, provided there was no malicious intention in it, did not produce the least bad impression. Had not this been the case, it would have been impossible to account for a multitude of passages, especially in the Greek theatrical satires. Where we see an intent to inflict pain, the ancients assuredly often saw only that of raising a laugh; and for such a well approved end almost everything was excused. It is true, the open expression of ridicule was much affected by the political changes. This is notorious with regard to the several ages of Greek comedy: and at Rome too the licence under the emperors was no doubt different from what it had been before. But Horace lived at that fortunate period when the rulers of the state left the people the undisturbed enjoyment of its customs and its mirth, for the sake of being securer masters in matters of greater moment; and when they themselves still retained a sufficient relish for that genuine comic spirit which cannot subsist save in union with such liberty. Add to this that the feelings of a citizen of the ancient republics must have been very differently trained with regard to ridicule from ours, by having daily to listen to speeches of all sorts, in which it was the custom to represent the opposite party and his advocate in such a manner, and that too not merely in jest, that it was a token of special friendship if nothing but a laugh was raised against them. We have examples, which to our notions cannot but be incomprehensible, of speeches full of the bitterest sarcasms, which led to no change in the private intercourse of the speakers. Moreover we should call to mind the licence granted to the soldiers in the triumphal processions. Everybody knows what taunts, and what truths, as it seems, into the bargain, Cesar for instance had to hear. It is true, this was sanctioned by a venerable custom, which it might still be very dangerous to meddle with. But must not an ear trained by this and like customs have been very differently tuned with regard to raillery and satire? The most striking instance of the kind is afforded by Cesar's mildness to Catullus, which Suetonius

himself indeed notices as remarkable (Caes. 73), which however, from its almost incredible extent, will at least allow us to form some judgement with regard to ordinary cases. Catullus had lampooned Cesar in more than one poem with the utmost bitterness. In the twenty-ninth the mighty ruler, who is address'd by the name of *cinaede Romule*, is charged with every vice, especially with the most scandalous intercourse with Mamurra, whom he rewards with the treasures drained from one province after another. What a thorough conviction must have been entertained, that the liberties taken by a jovial poet meant nothing at all, to make it possible that Cesar should have acted as Suetonius tells us, and, on Catullus merely declaring that he had not written the poem out of any illwill, (*satisfacientem sibi*), should have invited him to dinner on the very same day, and kept up the ties of hospitality with his father! Extraordinary as such an instance of mildness may have been, from this behaviour on the part of the supreme head of the state toward a poet who had so virulently attack'd both his public and private character in the face of the whole nation—*cum sibi perpetua his versibus imposita esse stigmata intelligeret*, says Suetonius himself—we may draw some sort of inference about the ridicule which the minister of Augustus might put up from his jocose friend on matters of such petty importance as that before us. In what cases the licence allowed would be enlarged or narrowed, in what cases decorum would require that the jest should be more or less veiled by its outward dress, must be deduced from the examples found in the ancient writers themselves: our judgement in this matter is of no sort of weight. When we find Seneca in the passage quoted above saying of Mecenas, *quam vitia sua latere noluerit*, and Persius saying of Horace—

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico

Tangit, et admissus circum praecordia ludit—

these portraits of the poet and his friend are sufficiently distinct to prevent our marveling at what in a modern patron nobody would think of looking for.

The curious thing, and what, I would almost say, settles the point, is, that we do Horace no service, even according

to our view of the matter, by rejecting the scholiast's explanation. No two eggs can be more like each other than Horace's Malthinus and Seneca's Mecenas. And the effeminacy of the latter was not, as Wieland seems to assume, a slight peculiarity scarcely noticed in the character of so eminent a statesman: it was a matter of such common notoriety and report, that Juvenal in two passages, wanting a name for an effeminate man of rank, uses that of Mecenas as an appellative (I. 66. XII. 39). So that the poet, it is clear, is still guilty of the supposed offense: he is only robbed of his wit and his jest. For I cannot see that it much mends the matter, if we suppose with Wieland that there really was such a person as Malthinus or Malchinus. Yet how improbable is such a supposition! *Malta*, as Nonius tells us, was an old word for an effeminate person, and was so used by Horace's predecessor in satire, Lucilius. Does not this shew that the name Malthinus was expressly coined for the purpose? And now how is Horace to get out of the scrape? The evil is already done. He has described a person who is the very image of Mecenas, has given him a name of his own coining, and has just chosen such a one as by the change of a few letters in the middle may be easily turned into *Maecenas*. If we still insist on trimming Horace into a polite modest person after our fashion, we must at all events pronounce him, according both to our views and those of the ancients, a blockhead.

Wieland, who usually has such a good tact for catching the spirit of Horace's jokes, looks upon him in this line as a moralist: he is willing to allow that Mecenas may have regarded it as a cut at himself, and that Horace was frank enough to reprove a carriage repugnant to good manners, even though his reproof fell among others on Mecenas. Here assuredly he has missed the poet's spirit: Horace would hardly concern himself thus seriously about propriety in dress; and if he did so, his gravely lecturing his friend about it would to my mind be much more insupportable: this very interpretation makes the passage much more offensive in everybody's eyes, by the presumption which it involves, but of which there is not a particle, if the whole be a mere jest, as the words would naturally imply. But we must also

beware of laying any stress on the word *stultus* (*dum vitant stulti vitia*), and of confounding it with our *fool*. *Stultus* never has this force: everything silly, everything that deviates from the common way, is *stultum*. If Horace, after speaking of *stulti* in a general sentiment, proceeded to censure a merely ridiculous peculiarity under a feigned name, there would be no offense against decorum in this, even if it bore upon the first man in Rome. If he indulged in the jest of framing the name in such a manner that anybody might pick it out and put in Mecenases in its stead, he merely furnisht his friend, whom in another place he calls *jocose Maecenas*, with matter for laughter, and for humorously complaining of what he had done. I want nothing but Wieland's talent, to represent the first interview between Mecnas and Horace, after the writing of this satire, in the presence of some of their friends; Agrippa too (Augustus's other hand), who has been supposed to be alluded to in the *facetus* with the short tunic, should be of the party; and I am convinced that what we now deem a want of delicacy in Horace, would then strike even us in a totally different light.

An indiscretion, as we should call it, of another kind has been laid to our poet's charge in consequence of what the scholiast says on the twelfth ode of the second book, where Horace, after declining great historical subjects as ill-suited to his lyre, and handing them over to Mecnas, to whom the ode is address, proceeds in the following beautiful stanzas.

Me dulces dominae Musa Licymniae

Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum

Fulgentes oculos, et bene mutuis

Fidum pectus amoribus.

Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,

Nec certare joco, nec dare brachia

Ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro

Dianae celebris die.

Num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes

Aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes

Permutare velis crine Licymniae,

Plenas aut Arabum domos?

Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
 Cervicem, aut facili saevitia negat
 Quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
 Interdum rapere occupat.

We should look upon this as nothing more than the picture of some favorite mistress, but that Acro remarks: *Licymnia aut uxor Maecenatis, aut ipsius Horatii amica*. One sees that two explanations taken from different sources are here brought forward, and that the former must be grounded on some authority exclusive of the poem itself: for what in the world could lead any one to take Licymnia here for a wife? Again on Sat. i. 2. 54, the same Acro says more plainly: *Semper incerta nomina pro certis; ut alibi: Medulcis dominae Musa Licymniae, pro Terentiae*; and further on: *Eodem numero syllabarum commutationem nominum fecit*. Most of the commentators, among the rest Bentley, adopt this explanation: others contend vehemently against it: the subject however in truth is not sufficiently attractive for me to weigh all the arguments at length. I will content myself with observing that here again all arguments deduced from a sentiment of propriety, which would not allow the poet to speak of the wife of his friend, his patron, to her husband in such terms as seem to betray the most ardent, nay a favoured lover, are utterly out of place. That jealousy which belongs to the manners of modern times, is indeed half founded in nature; but its other half rests on nothing else than that feeling of honour which has sprung from the chivalry of the middle ages. I will spare my readers the development of this assertion, which will be evident of itself after a little reflexion; and I will only make use of it so far as to remark, that, if we suppose Horace to have described an imaginary beauty, to have given her a poetical name, and to have spoken of her in the most fervent language to his friend, interspersing touches at the same time, in which this friend, while he felt he could rely upon him, recognized his own wife, the object perhaps of his passionate love, Mecenas in such a case—if I enter rightly into the spirit of the ancients—could not find anything in this but what would amuse him, anything but an ingenious and original mode of

paying homage to the charms of his wife. Let him talk away if he chooses in the language of a lover: he who knew the meaning of all this could not take offense at it. And what could the public find in it, provided decorum was duly observed? with which indeed it could never have been consistent in any age for a poet to have represented a noble matron by name with all the colouring of a lover. But we wholly mistake the spirit of such allusions, if we suppose them to be merely a cipher for expressing what could not be uttered openly. Malthinus in the former passage, and Licymnia in this, are altogether ideal personages, of whom the poet may say what he pleases; and at the same time he may give admission to just such by-thoughts, and may bring out those by-thoughts with just such a degree of distinctness, as he fancies he can justify before the genius of wit and friendship. And so I think I may reasonably maintain that the scholiast's interpretation is not to be hastily rejected: indeed it would deserve attention, were it solely because one cannot well make out how anybody should have hit on such a notion, which at first sight is anything but probable, unless there was some tradition on the subject: and it acquires still more weight from a remark made by Bentley and others,—whom Jani tries to answer, but without understanding what he is talking about,—that the mention of the dance on the festival of Diana in a Roman poem altogether precludes the thought that Licymnia should have been a freedwoman or a fluteplayer, and that accordingly Horace by this mention of itself excites the idea of a noble Roman lady. Everything else is too insecure to build upon: and I leave it to the good taste of the unprejudiced reader to decide how on this hypothesis the particular expressions are to be construed, whether for instance there is the same double-meaning in *domina*, which English poets often put into the word *mistress*, and so on: I will merely allow myself to make a remark on the name *Licymnia*. It is natural enough that in the manuscripts we should also find it spelt *Licinnia* and *Licinia*. Now it turns out that the name of Terentia's brother was Licinius Varro Murena; and the name *Varro* implies the gentile name Terentius. What was the relation of adoption which led to the union of these gentile names, we

do not know: but it may easily be conceived that Terentia also bore them both. As the Greeks usually write Λικίννιος, lengthening the second syllable, some critics would read *Liciniae* in our passage. But this is at variance with Horace's practice in other places—*Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum*;—and he is not in the habit of using the same word with two different quantities. It would rather seem that, while he Greecized one name by turning it into Licymnia, he at the same time gave it the quantity of the other, completing his double-meaning by this playful piece of ingenuity.

After going through these various classes of double-meanings and allusions, I will conclude with a few observations on an ode, with regard to which, so far as I know, critics do not seem to have quite made up their minds: I mean the fourteenth of the first book. In this ode a ship is warned with expressions of lively interest against going to sea again, and is reminded of the bad condition all its parts are in. I will not here repeat the convincing arguments already brought forward by others against the jejune literal interpretation advocated by some, that the ode is address to a real ship, namely that in which Horace returned from Macedonia, and was wreckt off Cape Palinurus: I will assume that at the present day every intelligent scholar will of course perceive that the ode is an allegory written in imitation of a similar one which Alcæus wrote on occasion of the disturbances at Mytilene, and of which a considerable and clearly intelligible fragment has come down to us. Thus much too is obvious to everybody, that the allegory is of a political nature: but some scholars with obstinate blindness are resolved not to abandon the idea they have been unlucky enough to seize, that the ship stands for the Roman commonwealth, which is warned against a renewal of the civil wars. In this way of taking it the allegory would be a total failure: for civil wars must then be regarded as the natural element of a state, as the sea is of a ship: and since the words of the poem in fact involve the opposite declaration, that "if you still had your sails and rudder, I would not then dissuade you from putting out to sea," the poet would say the same of the commonwealth with regard to civil wars. In the next place the picture of the ship, as a mere

wreck without a crew, would be much too deplorable for any Roman in the age of Augustus to have taken it for a type of the commonwealth. And finally no sound critic can apply the words, *Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium, Nunc desiderium curaue non levis*, to anything but an object from which the poet is in some manner separated; for this is implied in *desiderium*. Porphyrio refers the ode to Brutus; this notion however will not admit of being followed out. But on the other hand I see nothing to object to Acro's application of it to Sextus Pompeius; only before we can make all the parts correspond we must place ourselves in the right point of view. Horace, it is well known, originally, and as long as he conceived that the scheme was feasible, was on the side of those who fought under Brutus for the reestablishment of the republican constitution. After the defeat of Philippi he gave up this idea, and tried to accommodate himself to the new condition of his country. The republican party however continued to exist, though without union or plan, till it again acquired some sort of consistency under Sextus Pompeius, and made no mean stand in a war against Octavius, which however, the more soberminded foresaw, could not produce any other effect than the total destruction of these noble remains of republican Rome. At this time Horace was in his 27th or 28th year, and had not yet formed any tie with the new rulers of the state. At this time it well became him to address the party, which he had shortly before left through necessity, in a tone of affection, and to dissuade them by considerations of a purely prudential nature from an enterprise the motives of which neither he nor the more generous among the ruling party itself could blame. He justly looks upon the former party under Brutus and the present under Sextus as one and the same, which is thinking of venturing once more into a sea of perils. The sad picture of its condition refers to the loss of the strength which it still possessed at Philippi; and the words *nudum remigio latus* allude to the number of Romans who had fallen there and since. Now at length the lines quoted above have their meaning brought out distinctly. It is notorious of what wretched materials even the first army under Brutus was composed, how ill everything went on, in opposition to the views of its noble

chiefs: hence he says, *nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium*. But since even at this last undertaking there were still so many worthy men, so many of our poet's friends, it is no less true that it was *nunc desiderium curaue non levis*.

What however in my opinion seals the truth of this explanation, is a double-meaning which has never yet been noticed, and which induced me to speak of this ode here. The poet's saying that the fir of which the ship is built came from the *Pontus*, was justified by the vast forests in that region, from which Catullus also brings his *phaselus*. But he might just as well have mentioned a number of other mountain-forests: hence in an allegory one expects to find some hint in the choice of such details: and it is plain that this is a place in which, if anywhere, a grave double-meaning would be appropriate. Pompey the Great, under whom the champions of the ancient constitution marshalled themselves in the time of Cesar, gained his most glorious laurels in Asia, as the conqueror of the kingdom of *Pontus*. At the head of the present greatly enfeebled opposition, which included the remains of his party, stood Sextus Pompeius, his son. Under these circumstances, I conceive, a Roman reader with but a little attention would immediately catch the fine double-meaning in these lines:

Non tibi sunt integra lintea,
 Non Dî, quos iterum pressa voces malo.
 Quamvis *Pontica pinus*,
 Silvæ filia nobilis,
Jactes et genus et nomen inutile,
 Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
 Fidit.

ON XENOPHON'S HELLENICA.

FROM THE GERMAN OF NIEBUHR.

IN the Life of Thucydides, as it is called, which is commonly ascribed to Marcellinus, it is mentioned (p. xxiii. ed. Bip.) that Thucydides left the history of the Peloponnesian war unfinished: τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἐτῶν πράγματα ἀναπληροῖ ὁ τε Θεόπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν. My attention was first drawn to this passage by the observations of Professor Grauert*, who thought the reading wrong. To me on the contrary, as it now stands, it presented a confirmation of an opinion which I had formed long before on internal evidence, and which I shall now state.

I look upon Xenophon's Greek History as consisting of two entirely different works, written at very different times: the conclusion of Thucydides, and the Hellenica.

That the first two books and the five following are not connected together by a continuous chronological thread, must have been noticed by every reader: the novelty of the thought which I now propose for the consideration of philologists, if it be new, lies merely in my way of accounting for the break, by supposing that two different works have been put together, contrary to the author's intention, under the title of one of them.

Opinions vary so widely on the subject of style and composition, that the singularity of such a break in itself decides nothing. A plan, indeed, by which the work is split into two parts, which are only outwardly connected together, is evidently faulty; but the author might not perceive the fault;

* *Ad Marcellini Vitam Thucydidis Observationes criticae*, in the first volume of the *Rheinisches Museum*, in which our author's essay first appeared.

he might deem it a beauty, a graceful freedom. The decisive argument is this. The last five books, which form a whole by themselves, were written after the beginning of Ol. 106, as appears from the account of the tyrants of Pheræ. But at the end of the second book the writer says, that the Athenians under Thrasybulus, when they heard that the oligarchs who had fixed their abode at Eleusis, and had formed a separate state there, were levying troops, marched out against them: but that when the oligarchical leaders had been put to death, the two parties came to an agreement, and ratified an amnesty by oaths: *and they now form one community, and the Demus is true to its oath*; ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ πολιτεύονται, καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

It is impossible that Xenophon could have written in this way forty-four years after the event. Another generation had then long taken the place of the men who had offended, and of those who had forgiven them: the old men who, like Xenophon himself and Plato, remembered Lysander's victory as an event of their younger days, and witnessed the rise of Philip's empire, were an inconsiderable exception. Every year that elapsed lessened the meritoriousness of the good faith with which the Demus observed its amnesty; even twelve or fifteen years after it had first mastered its vindictive feelings, so many cases must have occurred in which private quarrels had been made up and succeeded by harmony and friendship, that the good faith of the victorious party could no longer have been a subject for Xenophon's praise.

This observation has no claim to the character of a learned one: it is one which any attentive reader of a good translation may make just as well as a scholar: and hence it is the easier to judge of its correctness.

Every one who feels the force of it, will now perceive more distinctly the difference that appears in the sentiments which prevail in the two parts of the work. In the first two books we see a just estimate of Athens, of the oligarchical tyranny, of the courage and prudence with which Thrasybulus and his fellow-exiles restored the legitimate constitution, of the honorable moderation and conscientiousness with which the Demus used its victory. The speech of Thrasybulus to the Aristocrats, as they called themselves, says everything that the most cordial friend of

the Athenian people can desire, and evidently expresses the writer's private conviction. In the last five, on the contrary, we meet at every turn with the odious malignity of the renegade, grown old in his offensive idolatry of the mummy into which the Spartan constitution had then withered, and only relaxing his animosity against his own country, when she devotes herself for Sparta, though even then he is blind to the magnanimity of her conduct. Verily a more degenerate son was never cast out by any state than this Xenophon! Plato too was not a good citizen; he was not worthy of Athens; he took some strange steps, and appears a political sinner when contrasted with the saints, Thucydides and Demosthenes; but yet how totally different is he from this old driveller, with his mawkish *στω-μύλματα*, and the lisping naïveté of a little girl!

It is beyond all doubt that Xenophon wrote the first two books in the interval between the Return of the Ten Thousand, and the recall of Agesilaus from Asia. For one may lay any wager that, after Athens had become her own mistress again, he would no longer have written in the same spirit, and the statement that he was condemned to banishment while he was with Agesilaus, seems to be entitled to as much credit as any that have been preserved about his life: only the decree was passed, not, as Diogenes Laertius says, while they were in Asia, but after he had accompanied the Spartan king in his expedition against the allies of Athens, that is, in fact, against Athens itself. (Compare *Anab.* v. 3, 6, 7.)

Another statement which appears to me likewise well deserving of attention, is that Xenophon published the books of Thucydides. If so, it was the best action in his whole life. It is extremely probable that he resided at Athens for some time before the battle of Cnidus, and that he was living under the eyes of his fellow-citizens, when he brought out the two supplemental books: and that he subjoined them as such from the first to those of Thucydides. According to the *Bibliotheca Græca*, all the seven in the Aldine edition bear the title of *Paralipomena* of Thucydides; and this was no doubt taken from some manuscript: it is appropriate for the first two books, and was assuredly their original one: it only becomes absurd by being extended too far. Marcellinus, I conceive, was acquainted with the two books in their

separate state, and it is they, οἷς Ξ. συνάπτει τὰ Ἑλληνικά. For this again is the appropriate title for the last five.

The ancients set so high a value on harmony of numbers in their distribution of parts, and on symmetry in general, that one may hazard the conjecture, that the Paralipomena formed only one book; so that, including them, the whole history of the Peloponnesian war made up nine, like that of Herodotus. As a single book they would not be more bulky than one of Thucydides. Ten however is likewise a suitable number, especially for Athens; whereas seven is one altogether accidental and arbitrary. The five of the Hellenica would be the half of the former, and combined with the seven of the Anabasis would make twelve.

When separated from the Paralipomena the Hellenica acquire a far more graceful aspect. They assume a kind of epic character, and everything has reference to Agesilaus: the campaigns of Thimbron and Dercyllidas are only the proœmium: and so indeed is the Elean war itself, which introduces the narrative of the death of Agis and the elevation of Agesilaus to the throne. Had it been the author's intention to write a connected Greek history continuing that of Thucydides, the plan on which he sets out in the third book would be as bad as the sentiments he discloses.

One manifest distinction between the Paralipomena and the Hellenica is, that in the former, according to the plan of Thucydides, notice is taken of contemporaneous events at Syracuse, but none at all in the latter, though there was no lack of important occasions.

I take this opportunity of expressing my opinions on two other points.

If the books of Thucydides were published shortly after his death, and with a continuation, this is an external proof of the groundlessness of a notion which gained some credit even among the ancients, that the eighth book is not his. For at all events it cannot possibly be ascribed to Xenophon. Now whether Thucydides had put the last hand to it, depends on the manner in which he was accustomed to work: it would be strange that the first seven should have received the utmost possible completion, but not this, and yet that the conclusion of the history should be wanting, which must have

been sketched in like manner. I conceive that the eighth book, just as it is, evinces this great writer's perfect sense of propriety, and that as the solemnity and dignity of his narrative are continually rising till he reaches the Sicilian catastrophe, so when his subject begins to sink, his history takes a different tone. An inferior writer would have thought it necessary to maintain equal pathos throughout. In the period toward the end of the war, and during the tyranny, Thucydides would have returned to his sublimity. The long agony that preceded the decision of the struggle required a lower key.

If any one supposes that a Syracusan named Themistogenes really wrote the history of the Anabasis, but that his work is not that which bears the name of Xenophon, he must also suppose that Xenophon composed his later than the *Hellenica*, and therefore at a very advanced age. Yet the *Anabasis* not only has not the character of an old man's work, but is far more like a youthful production than the *Hellenica*.

Does the name Themistogenes allude to Dionysius and his princely birth?

Through the same chance that led to the foregoing essay, which was occasioned by a contribution sent by another person to the Rhenish Museum, and without the remotest thought of controversy, I there recorded an opinion which I had frequently exprest in conversation: that Plato was not a good citizen, and Xenophon a thoroughly bad one. I also considered that some one or other must at length speak out, and declare without reserve that the reputation enjoyed by the latter, as an eminent genius and a great writer, is utterly unmerited, and that it rests only on a traditional superstitious prejudice: the inducement which determined me to do so at that time, was, that I had occasion to mention Xenophon's history as a continuation of that of Thucydides.

No one ever overthrew a literary idol without provoking the anger of its worshippers; and the same could scarcely fail to be the case in this instance: but I wrote in so calm a mood that this thought never crossed my mind. Else I am not

sure whether my aversion to literary feuds might not have overpowered that which I felt to the apostate, and my conviction that some one would at last have to come forward and maintain the truth. Yet I could never have dreamt that my remark on Plato, which only expresses what must strike every one who is familiar with Greek history, and does not in the remotest degree infringe the respect due to his genius, would serve as an occasion for an attack on myself.

To meet this attack with a circumstantial reply, is a task for which I have neither leisure nor inclination. Controversy is the element of the learned person who has undertaken to beshame and chastise me: to me it is unpleasant, as interrupting the straight course of my own researches: nor would it be in my power, without giving vent to feelings of indignation which I would subdue, to answer logic such as that with which my adversary has thought fit to assail me, and charges which accuse me of recklessly degrading a venerable name, and which announce to the world with no little pleasantry, that I have extolled a man guilty of scandalous venality as a saint. As I do not mean to answer them, it is the more necessary that I should place the matter in the right point of view, and this is all I intend.

The treatise in question opens with a chain of reasoning designed to shew how necessary it is to refute my heretical doctrine. If Plato was a bad citizen, he was not an upright man; and since his philosophy has penetrated into the inmost depths of truth, it would follow that the spirit of lies may be a teacher of wisdom and virtue.

Now as a general proposition I do not hesitate to avow, that, though I cannot conceive Satan becoming the enthusiastic preacher of a lore uniting height and depth, I can very well conceive this to be the case with a man subject to the visits of an evil spirit which frequently may gain entire possession of him. And at the risk of any abuse that malevolence may make of the illustration, I will say this not hypothetically, but will mention Rousseau and Mirabeau as examples. And may I not add Hippel, as he is described? and all fanatics? and, in a worse kind, the wise chancellor Bacon? But in the present case we are not speaking of men in whom the good and the bad genius are struggling with one another, and

obtain the mastery by turns. In the first place I have never even called Plato a bad citizen; to substitute this epithet for that which I used is a piece of—dialectic astuteness. I said he was not a good one, because the spirit of faction and deeply rooted personal feelings prejudiced him against the hereditary and legitimate constitution of his country, and gave him a bias in favour of a party whose hypocritical pretenses were unmasked as soon as ever it came into power: a party which no longer retained any real existence, and which rendered an Athenian who clung to it as incapable of serving his country, as a Jacobite in England during the latter half of the last century. This narrowness of sentiments is the unhappy effect of all party spirit, whether political or religious, but especially of that which tends to bar and counteract the existing order of things. Would to God it were otherwise! But since it is actually the case, that, where dissensions have arisen, noble-minded and even holy men have become slaves to the spirit of faction, and have committed acts of unpardonable atrocity, it is important on two accounts to be aware that such things happen: in the first place as it admonishes us to preserve our own liberty against this spirit with the greater care: and in the next place as it may guard us, both from joining in the cry of those who pronounce an unqualified condemnation on otherwise noble natures on account of such offenses, and from vindicating the misdeeds which they have sanctioned or taken part in, through respect for their real virtue. Bishop Belsunce acted like a saint during the plague of Marseilles—assuredly in compliance with the genuine dictates of his heart: the same man a few years after persecuted honest Jansenist priests with the fury of an inquisitor. How noble was Bossuet's conduct toward the Protestants! how dexterously again did he deal with the court? It is especially in times of violent agitation such as that of the French revolution, and the struggles it has produced, that this conflict between the two principles appears so conspicuous, that no one can fail to observe it; and my adversary has had the experience of these times as well as myself.

It is one thing to say that a man was a traitor to his country, like Hyperbolus, Æschines, and Demades, and another thing to say that he was not a good citizen, and

that through dissatisfaction with the existing forms and the men in power, he withdrew his love and fondness from his country, and either shrank into selfish indifference or transferred his affection to foreigners. There are many men born under such unfortunate circumstances that they cannot be condemned for doing so; and according to the way in which many persons speak of Athens upon a superficial acquaintance with it, this was the case with Plato. I say that he was not a good citizen, because he expresses not the slightest esteem and love for Athens, and because on the contrary the scorn and contempt in which he indulges on the subject of democracy was rendered the more vehement and passionate by the thought of his country: because, though gifted with every requisite for serving her, and guiding her to her welfare, he kept superciliously aloof from her: because nothing but a blind party-spirit can account for the contempt with which he treats the noble-minded patriot Lysias, and strives to exalt Isocrates at his expense: a man, who at least in his old age was a thoroughly bad citizen, as well as an ineffable fool, and who did not atone for his folly by the despair that seized him when the abyss at length opened at his feet. Distinguished men, whose younger days fall in revolutionary times, are liable to be entangled in perplexing situations for which it would be cruel afterward to call them to account: but which nevertheless generally leave a scar behind. I ask those who are really familiar with Grecian history, whether they have any doubt under which banner Plato stood, when the old constitution and freedom, in the persons of Thrasybulus and the men of the Piræus, were contending against usurpation and slavery, in the persons of Critias and the party in the city. It is surely beyond all doubt that the kinsman of Critias would be found at his side: and this explains Plato's enmity to Lysias, who staked his fortune and his life on the fall of the tyrants. Wretched as are the anecdotes about Plato which have been transmitted to us by Diogenes, still they are precisely of such a nature that we may be sure if, by a miracle which would be utterly inconceivable, Plato had been in the Piræus, this would have been just one of those facts which Thrasyllus, Hermippus, and similar authors would not have neglected to mention.

They have related that he retired to Megara: and the truth of this statement has never been questioned, nor indeed is there the slightest reason for doing so, even if his journey to Egypt should be apocryphal, as his years of study in the Egyptian temples certainly are. His removal to Megara, where an Athenian could only reside as a foreigner under the protection of a patron for which he had a tax to pay, was not the same thing as it is for a German to transfer his abode from one German state to another: it was a step which no one would have taken without very urgent motives; and such undoubtedly there were for the friends of the Thirty Tyrants, even though wholly guiltless of their crimes.

The more earnest a man's character and the more intense his feelings, the more decisive are the impressions of his early youth, those he receives from his first friends whom he looks up to as a boy with the delight of familiar love; those of kindred. It is not an arbitrary conjecture that Plato stood in a relation of this kind with his mother's uncle Critias from his boyhood. A man of such abilities, so highly gifted with the power of fascinating and subduing the spirit of all around him, which gave him the command over his haughty colleagues, must have exercised an irresistible influence over his great-nephew. Before his banishment he might appear to have the right entirely on his side, as every opposition to a government abounding in abuses will do: when he went into exile Plato was still very young, and did not see him again till he returned to become a tyrant. Here however I must expressly protest against any sycophant-like construction, that would represent me as charging Plato with being an accomplice of the Thirty Tyrants. I would lay my life that he was not: but though an ingenuous young mind must have viewed the events of that period with horror, it might be unable under such circumstances to abandon the belief that they were the result of a horrible necessity, and so might still retain its affection for the object of its early admiration. It is perfectly conceivable that Plato may have wept over the fate of Critias, and may never have forgiven those who shed his blood. Soon afterward one of the leaders of the counter-revolution and the restorers of the legitimate government appeared among the accusers of Socrates: a remarkable example

to shew how little political parties produce a moral separation : and that villains may be found bearing the standard of the law and of the justest of causes. And thus Plato may have been prejudiced against his native city in its constitutional form of government by the warm feelings of his youthful heart : but it is not the less true that, if so, he was not a good citizen.

Evil without end may be spoken of the Athenian constitution, and with truth : but the common place, stale declamation of its revilers would be in a great measure silenced, if a man qualified for the task should avail himself of the advanced state of our insight into the circumstances of Athens, to shew how even there the vital principle instinctively produced forms and institutions by which, notwithstanding the elements of anarchy contained in the constitution, the commonwealth preserved and regulated itself. No people in history has been so much misunderstood and so unjustly condemned as the Athenians : with very few exceptions the old charges of faults and misdeeds are continually repeated. I should say : God shield us from a constitution like the Athenian ! were not the age of such states irrevocably gone by, and consequently all fear of it in our own case. As it was it shews an unexampled degree of noble-mindedness in the nation, that the heated temper of a fluctuating popular assembly, the security afforded to individuals of giving a base vote unobserved, produced so few reprehensible decrees : and that on the other hand the thousands, among whom the common man had the upper hand, came to resolutions of such self-sacrificing magnanimity and heroism, as few men are capable of except in their most exalted mood, even when they have the honour of renowned ancestors to maintain as well as their own.

I will not charge those who declaim about the Athenians as an incurably reckless people, and their republic as hopelessly lost in the time of Plato, with wilful injustice ; for they know not what they do. But this is a striking instance how imperfect knowledge leads to injustice and calumnies : and why does not every one ask his conscience whether he is himself capable of forming a sober judgement on every case that lies before him ? A man of candour will hear the answer in a voice like that of the Genius of Socrates. Let who

will clamour and scoff: for myself, should trials be reserved for my old age, and for my children, who will certainly have evil days to pass through, I pray only for as much self-controll, as much temperance in the midst of temptation, as much courage in the hour of danger, as much calm perseverance in the consciousness of a glorious resolution, which was unfortunate in its issue, as was shewn by the Athenian people, considered as one man: we have nothing to do here with the morals of the individuals: but he who as an individual possesses such virtues, and withal is guilty of no worse sins in proportion than the Athenians, may look forward without uneasiness to his last hour.

The ancient rhetoricians were a class of babblers, a school for lies and scandal: they fastened many aspersions on nations and individuals. So we hear it echoed from one declamation to another among the examples of Athenian ingratitude, that Paches was driven to save himself by his own dagger from the sentence of the popular tribunal. How delighted was I last year to find in a place where no one will look for such a discovery, that he was condemned for having violated free women in Mitylene at its capture. The Athenians did not suffer his services in this expedition, or his merit in averting an alarming danger from them, to screen him from punishment.

The fathers and brothers who, in the epigraph of the thousand citizens who fell as freemen at Chæronea, attested with joy that they did not repent of their determination, for the issue was in the hands of the gods, the resolution, the glory of man: who conferred a crown of gold on the orator by whose advice the unfortunate attempt had been made which cost them the lives of their kinsmen, without asking whether they were provoking the resentment of the conqueror: the people who when Alexander, fresh from the ashes of Thebes, demanded the patriots, refused to give them up, and chose rather to await his appearance before their walls: who, while all who flattered or feared Philip, warned them not to irritate him, condemned citizens to death for buying slaves that had fallen into the hands of the Macedonians by the capture of Greek cities which had been hostile to Athens: the people whose needy citizens, though predominant in the

assembly, renounced the largess which alone afforded them the luxury of flesh on a few festivals, though on all other days throughout the year they ate nothing but olives, herbs, and onions, with dry bread and salt fish: who made this sacrifice to raise the means of arming for the national honour: this people commands my whole heart and my deepest reverence. And when a great man turned away from this noble and pliable people, though certainly it did not appear every day in its holiday clothes, and was not free from sins and frailties, he incurred a just punishment in the delusion which led him to attempt to wash a blackamoor white: to convert an incorrigibly bad subject like Dionysius, and through his means to place philosophy on the throne in the sink of Syracusan luxury and licentiousness: and in the scarcely less flagrant folly of taking an adventurer so deeply tainted with tyranny as Dion, for a hero and an ideal. A man who could hope for success in this undertaking, and despaired of a people like the Athenians, had certainly gone great lengths in straining at gnats and swallowing camels.

According to the way in which public business was transacted at Athens, Plato, if he had come forward as a friend and guardian of his countrymen, would not even have been compelled, as might have been the case in our days, to make his choice between prosecuting his speculations and taking a share in the guidance of the nation.

History furnishes no example of exertions crowned with such happy effects as those of Demosthenes: his great success, the resolutions to which he animated his own and other cities in so wonderful a manner, would have been the least part of his glory, even if a fortunate issue had changed the order of the world's history. A greater result than this, and one independent of fortune, was that he cultivated and ennobled the character of his countrymen: his eloquence breathed a second youth into the elder men of susceptible minds, and a new generation had started up among them whose fresh spirits had caught his fire: hence the Athenians of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, stood far above those of the hundred and sixth.

It is true that after all they fell and dishonoured their teacher and master: stunned by threats when Alexander was

returning toward the west, and they had no ally left in the world. This wounded Demosthenes more deeply than any other misfortune of his life; but if the tone of his reproof sounded harsh, his love for his country still glowed unimpaired in his heart. When the moment arrived which shewed a chance of deliverance, and the leaders of the commonwealth had resolved on the right policy, but from jealousy and an uneasy conscience hesitated about recalling the great man by whose side they were so diminutive, and whom they had treated so ill;—at this crisis he joined their envoys without thinking of himself, or requiring anything for himself, to enlist confederates on behalf of his country and of the cause on which he had spent his life: he freely forgave the faithless Hyperides, because he was useful to Athens, and gave him courage to consider himself once more as the friend of his illustrious master, to make peace with himself, and to die with calmness.

For this it was principally that I called him a saint: I do not envy the man who judges of him differently. His whole political life, his honour, are without spot or change. And surely it is time that the old strain about his bribe from Harpalus should cease. Providence which permitted the honour of the most magnanimous of all statesmen to be long degraded in the judgement of the credulous, has caused all the circumstances of the transaction to be so well preserved, that the vileness of the calumny is as apparent as if we were his contemporaries.

Mediocrity finds a comfort in making out that great men have risen, not by their own character and genius, but by casual advantages and instruction. So there were people who fancied that Demosthenes owed his eloquence to Aristotle's rhetoric: an absurdity the refutation of which is one of the superfluous labours which Dionysius of Halicarnassus imposed upon himself. Hermippus wrote that Demosthenes was a hearer of Plato: but had no authority to alledge, except that he had found the fact in the book of a nameless author. On so frail a foundation rests a statement which is universally received as unquestionably authentic: and indeed I should myself be glad to suppose that Demosthenes had been in the school of Plato, and had there formed a friendship with

Aristotle, were it not that a testimony which can prove nothing is contradicted by the strongest internal evidence. Traces could not fail to appear of some influence exerted on the orator's style and thoughts by such a teacher, especially in his early speeches: but even in them not one is to be found. It is impossible for two great writers of the same city, the younger of whom moreover was for more than thirty years a contemporary of the elder, to be more perfect without the slightest resemblance. And so this story is probably no better founded than another, which is decidedly false, that Demosthenes was also a scholar of Isocrates.

XENOPHON, NIEBUHR, AND DELBRUECK.

THE first of the foregoing little pieces is the one to which I had originally designed to confine the reader's attention, as it will be almost exclusively the subject of the following remarks. But it would have been unjust toward both the author and our readers to have withheld the explanation which accompanies it in his miscellaneous works, and I have therefore annexed it, though conscious that it contains passages and expressions which may startle and offend many even of his admirers, and though I must leave the impression they may produce to itself, and shall not attempt to place them in a clearer or more favourable light. Only the occasion which called forth the vindication, and one or two allusions in it, must be shortly explained. It refers to a little pamphlet published about a year after the article in the Rhenish Museum, under the title of *An Apology for Plato, in answer to an attack on his Political Character*, and composed in the form of an oration, never delivered, but intended for an academical audience, and dedicated (without permission) to

Niebuhr¹. The author, Mr Delbrueck, is a professor at Bonn, known in Germany by some works on moral philosophy, divinity, and the theory of education, but still better by the spirit he has shewn in sending challenges to two of the most celebrated writers in Germany, Niebuhr and Schleiermacher, inviting them to a controversy in their respective departments, which it is at least certain each of them thought fit to decline. He has also, I believe, made several similar attempts on some other authors of inferior celebrity, but with what success I am unable to say. The republication of the observations on the *Hellenica*, with the accompanying vindication, among Niebuhr's tracts, set Mr Delbrueck's pen again in motion, and in the following year he produced an *Apology for Xenophon*². It is this last work which will furnish an occasion for a few comments. Had Niebuhr been still living, I should have thought it better to abstain from touching on its contents, that I might not appear guilty either of the indiscreet officiousness of taking up the gauntlet for one who had suffered it to lie, and who needed no champion, or of the still more foolish presumption of assuming the office of a mediator between two persons who were not likely ever to come to a better mutual understanding. It is a privilege of celebrated men that they may express new and singular opinions, without incurring the suspicion of starting paradoxes for the sake of attracting notice and gaining a name. And hence on many occasions it becomes one of their duties to declare their conviction without reserve, however it may clash with the prejudices of the multitude, especially if it be one which other intelligent persons have entertained, but which they have hesitated to avow. Niebuhr appears to have felt this duty, when in stating his view of the *Hellenica* he took occasion to add his judgement on the character of the author: and he knew the price which the performance of such duties usually costs. Even if a person sincerely interested in the subject, like Mr Delbrueck, had not come forward to take the part of Xenophon, it was to be expected that somebody would be

¹ Vertheidigung Platon's gegen einen Angriff auf seine Buergertugend. Eine nicht gehaltene Akademische Rede. Von F. Delbrueck. 1828.

² Xenophon. Zur Rettung seiner durch B. G. Niebuhr gefaehrdeten Ehre. 1829.

tempted by so inviting an opportunity of pleading a popular cause, with the prospect of gaining a triumph over a renowned name. But an admirer of Niebuhr, who, though agreeing with him on most points of the question, was unable even there to adopt his language, if he entered into the discussion, would have found himself forced upon the ungracious and indelicate task of discriminating between the substance of Niebuhr's opinions and the impression of his personal character on the form in which they appear, and would thus have seemed to deprecate the severity of criticism in the name of an author who more than any other anticipated and courted it. Unhappily the case now is entirely altered. The value of a great man's works is raised when their number is told: and it will certainly not be considered as an act of superstitious devotion to bring the very dust of Niebuhr's writings over to our shores. If it is not pure gold, it is at least weightier and more precious than many bulky volumes. At the same time it is not inconsistent with the highest respect for his genius to admit, that as he saw more keenly than most men on the vast variety of subjects which his mind embraced, he also felt more strongly; and that in the two foregoing pieces, but especially in the second, the tone natural to the author is more vehement than the subject appears to demand or perhaps to justify.

It seems probable that but for this peculiarity in Niebuhr's mode of expression, one at least of Mr Delbrueck's above-mentioned Apologies would never have been written: and at all events he would scarcely have conceived the plan of defending Plato against the charges of Niebuhr, in an oration supposed to be address to a circle of young students, full of enthusiasm for the philosopher, which was ready to kindle into a blaze of indignation at the report of a calumny cast upon his name. After Niebuhr's explanation of his own meaning, we see that it would have been a safer process to have summoned him before a critical Areopagus, where the cause might have been tried upon its merits, without any appeal to the passions. Mr Delbrueck himself seems to have perceived that, as far as Plato's character was concerned, the warmth he felt and excited had been almost entirely wasted, that the importance of the question was not precisely such as he had attributed to it, and that there was little to be gained by dis-

cussing it any further. On other points however the explanation leaves him altogether dissatisfied, and even more indignant than before, as it not only repeats many things that had given him offense, but makes very irreverent mention of another name which he has been accustomed to respect. Only as to Demosthenes he confesses, with a candour which does him honour, that when in a note to his *Apology for Plato*, p. 50, he proposed to strike the great orator out of the political canon on the evidence of Plutarch, (*Dem. c. xxvi.*) he ought to have given his readers an opportunity of comparing what Pausanias (*II. 33.*) adduces on the other side, which at first sight appears satisfactorily to vindicate Niebuhr and the Calauereans from the imputation of conferring heroic honours on a venal statesman. And though he has the consolation to know that if he had then been acquainted with this testimony of Pausanias, it would not have altered his opinion, since he should still have preferred trusting the authority of Plutarch, he admits that it would have occasioned some difference in his expressions. But I think he is rather unreasonable when he complains of Niebuhr (*Xenoph. p. 230*) for not having directed him to the passage of Pausanias, which he was thus left to discover for himself, or with the assistance of a friend, after the only piece of pleasantry in his book had been thrown away. It is certainly not the absence of this reference that Niebuhr's readers have most to regret. There are other points equally interesting and more obscure, on which it is to be wished that he had not contented himself with general assertions, or had been more explicit and precise in stating the grounds of his opinions. Yet if he had done so, we should perhaps never have seen Mr Delbrueck's second *Apology*. For it might have turned out in the case of Xenophon, as in that of Plato, that the whole difference was too intimately connected with personal impressions and feelings to be ever brought to an issue by argument.

As it is, Mr Delbrueck has been invited by the latitude of Niebuhr's language to enter into a general survey of Xenophon's life, and his character as a man and a writer, for the purpose of shewing that in all respects he deserved the love and esteem of posterity. And this undoubtedly is a subject so important in itself, that it needed not to borrow any additional interest

from a polemical occasion. Few ancient writers have been favorites with so large a body of readers as Xenophon; and the feeling he excites is not merely gratitude for the variety of valuable information contained in his works, but one of personal good-will and affection. Many have begun their acquaintance with him through the *Anabasis*; and the impression it can scarcely fail to make on a first perusal will seldom be effaced. But it will be confirmed and heightened when from another side we consider the brave soldier, the skilful general, whose wisdom and courage, if they did not make, at least mainly contributed to introduce and decide one of the greatest epochs in the history of the world, as the scholar and friend of Socrates, the expounder of his doctrines, and the champion of his reputation. The spirit in which he undertakes this office appears as amiable and praiseworthy, as the capacity for such widely different pursuits is rare and admirable. That such a man, after his great qualities had been most signally displayed in the service of Greece, should have been banished from his native city, must at first sight seem one of the foulest instances of Athenian ingratitude and tyranny; and when with our sympathy thus raised in his behalf we follow him into his exile, and find him there employed for the good of mankind, in recording the events of his own time, and communicating the results of his reflection and experience, each of his works appears to give him a new title to our esteem. Even the points in which they are deficient, when compared with those of the great masters in the same branches of Greek literature, have probably rather increased than lessened their attraction. Thucydides and Plato may be more intensely enjoyed, but by a narrower circle. Their depth and sublimity absorbs some minds, but many are deterred or wearied by it: and then it is refreshing to descend with Xenophon to a level where no one fears to stumble, and to trace the windings of a limpid stream in which we can distinguish every pebble at the bottom, as plainly as the flowers on its banks.

Those who have been used to view Xenophon merely in this light will be surprized and shocked at hearing him spoken of in a tone of indignation and contempt; and they will be grateful to Mr Delbrueck for the pains he has taken to vindicate his right to their fondness. But though the

Apologist had a fair occasion for instituting a general inquiry into Xenophon's character, which would have been sufficiently interesting if it had had no particular object, it is possible that by so doing he may have misled some of his readers into a false notion of the state of the question, and may have prevented them from observing that Niebuhr's attack upon Xenophon applies exclusively to his political conduct, and therefore leaves many of his claims to their esteem still unshaken, while on the other hand it is itself not at all affected by a great part of the Apology. The only question really agitated in the remarks on the Hellenica concerns Xenophon's Athenian patriotism. He is charged with being an ungrateful and unnatural son of Athens. A general discussion of his merits as a man and a writer cannot without some violence or artifice be brought to bear upon this point. But least of all will any sober and impartial person be inclined to adopt Mr Delbrueck's view of the momentous consequences which he conceives to depend on this discussion, and to admit that it involves the cause of Socrates and of philosophy. (p. 4.) This is a fallacy which suited the form of his first Apology better than the second. The position he takes up at the opening of his work is itself liable to a similar objection; it might have been well chosen for the purpose of a panegyric: but it is one to which he has no right as a disputant, and which tends to perplex and deceive his readers. He lays down his own notion of the *καλὸς καὶ γαθὸς* according to the best sense of the epithet, and then proposes to examine whether Xenophon in his actions and writings answers to this description. But unless the qualities it includes are inconsistent with a diseased state of political feeling, according to Niebuhr's test of soundness, it is evident that the result of this inquiry must be almost wholly foreign to the subject. According to Mr Delbrueck, (p. 1) "a person who studies continually to become better informed on all important practical subjects, and in proportion to the progress of his knowledge observes a befitting and decorous conduct in public and private life, so as under all circumstances to prove himself a man of right feeling, of sound, though perhaps not of very keen or deep understanding, of clear insight into common matters, though he may not penetrate very far into those which are remote and abstruse; a man

whose head and heart are in the right place, who has his hand and his tongue sufficiently at his command, assisted by a pleasing deportment, to operate for praiseworthy ends by word and deed, with vigour and address, with grace and dignity,—such a person was called by the Greeks, eminently, *καλὸς κἀγαθός*.”

Mr Delbrueck explains his meaning more distinctly in a note, where he observes that the sense he affixes to the epithet was not that in which it was commonly understood by the Greeks, who applied it chiefly with reference to outward and casual advantages of birth or fortune: but that he has endeavoured to express the notion which Socrates attached to it, as appears from Xenophon's *Œconomicus*, vii. 11—17, compared with vii. 1—3. I do not quite understand why Mr Delbrueck refers to these passages rather than to the eleventh chapter of the same treatise, which one would have thought more to the purpose, and which at all events must also be considered. But taking them all together, we find that Ischomachus was acknowledged on all hands fully to deserve this honorable appellation, (vi. 17,) and from c. 11 we learn the qualities and habits by which he had earned it. He informs Socrates (xi. 8) that he had perceived that the gods had made prudence and industry the conditions of prosperity, and therefore that, while he paid due honour to the gods, he exerted his own faculties to the utmost, in order to obtain health, strength, honour in his city, good-will from his friends, a fair chance of safety in war, and growing wealth. To this end he rose early, (14) kept his body in active exercise, at the same time that he superintended and improved his estate; and though he relied chiefly on the innocence of his life for his security against calumny, did not neglect to train himself to a capacity of expressing his thoughts, if occasion should require it, in public.

This description of the principles and character of the *καλὸς κἀγαθός* is indeed a little more homely than Mr Delbrueck's. But it has the advantage of being Xenophon's; and since it is referred to by Mr Delbrueck himself as the foundation of that which he has given, he cannot complain if we construe the latter by it. It may be useful to compare it with a passage in the *Memorabilia* (iii. 8. 4—7) and

another, *Conviv.* v. 3, 4, which shew how little stress Xenophon laid on the first part of the epithet. But even if we take Mr Delbrueck's standard of *καλοκαγαθία* without any reduction, it seems very possible that a person may have come up to it on the whole, whose mind was nevertheless warped by political prejudices, which rendered him, in Niebuhr's sense of the word, a bad citizen, that is, hostile to the institutions of his country, and indifferent or ill disposed to her welfare, as long as she continued to be governed by them. How far such a bias implies any moral obliquity, or is even inconsistent with the purest patriotism, must depend on the motives in which it originates and the practical consequences to which it leads. But even where the spring from which it has arisen is not wholly free from all taint of selfishness, and therefore it is in itself not entirely blameless, and where it has been carried to an unjustifiable and pernicious excess, we know from familiar experience that it does not prevent the person who is under its influence from maintaining in other respects the character of a generous and upright man. Least of all will it follow that if nothing inconsistent with such a character is found in the works of a writer who has treated on a great variety of subjects, we may pronounce his political views and principles to have been faultless. Mr Delbrueck conceives that his own notion of the *καλὸς καγαθὸς* answers exactly to that which is expressed by our word *gentleman*, when taken in its highest and largest sense. It seems to me, as I have already intimated, very doubtful whether Xenophon's notion of it was quite so comprehensive. But if it was, must we deny his claim to that title, if we believe that he entertained a strong dislike to the Athenian form of government, and preferred not only the Spartan, but the paternal rule of such a monarch as either the elder or the younger Cyrus? if we even believe that this dislike, at first perhaps merely speculative, was converted by time and circumstances into a personal feeling, which distorted his judgement and rendered him partial and unjust? More than this Niebuhr does not appear to have imputed to Xenophon, whose degeneracy he represents as a gradual estrangement from his country. But if Mr Delbrueck contends that his own definition excludes even this degree of frailty, we shall be inclined to doubt not merely whether Xenophon answered

to it, but whether it is not the description of a monster such as the world never saw. At all events it looks very like a polemical artifice to make the question turn on the evidence which Xenophon's works give in his favour, on points which have never been disputed.

Since according to Niebuhr's view Xenophon's political sentiments underwent a change, it becomes a point of some importance to ascertain at what time of his life this may have happened. The later we place it, the more evident must it be that it was the result of an accidental external impulse of events and circumstances. Mr Delbrueck, though of course he does not attach any such importance to the question of Xenophon's age at the time of the Anabasis, which according to Niebuhr preceded his political apostasy, has stated the grounds of his own opinion. But probably few of his readers will think that he has contributed much to lessen the difficulty in which the subject is still involved, after all the discussion it has undergone. Our readers, it may be presumed, are acquainted with Mr Mitford's arguments in his note on c. XXIII. s. 1. and Mr Clinton's remarks on them *Fasti Hell.* p. 89. Mr Mitford was certainly unfortunate in several of the grounds on which he relied: he seems to have committed an oversight in reading Athenæus v. c. 55. Athenæus, he observes, has shown from Plato, that the story told by Strabo and Diogenes Laertius, about the adventure of Xenophon at the battle of Delium, could not be true. On which Mr Clinton remarks that he has found nothing stated on the authority of Plato in Athenæus to this purpose. I suppose Mr Mitford had in his view the argument by which Athenæus endeavours to shew that Plato had contradicted himself about the military expeditions of Socrates, by asserting in the Crito that Socrates had never been out of Attica except on a journey to the Isthmus. The fact is, that Athenæus who has the impudence to sneer at Plato, calling him *ὁ τῇ Μνημοσύνῃ φίλος*, has himself been guilty either of almost unpardonable forgetfulness, or of most detestable dishonesty, by omitting Plato's express qualification, *εἰ μὴ ποὶ στρατευσόμενος*: and Mr Mitford probably neglected to verify his author's quotation. Another of his arguments drawn from the text of the Anabasis, II. 1. 10, as it formerly stood, has since fallen to the ground by the sub-

stitution of the names of Theopompus for that of Xenophon. Though even according to the old reading it would not have had much weight; for *νεανίσκος* might have been used, § 13, merely with reference to the military profession of the party addressed. Again, the title *νέος*, I believe, is nowhere given to Xenophon in the *Anabasis*: but since others, which I shall mention presently, more than equivalent to this, are there given to him, Mr Mitford's statement is in this respect substantially correct.

If the question rested solely on the information about Xenophon's age contained in the *Anabasis*, I must own that I should have thought it scarcely possible to arrive at a different conclusion from Mr Mitford, and that I should not have hesitated for a moment to reject the anecdote in Strabo as he does. And it certainly requires some very strong arguments to counteract the impression which a continuous perusal of the *Anabasis* naturally makes on one who keeps this question in his mind. Yet so fallible is the human understanding, that one of the passages in this work used by Mr Mitford to prove that Xenophon, when he took the command of the Greeks, must have been under thirty, is adduced by Mr Delbrueck as a decisive proof that he must have been near fifty: and he accordingly fixes his age at forty-seven. The passage (III. 1. 25) has been often quoted. Mr Delbrueck would render the ambiguous words—*οὐ προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, κ. τ. λ.*—I do not plead my age, but conceive myself to be *still* in full vigour; and he adds with no little *naïveté*, that Xenophon could not have so spoken (as Mr Delbrueck's translation makes him speak) if he had not been considerably nearer fifty than forty. This no one will dispute: but the question still remains whether this was Xenophon's meaning: and unfortunately Mr Delbrueck has not taken the same pains as Mr Mitford to ascertain this by the context. He seems to think it clear that the only doubt as to Xenophon's fitness for the command under the perilous circumstances of the army, was whether he retained sufficient bodily strength for supporting the fatigues of the office. Most people will perhaps be inclined to think that maturity of mental vigour, prudence, and experience, was still more important in such a crisis, especially as the general had

commonly fewer personal hardships to endure than the private soldier. Another passage (III. 1. 14) on which Mr Mitford justly lays great stress, as explaining the sense of the other—*ποίαν ἡλικίαν ἑμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι εἰάν τήμερον προδῶ ἑμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις*—is left unnoticed by Mr Delbrueck. Schneider in his preface to the *Hellenica* (p. XII) adopts a middle course. When he wrote it, he was not aware that the better manuscripts of the *Anabasis* gave the reading *Θεόπομπος* at II. 1. 12; but he conceived that *νεανίσκος*, like *adolescens*, was applicable to the whole extent of the military age, which is very probable, at least with regard to military persons. By later Greek writers *νεανίσκοι* is used for soldiers (see Schleusner *Lex. N. T. νεανίσκος*). The earlier authors seem to have defined it quite arbitrarily, and without much regard to its relation to *νέος*, from which Mr Mitford thought its meaning might be inferred (compare *Diog. Laert.* VIII. 10. with *Pollux.* II. 4). But Schneider quotes the two other passages of the *Anabasis* on which Mr Mitford chiefly relies, and interprets them in the same manner: yet he does not think that they render it necessary to reject the story of Xenophon's presence at the battle of Delium, or to suppose him under forty four or forty three at the time when he took the command of the Ten Thousand. But Schneider has not explained how a person of this age could doubt whether he was old enough for the office, especially when of the deceased generals Clearchus at the time of his death was only fifty, Agias and Socrates forty, Proxenus thirty, and Meno probably still younger. Nor has he shown how this mature age is to be reconciled with another passage which he quotes, where Xenophon speaks of himself as one of the two youngest generals (III. 2. 37), *ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγώ τε καὶ Τιμασίων*. The difference of age here signified, which is perhaps still more strongly marked on a subsequent occasion, III. 3. 11, must have been considerable enough to render the arrangement proposed by Xenophon manifestly the fittest: it would lead us to conclude that all the other generals except Timasion were several years past fifty, which, when we consider the age of their predecessors, and all the circumstances of the case, seems a little difficult

to believe. The manner in which Xenophon speaks of his own exertions during the expedition, though not in itself decisive, certainly favours Mr Mitford's view. He engages in the most laborious and active service, that which is assigned to the youngest troops in the army, without ever indicating that he had done anything from which his age would naturally have exempted him, though his rank would have enabled him to decline it. Thus we find him (III. 4. 42—49) choosing a duty which required extraordinary strength and agility, expressly on the ground of his youth, and in the course of it voluntarily dismounting and climbing a steep hill, though encumbered with his cavalry armour, at a pace which his men could scarcely keep up with: and again (IV. 2. 16) on a similar service at the head of a party selected from the youngest troops: and again (IV. 3. 20). So on another occasion (VII. 3. 45, 46) he again dismounts in order that his example may encourage the heavy-armed infantry to run the faster, and he selects the nimble men under thirty to follow him. This last passage struck Schneider himself so forcibly, that he seems to retract the opinion he had before expressed in his preface to the *Hellenica*, and to adopt Mr Mitford's¹. Almost immediately after (VII. 4. 6) we find Seuthes ordering Xenophon to follow him in a night march with the youngest of the heavy armed troops.

In opposition to these indications it will perhaps be readily granted, that there is very little weight in Hutchinson's argument (*Dissert. i. ad Cyrop.*) drawn from the offer which Seuthes makes to Xenophon (VII. 2. 38), either to give him one of his own daughters, or, if he had one, to buy her according to the Thracian custom. It is certainly a circumstance of much greater importance on the other side, that Xenophon in fact had no children born at this time (*Anab. VII. 6. 34*, with Schneider's note, and his *Epistle* in the same volume p. xxvi). And the invitation of Proxenus surely sounds much more natural if we suppose it to have been addressed to a man of about the same age with himself, than if it called upon one who was near five and forty, to leave his country and seek his fortune at the court of a foreign prince.

¹ Hinc satis certum argumentum nos habere ætatis Xenophontis, fere triginta annos tum nati, recte monet Weiske.

This objection of course applies still more strongly to Mr Delbrueck's view, and it would seem almost insurmountable if he is right in the inference he draws from a passage of the *Anabasis* (v. 3. 1, the only one, beside the equivocal words above mentioned, to which he appeals as the foundation of his opinion) where the men past forty are sent off by sea with the sick, the women and children, and the baggage. From this Mr Delbrueck infers that men past forty were in general deemed too old for military service. I can neither see how this follows from the fact, nor how it is reconcilable with history in itself. Still less do I understand how if admitted it makes more for Mr Delbrueck's opinion than against it. On the contrary it would give additional force to most of the preceding objections. But though all the hints on this subject in the *Anabasis* seem to conspire toward the result adopted by Mr Mitford, a difficulty has been raised by Schneider from another point, which at present I see no way of solving. The entertainment given by Callias, which furnished the occasion of Xenophon's *Convivium*, took place in Ol. 89. 4. If Xenophon was under thirty when he joined Cyrus, he was under ten at the former epoch. But in the dialogue (iv. 25) allusion is made to an incident which must have happened, as appears from a conversation in the *Memorabilia* (i. 3. 10), when Xenophon was a young man, at least ten and probably thirteen or fourteen years older, so that he might very well have been present at the battle of Delium, in Ol. 89. 1. and must have been past forty at the time of the *Anabasis*. This combination, which was first made by Schneider in a note on *Conviv.* iv. 25, seems to present an insuperable obstacle to the opinion held by Mr Mitford, and confirmed as we have seen by the general tenor of the *Anabasis*. If it should be thought decisive, there seems to be no other way of explaining the hesitation which Xenophon expresses, *Anab.* iii. 1. 14, but to suppose that it refers not absolutely to his age, but to his comparative want of military experience. But the question can scarcely be considered as settled, and I have expatiated on it at this length, chiefly in the hope of inducing some one to direct his attention to it, who may still be fortunate enough to find a clue to the maze. We must now return from this digression to our immediate subject.

The cause and the time of Xenophon's banishment, Mr Delbrueck truly observes, are among the points on which Niebuhr's impeachment of his character mainly turns: and they will therefore claim our especial attention. Pausanias relates (v. 6. 5) that Xenophon was banished on account of the share he took in the expedition of Cyrus, the mortal enemy of the Athenians, against Artaxerxes who was their friend. On the other hand Diogenes Laertius (II. 51) informs us that he joined Agesilaus in Asia, and handed over the Cyreans to him: adding, "and he was an exceedingly intimate friend of Agesilaus; about which time he was condemned to banishment by the Athenians on the charge of Laconism." Of these two accounts Mr Delbrueck contends that the former is on many grounds the most deserving of credit. He thinks it is confirmed by the anxiety Xenophon betrays to place his own conduct with regard to the expedition in a favourable light, by relating the occasion which induced him to join it, the invitation of Proxenus, his deliberation with Socrates, the solicitations of Cyrus, and the ignorance in which he was kept as to the real object of the expedition, till he found himself restrained by a sense of honour from receding (*Anab.* III. 1. 4—10). The statement of Diogenes on the other hand is manifestly erroneous in one point; for according to Xenophon (*Anab.* VII. 8. 24) Thimbron incorporated the Cyreans with the Lacedæmonian forces in Asia three years before the arrival of Agesilaus. The time of Xenophon's banishment also is indistinctly described by Diogenes; and Mr Delbrueck finds equal difficulty in reconciling the language of the biographer with the known facts of the case, whatever epoch we select for the event. The sentence of banishment must either have preceded the alliance formed between Thebes and Athens against Sparta, B. C. 394, or have followed it, or have been simultaneous with it. If Diogenes meant to signify the first of these dates, he did not reflect that at that time a part of the Lacedæmonian army consisted of Athenian troops which Athens had been compelled to furnish, (*Hell.* III. 1. 4), so that the Athenians could not have banished one of their fellow-citizens for espousing the same cause which they themselves publicly supported. But if Diogenes had the period subsequent to the alliance with

Thebes in his view, then he ought to have known that if Xenophon after that event had remained in the service of Agesilaus, not having been previously banished from Athens, he would have been condemned, not as a friend to Lacedæmon, but as a traitor to his country. The third case, that Xenophon's sentence was passed at the same time that war was declared against Lacedæmon, scarcely deserved even the slight notice which Mr Delbrueck takes of it: it is barely possible, and it is not required, as will be seen, to save the credit of Diogenes for common sense.

The real time of Xenophon's banishment Mr Delbrueck conceives may be deduced from his own words (*Anab.* vii. 7. 57). *Ξενοφῶν—φανερὸς ἦν οἰκάδε παρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς.* This last remark Mr Delbrueck thinks he could not have added unless the sentence had been passed very soon after, and hence that it may be safely assigned to the interval between the time when Seuthes resigned the Cyrean army to the disposal of the Lacedæmonians, and the time when Thimbron took the command of it, that is, to the first half of the year B. C. 399. If Xenophon formed his connexion with Agesilaus after his banishment, several things become intelligible which would be inexplicable on the contrary supposition. It is then not surprising that none of the ancients speak of his return to Athens, that neither Plutarch nor Cicero, nor any other ancient writer, blames him for his attachment to the Spartan king, and that he himself, without betraying any consciousness of a dishonourable action, relates his own presence at the field of Coronea on the side of the enemies of Athens.

The only difficulty Mr Delbrueck sees still remaining, is to account for the delusion by which a person of common understanding could be led to prefer a statement so manifestly contradicted by the clearest evidence as that of Diogenes, to one so probable and well attested as that of Pausanias. The error, Mr Delbrueck believes, has arisen from a misunderstanding of a passage in the *Anabasis* (v. 3. 6) where Xenophon after mentioning the precautions he took about the money consecrated to the Ephesian Diana,—which, when he was about to accompany Agesilaus on his return to Greece, *κινδυνεύσων ἐν Κορωνείᾳ*, he directed Megabyzus, *ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῆναι*,

ἐαυτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δέ τι πάθοι ἀναθεῖναι—adds: ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι—ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων, καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. No unprejudiced reader, Mr Delbrueck thinks, can fail to perceive that φεύγειν is used in this passage in its original sense (?) and that the words ἐπεὶ ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξ. ought to be translated, *when Xenophon escaped* (namely the perils of the campaign). Unluckily this obvious meaning has been overlooked by almost the whole tribe of commentators and translators (indeed Mr Delbrueck does not name a single exception) who have made the words to signify, *after Xenophon's banishment*. The perverseness of so absurd an interpretation almost throws Mr Delbrueck off his balance, and he is tempted to exclaim (p. 57): "Woe to you scribes, who strain at gnats and swallow camels, that is to say, Woe to you grammarians, who are nice and anxious about words and syllables, but feel no scruples when you are making the grossest blunders about the most momentous matters, even those which involve the good name of an honourable man!" For he is ready to admit that if this construction of the passage is to be received, it would follow that the decree of banishment was passed after Agesilaus had set out on his return from Asia.

Few things, it must be owned, are more trying to the temper even of a philosopher, who has never had leisure or inclination for the subtleties of verbal criticism, than, after having established an important proposition by a train of the most acute and elaborate reasoning, to be told by a man who calls himself a philologist or a grammarian, that his conclusion cannot be admitted, because it is inconsistent with the mere words of an author, whom this grammarian in the conceit of his paltry craft fancies that he understands better than the philosopher himself. But though in general such obstinacy may be a subject of just indignation, it does appear in the present case that something may be pleaded in behalf of Xenophon's commentators. It is probable indeed that they have all followed the same track, and that it is only Mr Delbrueck's modesty that has prevented him from claiming the honour of having discovered Xenophon's real meaning. But still it does not appear that it was any prejudice against

Xenophon, any design of injuring his reputation, that prevented them from forestalling this discovery, and blinded them to the truth. On the contrary one of them, whom Mr Delbrueck mentions with high respect, and whom he conceives to concur with him in the main point, has nevertheless overlooked his construction like the rest. Schneider (in his *Prolegomena ad libellum de Rep. Ath.*) has a dispute with Weiske about the author of that treatise, and in combating an argument drawn from the words ἐπεὶ δ' ἐφύγεν ὁ Ξ. κ. τ. λ. shews that he interprets them no better than the other commentators. Yet he remarks (p. 89) that Xenophon was banished before he fought at Coronea; and further on (p. 92) exclaims, *Salva est Xenophontis existimatio et memoria, quam merito omnes Socraticæ philosophiæ amantes, hodieque venerantur.* Mr Delbrueck is naturally delighted with this ardour, and after quoting Schneider's words adds: "so that I have this worthy man, whose moral sense in this instance overpowered his grammatical acuteness, in the main point on my side." I do not know what this means, unless it be that Schneider's confidence in the purity of Xenophon's character was so strong, that he did not notice the unfavourable inference which must inevitably be drawn from the words in question according to his interpretation of them, which he would otherwise have corrected. But here one may fairly doubt whether Mr Delbrueck is not too partial to Schneider; for in the first place the exclamation *Salva est Xenophontis existimatio*, &c. refers, not to the question agitated by Mr Delbrueck, but to Weiske's view of the treatise de Rep. Ath. which he attributes to Xenophon, and considers as an effusion of the angry feelings produced by his banishment while the sentence was yet recent. This opinion Schneider endeavours to refute by shewing that the work was not written by Xenophon, or, if at all, previously to his banishment. Then again, before we can pronounce that Schneider would have sided with Mr Delbrueck in his explanation of Anab. v. 3. 7, against Niebuhr, we must be sure that he would have thought both constructions in themselves equally admissible; for otherwise there is reason to fear that the grammarian might have got the better of the editor and admirer of Xenophon. It is to be regretted that Mr Delbrueck

instead of merely observing that most of the commentators and translators differed from him on the point, and then denouncing a woe upon the grammarians, had not informed us whether any one commentator or translator had ever lighted on the same opinion with himself. Because if it should turn out that he stands alone in it, there may be room to question whether his censure ought not to have fallen on Xenophon himself for having chosen a word which has been misunderstood by almost all his readers, and has led to inferences deeply injurious to his reputation as a man, which he might so easily have avoided by taking a little more pains as a writer. Or must we acquit both Xenophon and the grammarians, and suspect that Mr Delbrueck himself has not been exempt in this instance from human infirmity, and that not knowing how to get rid in any other way of the inference drawn by Niebuhr from the words of the *Anabasis*, he has thought himself morally justified in using open violence with them, and putting a construction upon them which no unprejudiced person can adopt?

This suspicion acquires some colour when we observe that his previous reasoning is not so cogent as he himself seems to imagine. His objections to the above-cited testimony of Diogenes either do not touch the main point, or are futile in themselves. Diogenes might make a mistake about an immaterial circumstance, and yet be correctly informed as to the principal fact. Nor would he have much difficulty in extricating himself from the dilemma in which Mr Delbrueck thinks him caught. The Athenians were surely able to distinguish between the forced assistance which they sent to the Lacedæmonians, and the voluntary act of a citizen who was his own master: and the offense for which Xenophon was banished might be described by the term *Laconism*, though it was in fact treason, since it might begin when he joined Agesilaus in Asia, though it assumed a new character after war had broken out between Athens and Lacedæmon. The statement of Diogenes therefore in itself appears to be quite as probable and consistent as that of Pausanias; but since its authority is not greater, we must still seek for other evidence. But we cannot be content with the silence of Cicero and Plutarch, nor, without begging the question, can

we lay any stress on the calm tone in which Xenophon speaks of his campaign with Agesilaus. Whether he could have made the remark in *Anab.* VII. 57, that he was not yet banished, unless his banishment took place soon after he left the service of Seuthes, would depend very much on the length of time that intervened before the passage in the *Anabasis* was written. If he wrote it after having spent many years in exile, the remark would be neither unnatural nor useless. And at all events unless we can construe the other disputed passage like Mr Delbrueck, it seems to ascertain the time of the banishment much more plainly.

Mr Delbrueck therefore does not appear to me to have been successful in his vindication of Xenophon on this important point: but rather to have hurt the cause he defends, by making an admission which perhaps was not necessary, and then bringing the question to an issue, on which the voices of all intelligent judges had already decided against him. He admits I think more than is necessary, when he allows that if ἐφυγε be translated in the ordinary way, Niebuhr's conclusion inevitably follows. It seems not impossible that the disputed passage may simply signify, *when Xenophon in consequence of his banishment was residing at Scillus*. For the principal fact was the residence at Scillus: the cause of it, the banishment, had nothing to do with the history of the deposit: and therefore the words in substance, though not in form, are equivalent to, ἐπεὶ φυγὰς ὧν ὁ Ξεκατόκει ἤδη ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι. Even if this suggestion should not meet with the approbation of philologists, though I shall not be provoked to pour out a vial of wrath on their heads, I hope it will shew that, if I dissent from Mr Delbrueck, it is only because his arguments want force, and not because I am averse to the opinion he wishes to establish. On the contrary I should be heartily glad to see a satisfactory proof that Xenophon was not so reckless as to bear arms against his country, without any personal provocation, even though he believed she was pursuing a mischievous policy, and was fighting the battle of Thebes against the common interest of Greece. And I will even venture to say, that until the fact shall be better ascertained than it seems to be at present, I shall not believe

it. But though it is highly desirable to clear Xenophon from this imputation, it will still be questionable whether after this is done, his character as a citizen of Athens stands so free from suspicion and reproach as his apologist conceives.

As Mr Delbrueck rejects that account of Xenophon's banishment which, while it justifies the sentence, at the same time satisfactorily explains it, it becomes necessary for him to find some other cause adequate to the effect. And in doing this he has shewn considerable dexterity, but of a kind that seems to belong much more to the advocate than to the impartial critic. According to his view Xenophon was on the point of returning home to enjoy the brilliant reputation he had earned by the glorious Retreat, and to employ the influence it might justly be expected to give him in the service of his country, when he received the surprising intelligence of the decree which condemned him to exile innocent and unheard. To what cause is this event to be referred? what could be the motives of his accusers? what the engines by which they induced the Athenians to deprive themselves of so meritorious and valuable a citizen? To answer these questions Mr Delbrueck has been compelled to fill up several chasms in history from his own imagination. And in the first place as to the motives of Xenophon's prosecutors, he was the victim of an extraordinary cabal. The Persian satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, beside their personal enmity to him, had reason to fear that if he were permitted to return home he would use his influence with his countrymen to engage them as strenuous allies in the war which the Lacedæmonians had declared against Persia. On the other hand the Lacedæmonians, Anaxibius and Aristarchus, were conscious of having provoked his resentment by unpardonable insults and injuries, and they feared that on his return to Athens he might put himself at the head of the antilaconian party, and urge his countrymen to take the opportunity presented by the Persian war for throwing off the dominion of Sparta. Instigated by these foreigners, the heads of the two rival parties in Athens, under the delusion of two opposite errors, unconsciously conspired to effect the ruin of Xenophon. Such is Mr Delbrueck's account of the matter.

Though no one can deny it the praise of ingenuity, it seems to call in the assistance of machinery rather more complicated than was necessary for the purpose. Since the purest virtue is exposed to envy and hatred, and in the period we are speaking of there can have been few men at Athens who had not some private enemies, it would perhaps have been sufficient, as it would undoubtedly have been allowable, to suppose that Xenophon was not exempt from the common lot, and that there were persons eager to prevent him from enjoying the harvest of renown and authority which he was about to reap in his native city. This might have been fairly presumed, even without inquiring what part he took in the civil war, or why it was that Proxenus thought it so clear that he had little chance of bettering his fortune at home. Here then there is no difficulty. A more important question is by what arts his enemies carried their object with the multitude. And here Mr Delbrueck thinks that a skilful orator would have been at no loss. Xenophon's connexion with Cyrus furnished ample materials for calumny and declamation. Eubulus (who we learn from Diogenes was Xenophon's accuser), if he was a man of any abilities, would not fail to remind his hearers of the injuries they had suffered from the Persian prince, whose friendship Xenophon had courted, and to represent this step, as well as his whole conduct during the expedition (itself a criminal attempt upon a legitimate throne), as indicating at once anti-republican servility and reckless ambition. When his hearers were kindled by these topics, there remained another by which it was easy for him to excite their indignation and horror against the accused. Xenophon had borne arms in an impious war between two brothers, one of whom died in a combat resembling that of the sons of Œdipus. The anger of the gods had already fallen, as on the aggressor himself, so on the Greek partners in his guilt; Xenophon alone had been preserved: but only to become a signal monument of the divine vengeance, when by the just sentence of his countrymen he should be shut out of Athens, as a criminal who carried pollution and a curse along with him. Such a peroration, addressed to an Athenian assembly, Mr Delbrueck thinks, would have been likely to overpower the feelings of the multitude, and to secure a decisive majority in favour of the proposed decree.

This appears to me a remarkable specimen of dexterity; the dexterity, not of Eubulus, but of Mr Delbrueck. A hint of the peroration was probably suggested by Diodorus, who (xiv. 23) compares the combat of the Persian brothers with that of Eteocles and Polynices: an illustration extremely natural for a rhetorician. But the use Mr Delbrueck has made of this hint is such, that we may truly say of it, *materiem superabat opus*. To appreciate his ingenuity it must be observed, that whether Eubulus was an orator of as little taste as Diodorus, and whether the Athenians were capable of being moved by such a piece of declamation as Mr Delbrueck puts into his mouth, are questions about which we are not at present concerned. We are inquiring what were probably the motives that might impel the Athenians to condemn Xenophon to banishment at the time when Mr Delbrueck supposes the decree to have been passed. The evident tendency of the outline he gives of the prosecutor's harangue, is to produce a belief that there was in fact no motive by which rational men could be swayed to such an act, and that Eubulus, having no real foundation to stand on, was obliged to resort to the basest calumnies and the most impertinent rhetoric: and while our scorn and indignation are excited by the impudence of the speaker and the credulity of his hearers, we forget to ask whether there was anything in Xenophon's conduct that afforded real ground for a serious charge, if not before the Athenian people, yet before that more impartial tribunal to which his apologist appeals. According to Pausanias, whose tradition Mr Delbrueck adopts, Xenophon was banished simply on account of the share he had taken in the expedition of Cyrus, "who was the bitterest enemy of the Athenian people: for while he resided at Sardis he furnished Lysander and the Lacedæmonians with money for their fleet." Pausanias considered this as a very natural and adequate explanation of the fact. Why does Mr Delbrueck think it necessary to keep this in the back ground, and to accumulate a great variety of false or frivolous charges as the only imaginable motives or pretexts for the decree? Is it because the impeachment was not preferred sooner after Xenophon's departure for Sardis? But while his fate was doubtful, and still more when it became desperate, there was no pressing induce-

ment for any one to inflame the resentment of the people against him? Is it because the glory of his expedition might have been expected, unless it was overclouded by calumny, to blind the Athenians to all that might be offensive to them in his previous conduct, and to inspire them with esteem and admiration for him? But the services he had rendered to the army in the retreat could not yet be accurately known at Athens; and even if they had, the Athenians may perhaps be excused if they did not feel a very glowing gratitude to the man who had preserved a band of mercenaries to strengthen the Lacedæmonian power. Or is it finally because the part Xenophon had acted was in itself irreproachable, and could not without being grossly misrepresented excite the displeasure of the Athenians? This is the main point, and here we have something more than the tradition of Pausanias; we have a testimony above all exception, that of Xenophon himself. When he communicated to Socrates the invitation he had received to visit the court of Cyrus, though without any definite object, Socrates was immediately struck with the impression such a step was likely to make on the minds of the Athenians, and having suggested this reflexion, advised him to consult the Delphic oracle, that is, to make his resolution the subject of the most earnest and solemn deliberation. His resolution was perhaps already taken: the only use he made of the oracle was to procure a sort of special safe-conduct for his journey: but warned perhaps by the example of the Cumæans (Herod. i. 158) he asked neither the god nor his conscience whether what he was about to do was honorable as well as safe. Prudence indeed did not seem to forbid it: weak and helpless as Athens then was, there appeared to be little danger of her ever venturing to resent the affront offered her by one of her citizens in seeking the patronage of that implacable enemy, who had furnished her old rival with the means of humbling her to the dust, and who as long as he retained his power in Asia was likely to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to every attempt she might make to rise again. But the safer, the more prudent the step was, the stronger reason had a man of honour, who had not renounced every tie that bound him to his country, for shunning it: the more tender would he have been of feelings which were the more acute because they were unable

to vent themselves. It matters little how soon Xenophon conceived the first suspicion of the real design of Cyrus, (which had become evident to Tissaphernes before the army left Sardis, *Anab.* i. 2, 4,) nor how easily he might have declined to take any further part in promoting it: after his first appearance as an Athenian adventurer seeking his fortune at the court of Sardis, his honour certainly gained more than it lost by his perseverance in the expedition, greatly as Athens had cause to dread its success. Mr Delbrueck indeed would persuade us that from first to last Athens was uppermost in Xenophon's thoughts; that, though he yielded to the importunities of Proxenus, it was with the fixed determination of returning home after a short stay at Sardis; that, though he accompanied Cyrus on his march, it was without the slightest suspicion that it would carry him beyond the borders of Pisidia; that, though his regard for Cyrus, and perhaps a natural curiosity to witness the momentous events that were about to take place, stifled the resentment he felt at the fraud which had been practised on him, and induced him to go through with the adventure, still he never lost sight of Athens, but was constantly eager to return, and dedicate his trophies to her honour, and his abilities and reputation to her service. But though such a desire would have been so natural that it would not have been particularly praiseworthy, it is not only the circumstances under which he undertook his journey that raise a doubt about the intensity of this patriotic anxiety. His fellow soldiers, though they were not men from whom we should expect any very refined sentiments, still shewed that they were capable of that feeling which makes the Swiss peasant home-sick when he hears the *Ranz des Vaches* at a distance from his native land. The tears and transports of joy with which they hailed the first view of the Euxine, were not produced merely by the recollection of past dangers, but by the thought that the waters before them rolled on to the shores of Greece. There was only one man in the army of whom we have reason to doubt whether he shared this longing: and that man was Xenophon. Mr Delbrueck speaks of his project of erecting a new state on the coast of the Euxine as a design worthy of a disciple of Socrates, a *καλὸς καὶ γαθὸς*, (p. 26) and laments the obstinate resistance of the army by which it was

frustrated, as a misfortune that deprived the world of a perfect model of a well-constituted commonwealth, a Socratepolis, as he would call it (p. 167), or a Nephelococcygia, as another person might suggest, since the whole outline is the fruit of Mr Delbrueck's imagination. But he is so much transported with the conception of the magnificent idea which Xenophon would have realized if his scheme had not been nipped in the bud, that he has altogether neglected to consider the project from any other point of view, though there is one which seems much more intimately connected with the immediate occasion of the Apology. For before we inquire what Xenophon's colony was likely to have been and done, it belongs to our subject to ask whether the thought was one that might have been expected to arise in the mind of an Athenian who was burning with impatience to revisit his country, and whether it weakens or confirms the suspicion that the outset of the adventure forces upon us.

I may venture to anticipate the answer which Mr Delbrueck would give to this question. He would probably say that though in any other person this plan of settling in a foreign and barbarous land might have been considered as a pretty strong indication of indifference to his native city, yet in a philosopher like Xenophon, a disciple of Socrates, it ought to be viewed as an act of magnanimous self-devotion, by which he sacrificed the dearest wish of his heart, that of returning to Athens, to the good of mankind, to that of Greece, and therefore ultimately if not directly to that of Athens itself, and thus proved himself the most ardent as well as the most enlightened of patriots. I conjecture that this would be Mr Delbrueck's answer, from the manner in which he has surmounted another difficulty, which would have staggered a less resolute apologist, or at least a less expert polemic: this is, the part Xenophon took in the battle of Coronea. For though it is doubtful whether he fought before or after his banishment was decreed, the fact itself, it must be remembered, is unquestionable, that he fought against Athens, for her enemies. According to Mr Delbrueck's view indeed he appears as an injured man; and Schneider, in that vindication of his character to which Mr Delbrueck has referred (Vol. vi. p. 90), in warding off Weiske's charge of a long fostered

malignity toward Athens, observes that if he had conceived any resentment on account of his wrongs, he probably vented it all in the Agesilaian war. I must here remark, that even if we adopt Mr Delbrueck's chronology, there are two circumstances which at first sight appear to distinguish Xenophon's case in an unfavorable manner from that of the many other Greek exiles, who on various occasions bore arms against Greece itself, or against their native cities. In the first place he had provoked his fate, by an act which, viewed in the mildest light, was an indiscretion, against which he had been warned. And even if his punishment was excessive and unjust, the reflection that he had himself been the aggressor ought to have led him to submit to the effects of the irritation which he had wantonly and deliberately roused in the minds of his countrymen. But even if this had been otherwise, if the wrong had been wholly on their side, a little more fortitude and equanimity, a little more patience and forbearance, might have been expected from a philosopher, a disciple of Socrates, than from a Hippias or a Demaratus. But if Xenophon was incapable of this effort, if his resentment could goad him to this extremity, on what principle do we pronounce him a better citizen, a purer patriot, than Alcibiades? or in this respect a worthier disciple of the man who refused to accept the means of withdrawing his precious and innocent life from the most unjust sentence into which an Athenian tribunal had ever been deluded?

For these questions too Mr Delbrueck has an answer, which he intends to convey the highest praise of Xenophon, but which in any other mouth would have sounded like the bitterest irony. Schneider was mistaken: no angry, no indignant feelings of personal injury ruffled the philosophic calm of Xenophon's mind, when he armed for the field of Coronea. His patriotism was so far from being quenched or stifled by passion, that it never blazed forth in a purer and brighter flame. Was not the cause of Agesilaus the cause of Greece against the barbarian? Was it not the cause of Athens herself, though the misguided people did not see that the supremacy of Thebes was at this juncture a danger more imminent and more alarming than that of Sparta? "He therefore scrupled not to accompany Agesilaus on his victorious expedition

through Thrace and Thessaly as far as the frontiers of Bœotia, yea even to stand by his side in the battle which he gave to the allies at Coronea, Athenian as he was, against Athenians, *out of love to Athens.*" (p. 43.)

After such an answer as this I do not mean to put any more questions to Mr Delbrueck: but I may make a remark by way of corollary. He has taken great pains, as we have seen, to refute Niebuhr's opinion about the date of Xenophon's banishment. To Niebuhr, as to most other persons, this appeared a question of great importance in estimating Xenophon's character as an Athenian citizen. But from Mr Delbrueck's point of view it seems to be one of very little moment. As a matter of fact it was perhaps worth determining: but why should he have given himself the trouble of inventing a new construction for Xenophon's words? And what occasion was there for so stern an invective against the grammarians? The poor men were perhaps in the dark; but their error was a harmless one: and Mr Delbrueck himself made an overhasty concession, when he admitted that it involved consequences injurious to Xenophon's fame. On the contrary, it would have been his interest as an apologist to adopt Niebuhr's supposition, and to shew, as he might easily have done, that it exalted the glory of his hero, by clearing his conduct from all suspicion of passionate or mercenary motives. Whether Xenophon was banished or not, the cause of Agesilaus was still the cause of Greece, the cause of Athens herself, though her prejudices against Sparta blinded her to her real good. But would it have been worthy of the philosopher, the disciple of Socrates, to suffer himself to be overawed by popular clamour, and to take a part in the act of suicide which his country was about to commit? Would it not have been his duty to interpose, and endeavour to save her from herself, in spite of herself? Could he have hesitated, because his conduct might be misinterpreted by his enemies, and might expose him to the obloquy of men incapable of conceiving such heroic virtue, to remain in the camp of Agesilaus, ay, to follow him into the field, and exhibit the admirable spectacle of an Athenian sacrificing all his natural sympathies to his patriotic principles, and fighting against Athenians out of love to Athens?

But indeed when we take this higher ground, the whole

difference between Niebuhr and Mr Delbrueck appears to vanish. For *this* love to Athens, such a love as was consistent with the wish to see her the vassal and instrument of Sparta, to see the institutions to which she had owed her greatness, and to which the vast majority of her citizens clung as to their life, abolished, and exchanged for that primitive constitution which the Thirty legislators laboured to restore under the auspices of Lysander, this, Niebuhr himself would scarcely have denied to Xenophon: and unless Mr Delbrueck was prepared to shew that his patriotism was of a different kind, he might as well have spared himself the trouble of this apology, as well as of that for Plato. But he is so far from treating this as the main question, that if his aim had been to divert the reader's attention from it, he could not have touched on it more lightly, or have wandered into a greater number of utterly irrelevant topics. As a specimen of the little concern it has given him, we may take his observations on the *Cyropædia*. He extols its merits, with justice, as an entertaining and instructive political romance, and comes to the conclusion (p. 102) that it was "an undertaking worthy of Xenophon's *καλοκαγαθία*, to shew in a luminous example what a prince who was revered by his subjects, as kings are in the east, as a being of a superior nature, had to do in order to justify this reverence by a beneficent exercise of his unlimited power, and to make it a source of prosperity and happiness for himself and his people." The reader who comes to these words must either have forgotten the subject announced on the title-page of the book, or he must imagine that they were intended as an argument against Niebuhr, or else he must suppose that the *Cyropædia* contains nothing that has any bearing on the question. This latter opinion will be confirmed by a subsequent passage, in which Mr Delbrueck anticipates the only objection to which he conceives Xenophon's work might be liable from ill-disposed readers. "Such readers," he remarks, "might charge Xenophon with commending an arbitrary government, with unduly extolling the Persian monarchy, the hereditary foe of the Greek name, and thus deterring his countrymen from struggling against it." This anticipation indeed has the greater appearance of candour, because it is probable that it never entered into the mind of any other person to accuse Xenophon of such a design as the

one last mentioned. And Mr Delbrueck pushes his frankness so far as to admit, that it would not have been amiss if Xenophon had subjoined some notice to his readers, that things in Persia were not precisely in the same state when he wrote as in the time of his hero: and that the conclusion of the *Cyropædia* would on this account have been worthy of him: though it contains too many marks of a different hand to be ascribed to him.

It is probable, as I have observed, that few readers ever felt these scruples, or regretted that the genuineness of the concluding chapter is questionable, on such grounds. The *Cyropædia* was undoubtedly written not for mere amusement, but for a practical object: not however one so absurd as that of concealing the weakness of the Persian monarchy. That its main design was a political one, and that the military maxims it conveys were subordinate and accessory, is clearly announced by the author himself in the opening. But he gives us no reason to think that this design was so limited as Mr Delbrueck describes it, or that it was peculiarly applicable to the east. On the contrary, he expressly declares in the most general terms that his aim is to shew by what qualities and what conduct man may obtain and secure dominion over man. And the method which results from the example he proposes consists of two parts: one is the art which the aspirant must possess of conciliating those who are necessary to him as the instruments of his ambition, by keeping up the appearance of friendship and esteem for them, and liberally repaying their services: the other, that of reconciling those whom he has overpowered to his government, by sparing and protecting them, and by contenting himself with such a share of the fruit of their labour as may be drawn from them without discouraging their industry, or impairing their prosperity. By diligently observing these maxims Xenophon's hero founds an empire, which Mr Delbrueck himself very appropriately compares to a vast sheepwalk, where the dogs are constantly at the beck of the shepherd, and the well tended flock, thriving itself, yields the largest profit to its owner. These precepts were certainly not meant for the successors of Cyrus: in Xenophon's opinion it was to the neglect of them that the overthrow of many similar forms of government in Greece itself was to be ascribed.

(Cyr. i. 1. 1.) So that the general scope of the romance is precisely the same as that of the *Hiero*, where Simonides advises the tyrant who has pursued the dangerous and irksome course of violence and rigour, to try a milder and more refined policy. And certainly, considered in itself, it was an undertaking not unbecoming such a character as Mr Delbrueck has drawn for Xenophon, to shew that even the ends of ambition are more effectually attained by gentleness and beneficence than by tyranny and oppression. But still we have reason to ask, through what peculiar bias of mind it happened that an Athenian dwelt with such pleasure on this finished picture of an ideal despot. And one can scarcely help thinking that, if a citizen of Geneva in the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth had written a political romance, and had chosen some ancient king of France for his hero, had invested him with all the qualities of an active and wise ruler, had described the arts by which he drew the whole power of the state into his hands, and had painted the happy effects that flowed to his subjects from this concentration, however excellent the work might be in itself, it would have raised some doubt as to the purity of the author's republican sentiments: and that his countrymen would not have been chargeable with a malignant or censorious temper, if they had said to him: You were born and bred in a republic, where men are accustomed to think themselves something better than a herd of cattle, and prefer being subject even to an imperfect system of laws to depending on the pleasure of an arbitrary prince, however clearly he may perceive that his own interest is concerned in their affluence and comfort. For aught we know you may be an honest man, but we vehemently suspect that you are a very bad citizen, and that either your head or your heart are in the wrong place. Your book may be an excellent manual for the use of the Dauphin: but the better it is in its kind, the less do we wish to see it in the hands of our youth, to whom it must be either useless or mischievous. It is true that at the end you have remarked that the French of our days have greatly degenerated from their ancestors; that the higher classes are corrupted by vice and effeminacy; that the lower are ground down by penury and fruitless toil. But you have neglected to point out that a great part of the present evil has arisen out of that very despotism which you

have laboured to exhibit in such attractive colours. And even if you had done so, this would have been but a poor atonement for your folly, in promoting the most pernicious of all delusions, the belief that the happiness and virtue of a nation can ever be the gift of a single man.

This discussion has already grown to such a length as to leave no room for an examination of the work out of which it arose. But perhaps it may in some degree have superseded the necessity of such an examination. At least if the reader is unable to form a judgement on the point in dispute from the facts that have already been presented to him, there seems to be little chance that he would be more forcibly impressed by any arguments drawn from the mode in which Xenophon has exhibited the history of his own times. However plain the indications of political feeling in the *Hellenica* may appear to some eyes, they are less certain than those afforded by the conduct of the author. But if there is any truth in the view that has here been taken of some of the most important transactions of his life, it will be comparatively a matter of indifference whether in his description of the fall of Athens (*Hell.* II. c. 2. 3. 10. 23) we perceive the calm tone of the historian who is discharging a painful duty, or the exultation of the partisan: whether his only reason for omitting to mention that the hundred talents lent by the Lacedæmonians to the oligarchs, were repaid by the men of the Piræus for whose destruction they were borrowed, was because he deemed it an occurrence too insignificant to be noticed: whether he has not been more indulgent toward the faults of Agesilaus than toward those of his own countrymen: whether his reserve on the subject of Epaminondas is sufficiently explained by the conjecture, that his delicate sensibility shrank from speaking of the man whom his son had slain: and whether his silence about Pelopidas may be referred to some similar motive. Nor will it be worth while to enquire whether Schneider had a clear insight into human nature, when he supposed that Xenophon might have vented all the anger he had conceived against his countrymen on the field of Coronea, so that no rancorous feelings were left in his breast, or whether it is more conformable to common experience to believe, that every retaliation of injuries tends

to exasperate the passions of the actor as well as the sufferer, and to widen the breach between them.

Pious frauds have sometimes been committed to screen the reputation of persons who, though not entitled to much respect on their own account, have been thought to be so from their relation to others. In the life of Xenophon, so far as it is known, I can find no inducement to wrest his words from their plain meaning, or to interpret his actions against their outward appearance, for the sake of saving or raising his character. If indeed it had been as remarkable for generosity as for prudence, if beside those very ambiguous instances in which Mr Delbrueck has discovered the most heroic self-devotion, though to others they present exactly the opposite aspect, he had produced one really noble action, one clear proof that Xenophon was capable of a magnanimous sacrifice to duty or to honour, we might then have been reluctant to admit evidence shewing that he was also capable of sacrificing both duty and honour to petty motives. But it certainly raises no prejudice in his favour, to find that the most glorious adventure of his life was that in which he acted under the impulse of an imminent personal danger, and that the only occasion on which his prudence appears to have forsaken him, was one on which generosity would have supplied its place. But according to Mr Delbrueck, there is another ground for wishing to see his character vindicated. We are told that if Niebuhr's charges are well founded, Socrates must be brought to trial again as a corrupter of youth, and philosophy herself must be called to an account, and required to prove that she is not an impostor (p. 4). This would indeed be so fearful a consequence that a man might well be excused for suffering his judgement to be biassed by the desire of avoiding it. But it is to be hoped that the admirers of Socrates and the lovers of philosophy, are not reduced to such a painful embarrassment, and that they may be allowed to protest against the supposition that the master would have approved of all the actions of the scholar. Socrates, who appears to have combined a real reverence for the objects of popular devotion with exalted views of the divine nature, and who at all events wished not to deceive either himself or others, would probably have shaken

his head at those dreams and those eventful sacrifices which Xenophon relates with so demure a countenance. He who thought it impious to attempt even to elude the execution of an unjust sentence passed according to the laws of his country, would surely have scrupled to revenge one by arms. He who refused to sell even his instruction, would not have envied Xenophon that delightful retreat in which he enjoyed the pension he had earned by his—love to Athens.

In what degree Xenophon has deserved well of Socrates and of philosophy, is a different question. It would be possible that he might have rendered great services to both by his writings, though he had done them little honour by his life. But it ought not to be concealed that the value of his philosophical works is itself liable to much dispute. Two great difficulties have arisen with regard to the character of Socrates as a man and a philosopher. One is to account for the portrait drawn of him by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*, without acknowledging its fidelity, and yet without charging the poet either with culpable ignorance or wanton malignity. These conditions of the problem, about which gross mistakes long prevailed, are now almost universally admitted. Mr Mitchell's essay toward a solution of it is in the hands of most of our readers. Another, which surpasses all that have preceded it in the ingenuity and acuteness with which it analyzes the comedy, and points out the various purposes of the poet, has been made by Suevern (*Ueber Aristophanes Wolken*). The ground on which Aristophanes is justified or excused in these and other works, (as by Wolf and Welcker, in their German translations of the play) is that, notwithstanding the essential contrariety between Socrates and the Sophists, they had so many accidental features in common, that Aristophanes might not be conscious of any serious injustice when he brought Socrates forward as the representative of the sophistical school. But an author who has recently examined the subject, (Roestscher. *Aristophanes und sein Zeitalter*) has taken an entirely new view of it. He conceives that the poet wrote with the fullest knowledge of the character of Socrates, and upon the most deliberate reflexion, but nevertheless with the purest and most laudable motives. Socrates, according to this view, (p. 257. 282) really stood on the same ground

with the Sophists, and the principle which he shared with them was of so much greater importance in the eyes of Aristophanes than the points in which they differed, that he did not hesitate to fix upon Socrates as the head of the school, and to transfer some strokes to his portrait which properly belonged to his antagonists. This common principle, if I understand Dr Roetscher's description, which is a little veiled by the phrases of the Hegelian philosophy, consisted in the substitution of thought and reason for that unconscious, unreflecting homage which had previously been paid by the citizen in all Greek states to the laws and institutions of his country. The Sophists argued on these subjects, which had before been held too sacred for controversy: Socrates likewise speculated on them: and thus in the opinion of Aristophanes, a man imbued with the old Grecian spirit of profound reverence and absolute submission to established authority, incurred the whole guilt of the offenses perpetrated by the Sophists against morality and religion. This I believe is the substance of Dr Roetscher's opinion on the subject. But I can scarcely think that many of his readers will attach the same value to his discovery that he does himself, or will be satisfied with such a vindication of Aristophanes. However useless and mischievous he may have deemed it, to reason and talk instead of believing and acting, it is hardly credible that he should have been incapable of distinguishing between a man who endeavoured to confirm the authority of law and usage, by bringing them into harmony with the inward conviction of rational beings, and the school which subjected them to the uncertain fluctuation of individual feelings. That Aristophanes should have wilfully overlooked this contrast as one of no importance, and should have deliberately painted Socrates in the colours of the opposite party, is a supposition which most admirers of the poet will be very reluctant to adopt. The emptiness of the paradox, so far as Socrates is concerned, has been to my judgement very satisfactorily exposed by Professor Brandis in an article in the *Rhenish Museum* (II. p. 103).

The second of the two above mentioned difficulties is of much greater importance. It had probably been long more or less distinctly felt, but it is only of late years that it has

been formally discussed even in Germany. The difficulty is to account for the difference between the view given by Xenophon and that given by Plato of the character of Socrates as a philosopher. One point seems clear: that if Xenophon as a philosophical writer was a worthy disciple of Socrates, Socrates cannot have been a master worthy of Plato. Most persons who had touched on this subject had been content with trying to cut the knot, by rejecting the Platonic Socrates as a fictitious person who was a mere organ for the exposition of Plato's doctrines, and adopting Xenophon's recollections as faithfully representing the mind as well as the character of his master. It was however sufficiently evident that this mode of meeting the difficulty only led to another still more embarrassing, and that it left the influence which Socrates is admitted to have exercised over Plato and his contemporaries, and the reputation he enjoyed of being the founder of a new epoch in the history of philosophy, altogether unexplained. On the other hand there was no ground for questioning Xenophon's veracity, or for doubting that in general he had accurately reported whatever he thought applicable to his purpose in his master's conversations and discourses.

Schleiermacher first opened the way to a scientific solution of the problem, by precisely stating its conditions and pointing out the method by which they might be at least partially satisfied. In a short memoir published in the *Transactions of the Berlin Academy*, (1814, 15.) he proposed the question: What may Socrates have been, over and above what Xenophon has described, without however contradicting the strokes of character and the practical maxims which Xenophon distinctly delivers as those of Socrates: and what must he have been, to give Plato a right and an inducement to exhibit him as he has done in his *Dialogues*? The course of investigation suggested by Schleiermacher has been pursued by Professor Brandis in an article in the *Rhenish Museum*, (i. p. 118) which traces the outlines of the doctrine of Socrates, and by Ritter in the second volume of his *History of Philosophy*. It would carry me away from my subject if I were here to enter into this discussion, which is too interesting and important to be slightly noticed. But one of the best purposes of this Journal will be answered,

if in some future Number the results to which it has led shall be communicated to our readers. All that concerns us at present, is the manner in which it affects the reputation of Xenophon as a philosophical writer. The more clearly the character of Socrates as an original thinker has been unfolded, and the relation in which he stood to preceding and subsequent philosophers has been described, the more evident it has become that Xenophon (to use the words of Mr Brandis p. 122) “had neither the design nor the capacity of exhibiting the doctrines and method of Socrates with any degree of completeness, or with scientific accuracy,” and that the Socrates of his Dialogues is as far from a historical as from an ideal person. I do not however wish it to be supposed that this conclusion is universally admitted: for it is disputed by Mr Delbrueck and Dr Roetscher, whose authority indeed would be greater if they had not been in a manner pledged, the one by a polemical interest, and the other by his system, to their opinion on this point. Nor do I wish to raise any prepossession concerning it in the mind of the reader. The only purpose for which I mention it is to justify my remark that the value of the services rendered by Xenophon to Socrates and to philosophy is at least extremely questionable. If the view taken by Schleiermacher, Brandis, and Ritter, of the Socratic philosophy be correct, Xenophon’s apologetical writings have been so far from promoting his master’s interest, that they have inflicted an infinitely deeper and more lasting injury on his reputation as a philosopher, than his character as a man suffered from the attack of Aristophanes. Xenophon’s intention was undoubtedly good: but his judgement does not seem quite so praiseworthy. He has laboured to refute the calumnies that had been levelled against Socrates, by shewing that instead of being a dreaming innovator, he was a practical man of the old school; that his philosophy, instead of being newly coined, was the same that had been current from the days of the Seven Sages, or indeed from those of Hesiod, if not of Pittheus; that it taught the way to be healthy, wealthy, and wise, just as it has been expounded in popular adages in most ages and countries of the world. But though this defense was sufficient to rescue Socrates from the imputation of bad motives, it is far from

being a complete vindication of his conduct, and can scarcely have satisfied the public to which it was addressed. A man of such prejudices as Dr Roetscher attributes to Aristophanes, would still have said that, if this was all Socrates meant, he would have done better to abstain from unprofitable disputations on truths for which human and divine laws had provided sufficient sanctions. But even from a higher point of view we may fairly doubt how far such a disputant as the Socrates of Xenophon was a useful member of society. A man who was perpetually raising questions which he was so little able to solve, and setting everybody on inquiries upon the most momentous subjects, in which he was so little able to furnish them with a clue, is a person whose goodwill we must respect, much more than we can admire his prudence. No one will say that the Athenians were justified in putting him to death: but we are tempted to think that if, instead of giving him a draught of hemlock, they had crowned him with a chaplet of hellebore, and had sent him on board the *Paralus* to Delos, to close his days in the sanctuary of the god who took delight in his wisdom, they would have acted both mercifully and discreetly.

If I were not afraid of straying into a region foreign to the preceding discussion, I should have been tempted, before I conclude, to examine another little work of Mr Delbrueck, relating to the character of Socrates*. It is not a polemical piece, but seems rather to have been written in that easy and cheerful mood, in which a man sometimes falls to a game at chess, or at ninepins—with himself. He has lighted on three stumblingblocks in Plato's *Apology*, and is surprised that no one before him has been equally scandalized by them. Then he calls up an imaginary advocate for Socrates, and furnishes him with some arguments which he presently refutes. His inability to extricate himself from the dilemma in which he has placed himself begins to make him melancholy, when he is relieved by a visit so mysterious as to appear almost supernatural, which composes his mind by giving him an entirely new view of the matter. Unfortunately though his own doubts and difficulties are removed, those which he has

* Sokrates. Betrachtungen und Untersuchungen von F. Delbrueck. 1819.

raised in the minds of others are left in full force, Mr Delbrueck having scarcely hinted at the nature of the new light that broke in upon him in this extraordinary manner. And as his readers can scarcely hope to be similarly favoured, one is strongly tempted to inquire whether the three knots might not be loosened by some simply human means. For the present however I must resist this temptation, and reserve the attempt, if it should ever appear practicable, for some more fitting place, where it may be made with better omens of success.

C. T.

ON CERTAIN PASSAGES
IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH BOOKS
OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF VITRUVIUS.

SCHNEIDER'S edition of Vitruvius, with its copious and learned commentary, is still little known in England. Though it was printed in 1808, no copies of it came over until seven years after, when the opening of the continent brought us so large an accession of literary wealth from the presses of France and Germany. I owe my first acquaintance with it to Mr Walpole, whose attention had been attracted by the explanation of the Athenian architectural inscription in its pages.

In this elaborate and valuable work most of the mistakes of preceding editions have been discussed and corrected; and the text has been cleared from numerous impurities, and restored by the collation of several manuscripts. It is published, and, in my opinion, very properly, without graphic illustrations, which no one but a professed architect of long experience could give without the risk of running perpetually into error. If it lie open to the charge of some defects, they are owing to the editor's want of architectural knowledge; and such defects are almost inseparable from the undertaking: for while the learning necessary to its execution is beyond the reach of an architect, no professional man, who has devoted his time to acquiring a sufficiency of practical knowledge, can have formed the same extensive acquaintance with ancient writers which is displayed in the edition of Schneider. Hence it seems almost hopeless that any one should give a full and lucid exposition of Vitruvius: yet an accomplished scholar, if aided by an architect familiar with the productions of classical ages, may do much. Schneider wanted a more accurate knowledge of Greek construction, which at the time when he wrote was denied to his scientific

acquaintances, in common with almost the whole race of continental artists. It was with English architects that the knowledge of the constructive part of Grecian edifices originally rested; and by them it was first diffused. Had his edition been delayed a few years longer, Schneider might then have derived that assistance from his own countrymen, which would have rendered it all that can be wished, so far as civil architecture is concerned.

The errors which all the preceding editors had promulgated, arose from inattention to their author's repeated professions, which should have led them to attempt tracing the connexion between the principles of Vitruvius and those of the great masters he professed to follow, rather than to establish the coincidence of Roman examples with his supposed rules, by altering the text where it militated against them. Nor is Schneider's edition entirely free from faults of the same kind: this fundamental mistake has now and then deluded him in trying to restore the original reading of corrupt or disputable passages; and he has sometimes altered the text unnecessarily, sometimes missed the true correction from misunderstanding the ground on which it ought to rest. Such being the case, I may be excused the presumption of endeavouring to vindicate the original text, where it is in accordance with the principles of Grecian architecture, and to correct the dubious passages so as to elicit a meaning in consonance with the author's declarations, with a due observance of the *ductus litterarum*, and other canons of sound criticism.

The explanation of the Athenian architectural inscription, towards which the scholars of Germany with all their objections admit that I first pointed out the way¹, has led me to the restoration of some vitiated passages: this aid was not at the command of Schneider, whose interpretation is grounded on the very imperfect transcript in Chandler's *Inscriptiones antiquae*. Boeckh in his *Corpus Inscriptionum* has amply atoned for the brevity of Schneider's remarks, although he too has been misled by his want of architectural knowledge, as I pledge

¹ Hujus documenti interpretandi cum nuper Gulielmus Wilkins viam et rationem fere primus demonstrasset. C. O. Müller. Minervae Poliadis Sacra.

myself at some future time to shew, notwithstanding his vast learning, which leaves me *longo intervallo* behind.

The following observations relate to certain various readings and corrections of the text in those books of Vitruvius which are more immediately connected with the modern practice of architecture; and I would invite the remarks both of the scholar and the artist, with the hope of profiting by them on no distant occasion.

Book III. chap. 2. § 5. *In porticu Metelli Jovis Servatoris Hermodi.* Schneider here is inclined to follow the *editio princeps* of Sulpitius, and to substitute *hujusmodi* for *Hermodi*. The common reading is *Jovis Statoris Hermodi*. Three of the MSS. in the British Museum read *Staratoris*, and another *Startoris*. The Greeks had temples dedicated to Jove, under the surnames of Στήσιος, which Plutarch (Cicer. c. 16) says corresponded with the *Stator* of the Romans, and Σωτήρ, or *Servator*. Pliny alludes to the temples of Jupiter and Juno, within the porticoes of Octavia, without mentioning any surnames. In the ancient plan of Rome the two temples within the porticoes are designated as Aedis (*sic*) Jovis and Aedis Junonis. The surrounding cloister is termed PORTICUS OCTAVIAE ET ME ... or HE ... probably intended for the first syllable of METELLUS. The union of the two porticoes is frequently alluded to by ancient writers. Velleius Paterculus is incorrect when he says of Metellus, “Hic est Metellus Macedonicus, qui porticus, quae *fuere circumdatae* duabus aedibus, sine inscriptione positis, quae nunc Octaviae porticibus ambiuntur, fecerat.” I. 11. 3. From Suetonius and Dion Cassius we learn that the portico of Octavia was raised by Augustus, and served as an inclosure to two temples which he caused to be built at the same time with the spoils of the Dalmatians, in honour of Jupiter and Juno. Pliny tells us that the temples within the porticoes of Octavia were built by Sauros and Batrachus, Lacedemonian architects, who inscribed their emblems, a lizard and a frog, on the bases of the columns. From the manner in which this is related, it has more the air of a fable than of a historical fact. Schneider however, relying on this passage, would change *Hermodi* into *hujusmodi*, and get rid of the difficulty which arises from the epithet

STATOR, by inserting the words *et in aede* after *Metelli*, reading, *In porticu Metelli, et in aede Jovis Statoris hujusmodi*. But there is another reason for retaining *Hermodi*, or some such proper name, which will be noticed below. *Hermodus* sounds harshly as a Greek name; I would suggest *Harmodii* for *Hermodi*, in preference to *Hermodori*, which some of the critics have proposed. The decree against the assumption of this popular name, if ever it was actually in force, had probably become a dead letter long before the period to which Vitruvius refers.

Ad menianam Honoris. The common reading is *ad Mariana*; and Vitruvius is supposed to have alluded to the trophies of Marius, of which very little is known; nor would the situation of the temple of Honour and Virtue accord with that of these supposed monuments in the fifth region of Rome. One MS reads *ad marianam*, which at once suggests that the word *porticum* is to be understood. For *marianam* we should therefore probably read *menianam*. A *menian* portico was one which, like the *fora*, had two stories, the upper of which were termed *meniana*. Our author says that the comic scenery should exhibit representations of private edifices and *meniana*.

In confirmation of the common reading, reference has been made to a passage in the proœmium of the seventh book, in which the word *mariana* occurs, in connection with an allusion to the same temples of Honour and Virtue. "A C. Mutio, qui magna scientia confusus aedes Honoris et Virtutis *marianae* cellae columnarumque," &c. In this passage however the MSS vary greatly: we find *marinianæ*, *malinianæ*, *maligmen*, and *maliginem*: this denotes a complete corruption of the word, and allows us great latitude in attempting to restore it. *Marianae* is a conjecture, which owes its origin to its supposed occurrence in the passage we are now trying to correct, the *instrumentum criticum* used for this purpose being one of legitimate employment, and one to which I purpose having recourse in my explanation. In speaking of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, in the same proœmium, Vitruvius observes, *cellae magnitudinem, et columnarum circa dipteron collocationem, epistyliorumque et ceterorum ornamentorum ad symmetrium distributionem*, magna

solertia scientiaque.....est architectatus. The subsequent passage, alluding to the temple of Honour and Virtue, if we substitute *magnitudinem* for the unintelligible readings of the MSS will run as follows: *Qui magna scientia confusus aedes Honoris et Virtutis, magnitudinem cellæ columnarumque, et epistyliorum symmetrias perfecit.* In alluding to temples of such different modes of construction, the similarity of the description is such as to authorize this correction. This passage, therefore, has no other connection with the other, than that the temples of Honour and Virtue are mentioned in both.

III. II. § 6. *Sed Magnesiaë Dianæ Hermogenis, et Corinthi Apollinis a Menesthe facta.* The common reading is *Hermogenis Alabandi*; Schneider suggests *et Alabandis*. Some such correction is requisite; for the locality of one of the temples having been specified, it was necessary to prevent confusion by designating that of the other. Thus in the preceding passages where Vitruvius is speaking of the pseudodipteral species, both the examples are in Rome, and the situation of each is pointed out. In the subsequent illustration of the octastyle dipteral species, he again gives two instances; the temple of Diana at Ephesus, built by Chersiphron, and the Doric temple of Quirinus; but he does not tell us by whom the latter was built, nor in what part of Rome it was situated. Of the first point he was probably ignorant, for Livy could discover no antient authority as to its architect; and the temple having given name to the hill on which it stood, its site was too well known to need mentioning. It is of the old temple of Quirinus that Vitruvius speaks here. The modern temple was built by Augustus, and may not have been in being then; or, if it was, his studied neglect of the buildings of his own age, and of his contemporaries, would amply account for his silence concerning it.

Four of the MSS in the British Museum read *Alabarinthi*, instead of the common *Alabandi*; another has *Alabaranthy*; and two quoted by Schneider give *Alabarinthi* and *Alabaunthe*; the latter being evidently an error of penmanship. Corynthus was one of the names of Apollo: Pausanias (iv. 34) mentions a temple to him under this name near Corone in Messenia. The Acrocorinthus was under his tutelary guardianship, till he transferred his rights to Venus. The

probable site of his temple at Corinth is described by Colonel Leake in his *Morea*.

III. 2. § 8. *Sed Athenis in asty, Jovis in templo Olympii.* Every thing tends to establish this as the true reading, instead of the common ones. Schneider reads *Athenis octastylos, et in templo Olympio.* The Bipont edition, published in the same year, gives *octastylos in templo Jovis Olympii.* Four of the MSS in the British Museum have *octastylos et templo Olympio.* Those quoted by Schneider likewise give *et templo Olympio.* The *editio princeps* reads *et in templo Olympio.* All the MSS however omit the word *Jovis.* By the introduction of the particle *et*, Vitruvius is made to allude to *two* temples. His true meaning will be easily restored by comparing the several passages of this chapter enumerating examples of the various kinds of temples, and by the consideration of other passages in different parts of his work.

Whenever Vitruvius refers to existing illustrations of his remarks, he mentions the deities to whom they were dedicated, as well as their locality: and sometimes he gives the name of the architect or the projector of the building. Thus as an example of a temple *in antis*, we are referred to one of the three temples of Fortune near the Porta Collina. Of the prostyle species, the temples of Jupiter and Faunus, in the island of the Tiber, are quoted as specimens. We have two examples of hexastyle peripteral temples, namely, that of Jupiter, within the portico of Metellus, built by Hermodus, and that of Honour and Virtue, in the vicinity of some other portico, built by Mutius. So have we of amphiprostyle temples, that of Diana at Magnesia, built by Hermogenes, and that of Apollo at Corinth, or, according to the editions, at Alabanda, built by Menesthes. Of dipteral temples we have likewise two examples, the Ionic temple of Diana at Ephesus, built by Chersiphron, and the Doric temple of Quirinus, the situation of which is implied in its title, as it gave its name to the hill on which it was placed. In all these passages we have the name of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, as well as its site.

In the description of hypæthral temples, the common readings may refer either to one or two temples; and, as offering fewer difficulties, we will assume the most common

reading referring to one only: *Hujus exemplar Romae non est, sed Athenis octastylos in templo Olympio*. According to this reading, Vitruvius would illustrate hypæthral temples, which he has just informed us have ten columns in front, by referring to one which has only eight. This shows that the word *octastylos* is corrupt: to alter it into *decastylos* would only introduce an unnecessary repetition, without rendering the description consistent with that of all the other temples referred to: the name of the divinity would still be wanted; for the word *Jovis*, as I have already stated, is not found in any of the MSS known to us. Here then we have one word redundant, and another deficient. But there is likewise another word wanting to the consistency of the passage, which does not at first sight appear to be necessary. Whenever Vitruvius alludes to any building at Athens, he is careful to mention which of the two divisions of the city contained it; whether the Acropolis or the lower city, the *aræ* or the *asty*, as he calls them. Thus in the proœmium to the seventh book, wherein he is speaking of this temple, he says, *In asty vero Jovem Olympium*. Again in the third chapter of the eighth book, in which he alludes to the springs at Athens, he says, *et in asty et ad portum Piræeum*. On the other hand, when he speaks of buildings in the Acropolis, he subjoins *in arce*, as in the seventh chapter of the fourth book, and in the preface to the seventh. Hence it appears that in our passage, as it is commonly read, we have the word *octastylos* redundant, and want the two words *in asty* and *Jovis*. If therefore we read *in asty, Jovis in templo Olympii*, for *octastylos in templo Olympio*, all objections vanish. The name of the divinity is mentioned, the division of the city is designated, and the word *octastylos*, which has been the great difficulty with all the commentators, is got rid of.

That word has led some commentators to suppose that Vitruvius was referring to the Parthenon, as well as the temple of Jupiter Olympius. If so, the words *Minervæ in arce* and *Jovis in asty* would be necessary: but even then there would still be the inconsistency of citing an octastyle temple as an example of a species which, it had previously been stated, must be decastyle. Others again have supposed two temples to be alluded to, namely, the Parthenon at Athens,

and the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, which was hexastyle. On this supposition we should require the words *Minervae*, *in arce*, and *Jovis*; and the inconsistency already mentioned would be still greater, for we should have an octastyle and a hexastyle temple as illustrations of the hypæthral decastyle species.

III. 3. § 5. *Idem capitulum*. These words, for which Schneider and the Bipont editors read *item Capitoli*, appear to have been originally a marginal note. In one of the MSS consulted by Schneider this book is divided into twelve chapters. Schneider's second chapter is there marked v; and chap. viii begins with the words *Aedibus Araeostylis*: so that vi and vii are comprehended in the preceding pages: the first begins in the same place with Schneider's third chapter, and the other at *Reddenda nunc*. Hence the marginal note, in other MSS differently divided. Four of those in the British Museum, and two of those quoted by Schneider, read *item capituli*.

III. 3. § 7. *Habebit justam rationem*. The common reading is, "Ipsarum columnarum altitudo [erit] modulorum [octo et dimidia moduli partis. Ita ex ea divisione intercolumnia altitudinesque columnarum] habebunt justam rationem." In all the MSS to which I have had access the words between brackets are wholly omitted. In fact the height of the columns in the several kinds of temples is discussed in a subsequent part of the chapter. According to the arrangement in some of the MSS it forms the subject of a fresh chapter beginning with the words *Aedibus Araeostylis*. This passage is evidently interpolated, owing perhaps to the discordance between the words *altitudo* and *habebunt*.

III. 3. § 10. *Uti Systyli in novem*. This is the reading in all the MSS. The common reading, *uti diastyli in octo*, was devised with the view of making this passage correspond with the interpolation above mentioned. The following word *partes* is written *partibus* in several manuscripts.

III. 4. § 5. *Uti quadrae, spirae, trunci, et coronae lateris*. Instead of *lateris* the unintelligible word *lysis* appears in most of the printed editions. Two MSS quoted by Schneider give *lapis*; the *editio princeps* has *lesis*. The word is manifestly corrupt, and has exercised the ingenuity

of all the commentators. Perrault and Galiani suppose it to allude to the *cymatium* of the *corona*, for no other reason than that antient examples afford no instance of any member above the *cymatium* of the *corona*. Vitruvius however always comprises the *cymatium* in the term *corona*; indeed it is part of the *corona*. In like manner the *cymatium* is part of the *epistylium*. I formerly considered the word *lysis* alluded to a blocking course on the top of the *podium*, for the reason that guided Perrault and Galiani: this however is merely a continuation of one of the front steps along the flanks; it is not included by Vitruvius in the height of the *stylobatæ*, and consequently must be excluded from the members of the *podium*, which are directed to range with them in their united height. The word *lysis* must therefore be expunged from the list of architectural members.

III. 5. § 7. *Ab minimo ad pedes XXV.* This is the reading of all the MSS. It might be thought that this, as well as all the subsequent alterations of the numerals in the text of the printed editions, were of little importance to the integrity of the work; but the principles which the author professes to adopt, and his uniform assertion of their deduction from those of Greek architecture, can only be vindicated by restoring the reading of the manuscripts, in the room of the changes made in the printed editions for the sake of reconciling the proportions with those found in the remains of Roman architecture. Vitruvius tells us in the preface to the first book that his object is to instruct the Emperor in the rudiments of architecture, for his guidance in the works he was engaged in as well as in those which were in contemplation; thus implying the neglect of Grecian principles in previous buildings at Rome, and the prevalence of others at variance with them.

III. 5. § 8. *Sed ad aequalem modulum collocatis, uti adjectio quae in stylobatis facta fuerit in superioribus membris respondeat [symmetria epistyliorum.]* This is the reading in all the MSS. Some of the editions after *sed* introduce *ita exaequata per medium collocanda uti cum.* The words between brackets are supposed to have been originally a marginal note, afterwards inserted in the text; a supposition the more probable, because in one of the MSS the twelfth chapter

begins with *Epistyliorum ratio*: the words *Symmetria epistyliorum* therefore would form the head of the chapter.

III. 5. § 11. *Intersectio quae Graece metatome dicitur.* The common reading is *μετοχή*; the word is variously written in the MSS: *methoce*, *metoce*; and two quoted by Schneider give *metope* and *metatome*. This last is the correct reading. The Greek architectural inscription gives *κατατομή* for an operation of a similar kind; *λεία ἐκπεποιημένα ἄνευ κατατομῆς*: meaning that the moldings are got out plain, without the enrichment, or symmetrical division into ornaments. So in the dentils of a cornice the molding is first wrought plain, and afterwards the dentils are made by cutting away between equal intervals of the plain molding.

III. 5. § 12. *Coronae quae supra aequaliter imis.* Thus this passage appears in all the MSS. Some of the editors insert the words *tympanum sunt* after *supra*.

Simas quas Graece epistatidas dicunt. The Greek term in the Athenian inscription for the *simae* is *ἐπικρανίτιδες*. A term of similar import and derivation is here intended by Vitruvius. It is however variously written in the MSS, which give *epicidas*, *epytidas*, *epitidas*, and *epistidas*; the transition from this last to *epistatidas* is easy. The Greek word *ἐπιστάτις* is the feminine of the masculine noun *ἐπιστάτης*. The *editio princeps* reads *epithidas*; the common reading is *ἐπιτιθίδας*. Schneider proposes *ἐπωτίδας*, but this is merely suggested by a subsequent correction of *παρωτίδες* for *protides* in IV. 6. § 4, which is undoubtedly correct. The *parotides* however have nothing in common with the *simae*, either in form or position.

IV. 1. § 7. *Et inscirpis pro crinibus dispositis.* The common reading is *encarpis*, which is supposed to mean festoons of flowers, suspended from the eyes of the volutes. Garlands are said, upon some occasions of festivals, to have been so suspended, but there is no antient example of them as a permanent ornament. The term *scirpus* signifies platted or wicker work, resembling the braided hair, as the volutes are thought to have represented the side curls. We have examples of this braided ornament in the Ionic capitals of the Eretheum; and it frequently occurs in the bases of columns. The technical name for it is *guillochi*. Schneider evidently

inclines to the interpretation of Philander, who imagines that wreaths termed *pancarpiae* were here intended, on the authority of a passage in Festus, where *Pancarpiae* is explained to be *coronae ex vario genere florum factae*: he adds *Tali pancarpia corona capitula Ionica ornavit Michael Angelus*.

IV. 1. § 8. *Ionicae novem constituerunt*. This is the reading of all the MSS; the printed editions, with the exception of Schneider's, give *octo semis* in order to make this passage agree with the interpolated passage in chapter III, of which I have spoken. Pliny says (xxxvi. 56) *In Ephesiae Dianae aede primum columnis spirae subditae et capitula addita, placuitque altitudinis octava pars in crassitudine, et ut spirae haberent crassitudinis dimidiam*. Schneider remarks, on the assertion that capitals were first added, *hoc falsum*; he might have extended the same denial to the bases. Pliny had just informed us that Ionic columns were nine diameters in height, but that their proportions were not the same in the early examples of the order. *Antiqua ratio erat columnarum altitudinis, tertia pars latitudinum delubri*.

IV. 1. § 12. *Uti excipiant quae ex cauliculis natae procurrunt ad extremos angulos volutae, minoresque helices intra suum medium qui sunt in abaco floribus subjecti scalpantur*. This is the reading of the MSS, which the editors have altered in different ways. The usual reading inserts *abacum* before *excipiant*, and substitutes *cauliculorum foliis* for *cauliculis*, and *frontium abaci sunt* for *sunt in abaco*. Schneider alone gives the true reading, merely transposing the word *floribus*, and placing it immediately after *medium*. The reading of the MSS is sufficiently descriptive and clear, without any other alteration than *volutas* for *volutae*.

IV. 2. § 1. *Si majora spatia sunt et transtra et capreoli*. Thus this passage stands in the majority of the MSS. The printed editions insert, after *sunt*, the following passage: *columen in summo fastigio culminis, unde et columnae dicuntur*.

IV. 2. § 2. *Rationem habere in Doricis operibus*. The printed editions read, severally, *et opam*, *oparum*, and *apharum*. The Bipont edition and that of Rhode substitute

locum. Schneider suggests *vel metopam*, adding that all these readings are attended with difficulties. In substituting *rationem* I am guided by a common expression of Vitruvius, which occurs in two passages of this chapter, as does *habet rationem*, and *habebit rationem*. The expression *ratio est inventa* occurs three times in it.

IV. 2. § 4. *Metophae nominantur: ophas enim*. The *editio princeps* gives *methope*; the MSS *etophe*, *metophae*, and *metrophae*. All of them read *ophas*. In the subsequent part of this sentence they also give *ophas* and *methopa*. In the following chapter again we have *methophas*, *metophas*, and *metophae*, as well as *methophis* and *metophis*, instead of the usual mode of writing, *metopis*; and so throughout. Vitruvius says that the *ophae* corresponded with the *columbaria* of the Romans, which were not perforations but niches, or recesses left in the wall after the beams had been removed. The word μέτοπον in the Athenian inscription refers to something of a different kind, connected perhaps with the ὀπαῖον, which, from all I can collect, appears to mean what Vitruvius terms the *intertignium* or *lacunaria*, for which he gives us no corresponding Greek term. The ὀπαῖον, or ὀπαία, would therefore be the ornamental ceiling, called φάτνωμα by the Greeks, which we know from Pausanias formed the ceiling below the roof (v. 20). In repairing the roof of a temple the skeleton of a soldier, who is supposed to have concealed himself, is related μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων εὐρεθῆναι, τῆς τε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν στέγης, καὶ τῆς ἀνεχούσης τὸν κέραμον. It is used in this sense by Plutarch, when describing the Eleusinian temple in the life of Pericles. The word φάτνωμα occurs in a fragment of Æschylus quoted by Pollux, vii. 27. 122: ἀλλὰ μὲν τις Λέσβιον φατνώματος Κῦμ' ἐν τριγώνοις ἐκπεραινέτω ῥυθμοῖς—as the lines are restored by Müller. Φάτνωσις occurs in the same sense in the description of the ceiling of Solomon's temple. Ἐκοιλοστάθμησε τὸν οἶκον φατνώσεσι καὶ διατάξεσι κέδροις. III. Reg. vi. 9. In the porticoes of the Erechtheum the *lacunaria* consist of pannels with triple sinkings, one within the other, each surrounded by the Lesbian *cymatium*.

IV. 3. § 3. *In partes xxviii; si hexastylus, xxxxi*. The printed books alter these numerals. Schneider gives xxvii and xxxxi after Philander. The Amsterdam edition has

xxviii and xliv. All the MSS in the British Museum have xxviii. In three of the five the numerals for the hexastyle are omitted: the other two give xxxii.

IV. 3. § 6. *Pura relinquuntur, aut clymena scalpantur.* The printed editions read *fulmina*. The MSS give *flumina* and *fluvia*, with the same mark of contraction as in a preceding passage, where they read *femina* and *feia* instead of *femora*. When the *metophæ* were a modulus and a half in width, the spaces between the mutules were equal to half the width of the triglyph. In these intervals the commentators have supposed that thunderbolts were carved: some modern buildings have been thus ornamented in conformity with this imagined authority. The narrowness of the Greek *metophæ* allowed no room for any kind of ornament. In the soffite of the cornice of the Parthenon, where the angular mutules leave square intervals, we find Grecian honeysuckles carved, and these may have given rise to this suggestion of Vitruvius: hence we should read, *periclymena* or *clymena*, *περικλύμενα* or *κλύμενα*, for *flumina*. The introduction of flowers as an ornament is common in Greek architecture. Upon the *epistylia* of one of the porticoes of the Erectheum we find the *caltha palustris*, called in the Athenian inscription *κάλχη*; and again in the *antepagmenta* of one of the doorways of the same building. Schneider in his lexicon mistakes the *κάλχη* for the Ionic volute. The *periclymenon* is the woodbine that bears the honeysuckle. In some ancient examples of the Doric order, for instance, in the supposed temple of Saturn, now forming part of St Adrian in the Campo Vaccino, the intervals between the mutules, according to the details given by Labacco, exhibit flowers somewhat similar to the *κάλχη*, or chrysanthemum, of the Athenian inscription. There is another sort of marigold called *calendula officinalis*, the Greek name for which is *κλύμενον*; hence in all probability the *clumena* or *clymena* of Vitruvius. The same ornament is shewn in the *hypotrachelium* of the columns and pilasters of the same buildings, whence perhaps the interpretation of Hesychius: *κάλχη—μέρος κεφαλῆς κίονος*. A similar ornament occurs between the modillions in the soffite of the temple of Jupiter Stator, in the orders of the Pantheon, and in other Corinthian buildings at Rome. In the remains of

a Doric building, called the Temple of Piety, near the site of the theatre of Marcellus, the *corona* is not divided into mutules, but left *pura* in the language of Vitruvius. Triglyphs were placed at the angles of buildings; and consequently the angular intercolumniations were contracted, according to the details given by Labacco.

IV. 3. § 7. *Dividatur in partes xviii, si hexastylos erit dividatur in partes xxviii.* These are the numerals in the great majority of the MSS. One of the five in the British Museum gives xxiii instead of xviii. Two of them read xxviii, and the other three xxix, for the hexastyle division. The *editio princeps* and three MSS consulted by Schneider give xviii and xxviii, except that one has xxix for xxviii. The numerals xviii, being the reading in all the MSS except one, must be considered correct. The testimonies in support of xxviii are less in number; but this number is commensurate with xviii for the tetrastyle, and on this account there need be no hesitation about adopting it. Schneider reads xviii.s, and xxviii.s, but without any authority, on the mere supposition that Vitruvius intended the *metophae* of the systyle species to be equally wide with those of the more expanded front.

Diminutum aliquantum spatium hemitriglyphi id accedet. The common reading of this sentence is, *dimidiatum et quantum est spatium hemitriglyphi, id accedit in mediano.* Schneider rejects *dimidiatum* as a marginal note disturbing the construction. The *editio princeps* however and three of his MSS retain it. The editors differ in their mode of pointing this sentence; but in no way is the passage rendered intelligible, or to be reconciled with the intended mode of construction. The triglyph, being placed centrally over the axes of the angular columns, leaves a space at each extremity of the *xophorus* as much less than half a triglyph as half the diminution in the upper diameter of the column. According to the reading here proposed the meaning will be "the space of half a triglyph, some little diminished, is added at the angles;" which is strictly correct. *In mediano* is the beginning of another sentence.

In mediano, contra fastigium. The passage between the words *mediano* and *contra*, which occurs in all the MSS

in the British Museum, is obviously a misplaced repetition, unconnected with the context, and incomplete. Its omission leaves the text perfectly intelligible and clear. In the MSS after *mediano* we read: *habens cymatium Doricum in imo alterum in summo item cum cymatiis corona crassa ex dimidia dividendae autem sunt in corona ima ad perpendiculum contra, &c.* In the printed copies this passage is omitted, but only to be inserted with considerable additions after the word *dignitatem* further on. The whole text of this portion is full of unauthorized corrections and unnecessary insertions.

IV. 6. § 1. *Lumen autem hypaethri.* This is the reading in all the MSS. The printed copies read *hypothyri*, which has led to the insertion of the word *semis* after *duae*. The *hypaethra* were open spaces above the door, admitting air and light, sometimes through a bronze grating, as in the Pantheon. Schneider retains the correct reading. Perrault omits *semis*, but reads *hypothyri*. Owing to this, his illustration of ancient doorways exhibits no hypaethral opening. In a subsequent part of the chapter relating to Ionic doorways, even Schneider reads *hyperthyra* instead of *hypaethra*, although he rejects the word *semis*.

IV. 6. § 2. *Ipsa autem antepagmenta contrahantur.* In all the editions except that of Sulpicius, the words *crassa fiant in fronte altitudine luminis parte duodecima* are inserted before *contrahantur*. Schneider, aware of their want of authority, places them between brackets: they were inserted on mere conjecture by Jocundus.

IV. 6. § 4. *Projectis pedibus ancones sive parotides locentur.* The first word, appearing in the MSS in a contracted form, that is, *pris pedibus*, *protis pedibus*, and *portis pedibus*, has led to a variety of conjectures as to the construction of this and the preceding sentence. The printed copies read, *quemadmodum in Doricis hyperthyridibus*, beginning the next sentence with *Ancones*. Schneider omits *hyperthyridibus* as redundant. The passage is certainly complete without it; and *quemadmodum in Doricis* appears in a preceding part of the chapter. The questionable words therefore must either be omitted, or must begin a new sentence. There can be little doubt that we should read *projectis*, or *porrectis*, *pedibus ancones sive parotides locentur*,—the ends being

made to project, let the *ancones* be placed. The first is a necessary expedient for the reception of the other. I have adopted the word *parotides*, instead of *protides* and *ptides*, after Schneider. The *ancones* or *parotides* are the consoles, hanging down from the ends of the *hyperthyrum*, resembling a double volute, in the form of the Greek character ζ. In the Athenian inscription the console is termed οὖς, from a kind of resemblance to the human ear; whence ὠτίδες or παρωτίδες. The correction of *locentur* for the common *vocentur* is too obvious to require comment.

IV. 6. § 6. *Ipsaque non fiunt clathrata*. In all the editions, except those of Sulpicius and Schneider, the words *forium ornamenta* follow *ipsa*, but without any manuscript authority. The MSS give either *coelostrata* or *celostrata*. Vitruvius, having already mentioned the *forium ornamenta*, that is, the *antepagmenta*, or frames around the doors, proceeds to describe how the *lumina*, or openings, were to be disposed. These openings are divided into two portions, the *lumen hypaethri* and the *lumen valvarum*. They are similar in the Doric and Ionic doorways: he is now describing those of the Attic. These *lumina* are to be *valvata*, like those of the window-openings mentioned in the sixth chapter of the sixth book, *lumina fenestrarum valvata*. Barbaro says he found *clathrata* in two copies; and his testimony is the more to be relied on, inasmuch as he rejects it. Philander, on the contrary, adopts it, and illustrates the passage by the *fores clathratae* of the Pantheon, and by an ancient inscription first published by him, in which we find *Fores clatratas cum postibus esculinis facito*. In one of the inscriptions given by Chandler (II. 29) we have το αετωμα υπερ τας κυγκλιδας. And in the *Vespæ* of Aristophanes (v. 124) the old man, who is made to sleep in the infirmary of Æsculapius, shews himself at dawn at the lattice, which was probably over the door, ὁ δ' ἀνεφάνη κνεφαῖος ἐπὶ τῇ κυγκλίδι. This however may have been a window; for Pausanias tells us that the building was in the neighbourhood of the temple, and not the temple itself. We have the expression *fenestrae clathratae* in Plautus.

Perhaps the most satisfactory reading would be, *Ipsaeque* (*sc. fores*) *non fiunt clathratae*. Perrault adopts this reading.

having found it in a printed copy taken from a manuscript. The edition of Cesare Cisserano has *clathratae*.

Et aperturae habent exteriores postes. The common reading is *aperturas habent in exteriores partes*. The word *in* is only found in one or two MSS. The commentators conjecture that Vitruvius means to describe the doors as opening outwardly. The doors of Roman temples are said to have opened outwardly: this does not however appear to have been the case in Greek temples; nor does the word *aperturas* admit of such an interpretation. In the inscription above mentioned the doors and their posts are mentioned. The meaning of the passage is, that the *aperturae* (door-openings) had external posts, to which the doors were hung. This is exemplified in the Pantheon at Rome, where the door-posts are placed externally, and the doors open inwardly.

IV. 7. § 5. *Ut stillicidium tecti absoluti terminatio respondeat.* The common reading in the printed copies is *tertiario*. In the MSS it is sometimes written thus, and sometimes *ternario*, with the mark of contraction. Numerous conjectures as to the meaning of this passage have been offered, and graphic illustrations of it in every possible form have been given. In one point all seem to have agreed, in giving each a new interpretation. The correction suggested above renders the passage clear and intelligible, in perfect accordance with the context. “So that the termination of the roof itself may serve for the *stillicidium* (or eaves.)” That is to say, the mutules formed by the timbers of the roof, being made to project considerably beyond the walls of the *cella*, antepagments, representing the external cornice, are fixed to the ends, and thus form the γείσων, or eaves.

IV. 8. § 1. *Uti in quarto volumine.* This is the reading in all the MSS. All the editions on the contrary substitute *tertio* for *quarto*. The more correct mode of writing would have been *in hoc quarto volumine*; but it is not the part of a commentator to amend the language of his author. When in chapter III. sect. 7, Schneider proposes to substitute *ut* for the less elegant *quod*, because, as he says, *QUOD ex variatione barbari hominis ortum habet pro UT usurpantis*, he appears to forget the amount of the literary qualifications he has attributed to the author whose accomplishments he has

criticised. The unpolished man was probably Vitruvius himself. It is from such expressions as these that a judgement may be formed of his qualifications as a writer. The substitution of *tertio* for *quarto* would be attended with a result of which the commentators are probably not aware; nor of the violation of architectural fitness which has been widely spread by its original introduction. The reading of the printed copies gives an apparent authority to the use of the Ionic order in circular buildings: whereas in the majority of such edifices, certainly in the examples afforded by the best ages of architecture, the Corinthian alone is introduced. The impropriety of using any other is obvious to those who have witnessed the contrast between the straight line of the abacus of the capital and the circular sweep of the epistylum. Some examples of the Ionic order have the volutes placed diagonally, and the abacus curved like that of the Corinthian order; but these do not belong to the best periods.

IV. 8. § 4. *Athenis in arce et in Attica Sunii Poliadis Minervae.* The common reading is, *Athenis in arce Minervae et in Attica Sunii Palladis.* That in all the MSS is *Palladis Minervae*, from which the alteration to *Poliadis* is easy. Schneider, under some erroneous idea, has substituted *in asty* for *in arce*; thus referring to some supposed building in the lower city instead of the Acropolis. Modern travellers and writers on architecture, on the authority of the printed copies, have supposed Vitruvius to have been here alluding to the Parthenon, whereas he is describing temples of unusual construction. *Item GENERIBUS ALIIS constituuntur aedes et alio genere dispositiones habentes.* These temples observe the same proportions in their parts under this alteration of arrangement. In what this difference consisted he afterwards explains; and the reference to the temple of Minerva Polias is in conformity with his assertions.

Et ut reliqui thyrones. The common reading in the printed copies is *uti reliqua exisona.* The last word in some MSS is illegible. Stuart suggested *ut re liquet εἰσοδοί.* It ought to be observed that in the MSS all the Greek terms of art, although the orthography is Greek, are written in the common cursive character. The meaning of Vitruvius is obvious, whatever may be the term he used. In these exam-

ples he tells us we shall find some portions of the buildings, which were usually in the front, transferred to the sides. In the temple of Minerva Polias there are two porticoes in the flanks of the building: the word wanting therefore is something equivalent to the *pronaos* or *posticum*, neither of which can be used with propriety on the present occasion. The word *θυρώνες*, or vestibules, would be perfectly applicable, and, when written *thyrones*, approaches nearly to the form of the corrupted word *exysona*. The *θυρώνες* of the Greeks were the areas before the *thyromata*, or doorways.

IV. 9. *In aedis rationibus*. The common reading is *in mediis aedibus*. The MSS in the British Museum read, *in meditationibus*, which is retained by Schneider, although he is not satisfied with it, and offers, as a conjecture, *aedium stationibus*. At the conclusion of the last chapter we have the expressions, *aedium sacrarum ratiocinationes*, and *iisdem rationibus aedes sunt faciendae*, which lead at once to the reading I have here substituted.

W. W——s.

ON A PASSAGE IN XENOPHON'S HELLENICA,

I. 6.

THERE is a passage in the first book of Xenophon's *Hellenica* which has a good deal puzzled the writers who have attempted to give an account of the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens. It is well known that the sites of the Parthenon and of this temple were originally occupied by the Hecatompedon and the Erectheum, both of higher antiquity than those temples the remains of which are still the admiration of travellers. These sacred buildings were burnt on the taking of Athens by the Persians, but not totally destroyed. The day after the conflagration the Athenian refugees in the Persian army repaired to offer their devotions at the ruined shrines, and were astonished at the miraculous growth of the sacred olive, which had shot up amongst the smoking fragments of the Erectheum.

The words of Herodotus imply that this temple was still in existence; nor have we any means of ascertaining the extent to which the Persians carried their demolition. According to the policy of the Athenians, the temples burnt by the Persians were never repaired, but were left as they were, in perpetual execration of the impiety of the invaders (Paus. x. 35). But the limited area of the Acropolis did not permit this policy to be observed, when temples to replace those destroyed by the Persians were to be constructed. The new temples therefore were erected on the sites of the former. In the Erectheum in particular all other feelings must have yielded to the desire of preserving the sacred olive within the hallowed site, as well as the spring of water which Neptune, according to the traditions of Athenian mythology, had caused to arise in the same spot. So that the sites must have been preserved, the old temples taken down, and the Parthenon and temple of Minerva Polias erected where they had stood.

The Athenian architectural inscription, brought from Athens by Chandler, and now deposited in the British Museum, describes the progress that had been made in rebuilding the Erectheum in the archonship of Diocles: little more than the roof was wanted to complete it. Three years after, however, it is supposed to have been again destroyed by fire, on the authority of the following passage of Xenophon. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει (ὧ ἢ τε σελήνῃ ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας, καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πίτιος μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχωντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν) οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κ.τ.λ. On this passage Müller, in his dissertation on the temple of Minerva Polias (p. 19) observes: "Vehementer offensus sum loco Xenophontis Hellen. i. vi. 2. Haec pertinent ad Ol. xciii. ann. 3. quo templum vix absolutum, nedum *vetus* esse poterat. At rationibus certis evicimus, eandem aedem, quae Diocle archonte struebatur, et nunc stare: tam egregie concinnunt mensurae et omnis commodulatio. Neque tamen id tanti: cum incendio illo tectum tantum laesum, vel easdem mensuras et rationes in aede denuo instaurata repetitas esse, contra statuere possis. Nihilominus certissimum est, aedificium vix consummatum παλαιὸν νεὼν appellari non posse Hecatompodon Pericleum a loco hoc alienum esse, verbo moneo." The passage in Xenophon led me originally to think that the παλαιὸς νεὼς was the Hecatompodon, because, though the sacred and immovable objects within the Erectheum would not permit its site to be changed, the same objection did not apply to the Hecatompodon. But as the temples burnt by the Persians were not restored, it is evident that no second conflagration can have taken place in a building in which every thing combustible must already have been consumed.

It has occurred to me that these difficulties may be got over by supposing that the temple of Minerva here mentioned was not at Athens, but an ancient temple in some other part of Greece: and I think I can shew that a temple of Minerva, of very high antiquity, was actually destroyed by fire about the same period, that is, the archonship of Callias, 406 years before Christ. Pausanias tells us: Τεγεάταις δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποίησεν Ἀλεός· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατεσκευάσαντο οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῇ θεῷ ναὸν μέγαν τε καὶ θέας ἄξιον; (ἐκεῖνο μὲν δὴ πῦρ ἠφάνισεν, ἐπινεμηθὲν

ἐξαίφνης) Διοφάντου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος, ὑστέρω δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος (VIII. 45. 3.). Hence it appears that a very ancient temple of Minerva at Tegea was burnt about this very period, and a new one to replace it was built by Scopas in the second year of the 96th Olympiad. The date here given alludes either to the commencement, or, more probably, the conclusion of the new edifice: the year of the conflagration is not mentioned.

It might be imagined that two different temples of Minerva, both of them described as ancient, were destroyed by fire about the same time: neither writer, however, speaks of more than one: may we not conjecture then that they were both speaking of the self-same event? If in the passage of Xenophon we substitute ἐν Τεγέα for ἐν Ἀθήναις, we shall get over the whole difficulty occasioned by it, and it will no longer be at variance with the accounts given by other Greek writers, and with the testimony afforded by the Athenian inscription. The passage then would run as follows: ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὺς ἐν Τεγέα ἐνεπρήσθη, Πίτιος μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν, or it might be τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὺς τῆς Ἀλέας, the temple being dedicated to Minerva Alea.

W. W——s.

THE COMIC POET ANTIPHANES.

DR MEINEKE in the second and third parts of his *Quæstiones Scenicæ*¹ has rendered a great service to the literary world, and to the lovers of the ancient Greek drama especially, by his learned investigation of the times and works of the comic poets of Greece. In the third part of his enquiry he surveys the poets of the Middle Comedy; and among others the times of Eubulus, Anaxandrides, and Alexis, are satisfactorily assigned; the titles of their dramas recited, and the testimonies collected in which these titles are preserved. Upon the time of Antiphanes Dr Meineke differs from other critics, and places that poet forty years below the period assigned to him by the ancient grammarians. Although the passage is somewhat long, yet, as the work of Dr Meineke is not of common occurrence, and as his arguments will be best stated by himself, they shall be given in his own words².

Suidam si sequimur, natus est Antiphanes Ol. 93³, mortuus Ol. 112. ætatis anno 74^o; sed has rationes sunt quæ plane conturbent. Nam ut Theodectæ qui Aristotelis auditor fuit commemorationem Athen. p. 134. c. et alia ejusdem generis omittam, quid est quod Seleuci regis meminit apud Athen. p. 156. c? qui regem se appellari jussit Ol. 118. 2. Hinc manifestum est in

¹ These publications are entitled *Quæstionum Scenicarum Specimen secundum—Berolini 1827. pp. 75*; *Quæstionum Scenicarum Specimen tertium—Berolini (1830.) pp. 54*. A first part, which had preceded these, I have not been able to procure.

² Spec. iii. pp. 50, 51.

³ Dr Meineke has rightly interpreted the meaning of Suidas, which some had misunderstood. See Fast. Hellen. Part II. p. 81. To the names there mentioned, by whom Suidas had been misunderstood, may be added Saxius and Schweighæuser (noticed by Meineke p. 50), and Fabricius B. G. tom. II. p. 419. Harles.

natali anno apud Suidam erratum esse. Fabulas docere cœpit teste Anonymo μετὰ τὴν ζή ὀλυμπιάδα, Ol. 98; quod verum esse non potest, quum minimum usque ad Ol. 118. 2. fabulas docuerit, et Suida teste ætatem ultra annum 74^{um} non produxerit. Itaque vide ne apud Anonymum scribendum sit μετὰ τὴν ρή ὀλυμπιάδα. Quod nescio an etiam fragmentorum indole confirmetur, in quibus, ut hoc utar, Platonis aliorumque hujus ætate clarorum hominum nulla plane mentio injicitur. Quo accedit quod in tanta fabularum multitudine perpaucae reperiuntur ex quibus eum in solitis et receptis media comœdia argumentis versatum esse intelligatur. Idem confirmat etiam quodammodo Lycophronis narratio apud Athen. p. 555. a. Nam quum Antiphanes Alexandro comœdiam a se scriptam recitaret eaque non valde delectari regem intelligeret, non se mirari inquiebat Antiphanes, δεῖ γὰρ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ταῦτα ἀποδεχόμενον ἀπὸ συμβόλων τε πολλάκις δεδειπνηκέναι καὶ περὶ ἑταίρας πλεονάκις καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδωκέναι πληγὰς. Itaque amores, convivia, aliaque hujus generis primum Antiphaneæ poesis argumentum fuisse conjicias. Idque etiam fragmenta docent in quibus conviviorum descriptiones frequentissimæ, contra civilium rerum commemoratio certorumque hominum irrisiones rarissimæ. Hæc omnia si quis comparet cum titulo libri a Diodoro Ascalonita scripti περὶ Ἀντιφάνους καὶ περὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις κωμικοῖς ματτύης apud Athen. p. 662. f.⁴, haud sane mirer si quis eam ob causam Antiphanem novæ comœdiæ poetis accenseat. Quamquam hoc quidem immerito: nam mediæ poetam comœdiæ habitum esse Antiphanem ab Antiquis multis multorum constat indiciis. De poesi Antiphanis veteres ita judicarunt ut eum et eloquendi et componendi arte præstitisse censerent, quem ad modum diserte testatur Anonymus de Comœdia: γενέσθαι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εὐφνέστατον εἰς τὸ γράφειν καὶ δραματοποιεῖν. Suavitatis et elegantiae laudem ei impertit Athenæus p. 27. d. 156. c. 168. d. fragmentorum indole egregie confirmatam. Non mirum igitur eum una cum Alexide præstantissimum mediæ comœdiæ poetam habitum esse.—Denique feracissimi ingenii fuisse dramatum quorum auctor habitus est numerus docet, quem ita

⁴ Meineke addit p. 55, Quod edulii genus sub Macedonum demum imperio Athenas introductum esse diserte testatur Athenæus XIV. p. 662. f.

definit Suidas ut ab aliis 366 ab aliis autem 280 fabulas ei tributas fuisse referat. Horum numerum—alterum Anonymi consensu fere comprobatum video, quippe qui 260 fabularum auctorem eum fuisse perhibeat. Earum recensum alii tempori et loco reservamus.

For these reasons Dr Meineke rejects the testimonies which include the dramas of Antiphanes within Ol. 99—112, and fixes him at Ol. 109—118. 2, or below Ol. 118. 2. In the first place, we may dismiss the argument founded upon the mention of Theodectes. For Theodectes himself died before B. C. 333⁵; and might accordingly have been mentioned by Antiphanes although the death of Antiphanes had happened in that year. In the next place we may set aside the argument drawn from the conversation with Alexander as of no weight in this question; because that conversation must have been held before Alexander passed into Asia⁶; consequently the dramas there described, whatever were their subjects, and however treated, must have been written before B. C. 334. And besides we may remark that these subjects were introduced into the Middle Comedy by Anaxandrides: Suid. 'Αναξανδρίδης—πρῶτος οὗτος ἔρωτας καὶ παρθένων φθορὰς εἰσήγαγεν. And Anaxandrides exhibited in B. C. 376⁷ in the early period of the Middle Comedy. Thirdly, we may observe that the mention of ματτύη does not fix Antiphanes to a late period; for it is also mentioned by Nicostratus⁸, son of Aristophanes, who flourished in the early period. The inference

⁵ See Fast. Hellen. Part II. B. C. 333. p. 153.

⁶ It is nowhere said, nor is it in the least degree probable, that Antiphanes, who was naturalized at Athens, accompanied Alexander into Asia. And Alexander passed into Asia in the spring of B. C. 334; and after the summer of B. C. 333 he never again approached the Grecian sea or visited the western coast of Asia Minor.

⁷ See Fast. Hellen. p. 107. 139. and Dr Meineke himself p. 24.

⁸ Athen. XIV. p. 664. c. Νικόστρατος ἐν Ἀπελαυνομένῳ [conf. Suid. Νικόστρατ.].

εὖ γ', ἄνδρες, εὖ σφόδρ'· ἀλλὰ μὲν τῇ ματτύῃ
οὕτω διαθήσω τὰ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὥστ' οἶομαι
οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἡμῖν τοῦτον ἀντερεῖν ἔτι.

καὶ ἐν Μαγείρῳ [conf. Suid. Ib. Athen. XII. p. 517. a.]
θρίον δὲ καὶ κἀνδαυλον, ἥ τοῦτων τι τῶν
εἰς ματτύην, οὐδέτερον εἶδε πώποτε.

in general which Dr Meineke draws from the supposed character of the subjects of Antiphanes, concluding that they were not within the province of the Middle Comedy, and assigning to him on that account a position below the period of that comedy, seems at variance with acknowledged testimonies. For the Middle Comedy could only be distinguished from the New, either by the composition and subjects, or by the time; but, if Antiphanes in both these particulars had fallen within the New Comedy, it is not likely that he would have been ascribed to the Middle Comedy by the unanimous consent of ancient critics. In order, however, to determine how far the character of the fragments of Antiphanes will justify Dr Meineke's opinion, it will be necessary to have recourse to the fragments themselves. I propose therefore (since Dr Meineke has forborne to do this, and has deferred it to some other occasion) to exhibit the titles of the dramas of this poet and to bring together the chief passages. Where the testimonies are short, it will be possible to give the whole; upon some occasions, it will be more suitable to our present limits to state the substance.

1. 2. Ἀγροῖκος. Ἀγροῖκος ἢ Βουταλίων. Athen. ix. p. 396.

b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ.

καὶ πρῶτα μὲν
αἶρω ποθεινὴν μᾶζαν, ἣν φερέσβιος
Δηὼ βροτοῖσι χάρμα δωρεῖται φίλον.
ἔπειτα πνικτὰ τακερὰ μηκάδων μέλη,
χλόην καταμπέχοντα, σάρκα νεογενῇ.

B. τί λέγεις; A. τραγωδίαν περαίνω Σοφοκλέους.

Athen. ix. 392. e. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ.

ὥς δὴ σὺ τί
ποιεῖν δυνάμενος ὀρτυγίου ψυχὴν ἔχων;
Athen. x. 445. f. κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην, ὃς ἐν Ἀγροίκοις
φησὶν.

⁹ ὅλην μύσας ἔκπινε. B. μέγα τὸ φορτίον.

A. οὐχ ὅστις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐμπείρως ἔχων.

⁹ The copies of Athenæus have ὅλην μύσας and ὅλην καμμύσας. Lobeck ad Phrynich. p. 340 conjectures ὅλην ἀμυστί.

Athen. XIII. 567. d. Ἀντιφ. ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ·

τῷ τρέφοντι συμφορά·

εὐφραίνεται γὰρ κακὸν ἔχων οἶκοι μέγα.

Athen. xv. 692. f. Ἀντιφ. Ἀγροίκοις ἔφη·

Ἀρμόδιος ἐπεκαλεῖτο, παιὰν ἤδετο,

μεγάλην Διὸς σωτήρος ἄκατον ἤρέ τις.

Phot. Suid. ῥαγδαίους. Ἀντιφ. Ἀγροίκοις·

ῥαγδαῖος, ἄμαχος, πρᾶγμα μεῖζον ἢ δοκεῖς.

Bekk. Anecd. p. 97, 5. ἐκ διαδοχῆς: τὸ ἐν μέρει. Ἀντιφ.

Ἀγροίκῳ. 93, 27. ἐπίδημος:—Ἀντιφ. Ἀγροίκῳ. 105, 5. κα-

θαρὸς δούλος: οἶονεὶ ἀπηκριβωμένος. Ἀντιφ. Ἀγροίκῳ. 108, 8.

μεῖζον μεῖζον, μικρὸν μικρόν: Ἀντιφ. Ἀγροίκῳ.

Pollux vi. 54. Ἀντιφ.—ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ.

κραμβίδιον ἐφθόν, χάριεν, ἀστείον πάνν.

Athen. vii. 304. b. τούτων τῶν ἰαμβείων [sc. Ἀντιφά-

νους ἐν Κουρίδι] ἓν ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν Ἀκεστρίᾳ καὶ ἐν

Ἀγροίκῳ ἢ Βουταλίῳ.

Athen. viii. 358. d. παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιητῇ ἐν Βουτα-

λίῳ, ὅπερ δράμα τῶν Ἀγροίκων ἐστὶν ἐνὸς διασκευῆ·

καὶ μὴν ἐστιάσω τήμερον

ὑμᾶς ἐγώ· σὺ δ' αγοράσεις ἡμῖν λαβὼν,

Πίστ', ἀργύριον· B. ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι

χρηστῶς ἀγοράζειν. φράζε δὴ φιλούμενον

ὄψω τίνι χαίρεις; A. πᾶσι. B. καθ' ἕκαστον λέγε,

ἰχθὺν τίν' ἠδέως φάγοις ἄν; A. εἰς ἀγρὸν

ἦλθεν φέρων ποτ' ἰχθυοπώλης μαινίδας

καὶ τριγλίδας, καὶ νῆ Δί' ἤρεσεν σφόδρα

ἡμῖν ἅπασιν. B. εἶτα καὶ νῦν, εἰπέ μοι,

τούτων φάγοις ἄν; A. κἂν τις ἄλλος μικρὸς ἦ.

τοὺς γὰρ μεγάλους τούτους ἅπαντας νενόμικα

ἀνθρωποφάγους ἰχθῦς. B. τί φῆς ὦ φίλτατε;

ἀνθρωποφάγους; πῶς οὖν ἂν ἄνθρωπος φάγοι;

Γ. δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν Ἑλένης βρώματα,

ἃ φησιν οὗτος, μαινίδας καὶ τριγλίδας.

ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀγροίκῳ Ἑκάτης βρώματα ἔφη τὰς μαινίδας εἶναι καὶ τὰς τριγλίδας. The original passage of the former

play is preserved Athen. vii. 313. b. Ἀντιφ. ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ

ἢ Βουταλίῳ Ἑκάτης βρώματα καλεῖ τὰς μαινίδας διὰ

τὴν βραχύτητα, λέγων οὕτως· Τοὺς γὰρ μεγάλους—καὶ

τριγλίδας. Where the only variation is Ἑκάτης for Ἑλένης.

and where the title ἡ Βουταλίῳνι seems improperly added by Athen. since this was the title of the second edition.

3. Ἀδελφαί. Bekk. Anecd. p. 81, 10. ἀνακάμψει: ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποστρέψαι ποιήσει. Ἀντιφάνης Ἀδελφαῖς.

4. Ἀδωνις. Bekk. Anecd. p. 77, 25. ἀκληρίαν: Ἀντιφ. Ἀδώνιδι. 80, 24. ἀνὰ μέσον: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ. Ἀντιφ. Ἀδώνιδι. 103, 15. κατάλυσιν.—Ἀντιφ. Ἀδώνιδι. Araros and Nicophon exhibited dramas with the same title¹⁰.

5. Ἀθάμας. Pollux x. 62. ἐν τῷ Ἀντιφάνους Ἀθάμαντι χλαμύδα καὶ λόγχην ἔχων,

¹¹ ἄξυνακόλουθος, ξηρός, αὐτολήκυθος.

Amphis has a drama with the same title¹².

6. Αἰγύπτιοι. Bekk. Anecd. p. 81, 15. ἀναβῆναι: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναχωρῆσαι. Ἀντιφ. Αἰγυπτίοις.

7. Αἴολος. Athen. x. 444. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Αἰόλῳ διαβάλλων ὅσα δεινὰ πράττουσιν οἱ πλεόν πίνοντες φησί·

Μακαρεὺς ἔρωτι τῶν ὁμοσπόρων μιᾶς πληγεῖς τέως μὲν ἐπεκράτει τῆς συμφορᾶς, κατεῖχε θ' αὐτόν· εἶτα παραλαβὼν ποτε οῖνον στρατηγόν, ὃς μόνος θνητοῖς ἄγει τὴν τόλμαν εἰς τὸ πρόσθε τῆς εὐβουλίας, νύκτωρ ἀναστὰς ἔτυχεν ὧν ἠβούλετο.

8. Ἀκέστρια. See No. 1. Athen. xiii. 586. a. τῆς Σινώπης.—μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρκάδι καὶ ἐν Κηπουρῷ, ἐν Ἀκεστρίᾳ, ἐν Ἀλιευομένῃ, ἐν Νεοπτίδι, καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Κλεοβουλίνῃ, καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐν Μοσχίῳ. See Fast. Hellen. Part. ii. p. 143. Sinope is mentioned by Demosth. Androt. p. 610. in B.C. 355.

Athen. ix. 402. d. παρ' Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Ἀκεστρίᾳ·

κρέα δὲ τίνος ἡδιστ' ἂν ἐσθίοις; B. τίνος;

εἰς εὐτέλειαν. τῶν προβάτων μὲν οἷς ἐνι

μήτ' ἔρια μήτε τυρός· ἄρνός, φίλτατε.

τῶν δ' αἰγέων κατὰ ταύθ' ἂ μὴ τυρόν ποιεῖ·

ἐρίφου. διὰ τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν γὰρ τῶν ἀδρῶν

ταῦτ' ἐσθίων τὰ φαῦλ' ἀνέχομαι.—

¹⁰ Ἀραρὼς Ἀδώνιδι Bekk. Anecd. p. 81, 8. 104, 3. Athen. iii. 95. c. For Nicophon see Fast. Hellen. B. C. 388. p. 101.

¹¹ Ἀξυνακόλουθος Salmasius. Vulgo ξυνακόλ.

¹² Ἀμφίς ἐν Ἀθάμαντι Athen. xiii. 599. a.

9. Ἀκοντιζομένη. Athen. x. 441. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῇ Ἀκοντιζομένη.

γείτων ἐστί τις
κάπηλος, οὗτος εὐθύς, ὅταν ἔλθω ποτὲ
διψῶσα, μόνος οἶδ' ὥς γέ μοι κεράννυται,
οὔθ' ὕδαρες οὔτ' ἄκρατον. οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ποτε
πιούσα.

10. Ἀλείπτρια. Athen. iii. 123. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀλειπτρία· φέρεται τὸ δράμα καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξιδος.

ἐὰν δὲ τούργαστήριον ποιῆτε περιβόητον,
κατασκεδῶ, νῆ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, τὴν μεγίστην
ἀρύταιναν ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου βάψασα τοῦ λέβητος
ζέοντος ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μηδέποθ' ὕδωρ πίοιμι
ἐλευθέριον.

11. Ἀλιευομένη. See No. 8. Pollux ix. 29. δεκατώνια. κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀλιευομένη.

Athen. viii. 338. e. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀλιευομένη φιληδοῦν-
τάς τινας καταλέγων ἰχθύσι φησί·

τάς σηπίας δὲς πρῶτον. Ἡράκλεις ἄναξ,
ἅπαντα τεθολώκασιν κ. τ. λ.

Twenty-four lines naming *Callimedon*, *Sinope*, *Misgolas*. Athen. 339. b. πιθανώτατ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τὸν Μισγόλαν κεκωμώδηκεν ὡς ἐσπουδακότα περὶ κιθαρωδοὺς καὶ κιθαριστὰς ὠραίους. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ῥήτωρ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμάρχου λόγῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε κ. τ. λ. Sc. in Timarch. p. 7, 25. That oration was delivered in B. C. 345.

12. Ἀλκηστις. Athen. iii. 122. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀλκήστιδι ἔφη·

ἐπὶ τὸ καινουργεῖν φέρου
οὕτως, ἐκείνως, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι
ἐν καινὸν ἐγχείρημα, καὶν τολμηρὸν ἦ,
πολλῶν παλαιῶν ἐστί χρησιμώτερον.

Athen. xii. 553. c. Ἀντιφ. ἐν Ἀλκήστιδι ἐλαίῳ τινὰ ποιεῖ
χριόμενον τοὺς πόδας.

13. Ἀνασωζόμενος. Bekk. Anecd. p. 89, 2. διαφέρον·
ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέρον. Ἀντιφ. Ἀνασωζομένῳ.

14. Ἀντεία. Athen. iii. 127. b. Ἀντιφάνους ἐξ Ἀντείας·

ἐν ταῖς σπυρίσι δὲ τί ποτ' ἐνεστι, φίλτατε;

B. ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν μὲν χόνδρος ἀγαθὸς Μεγαρικός.

A. οὐ Θετταλικὸν τὸν χρηστὸν εἶναί φασι δέ;

B. ———¹³ τῆς Φοινίκης ———
 σεμίδαλις, ἐκ πολλῆς σφόδρ' ἐζητημένη.
 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δράμα φέρεται καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξιδος, ἐν ὀλίγοις
 σφόδρα διαλλάττον.

Athen. xv. 690. a. μνημονεύει τοῦ μυροπώλου τούτου τοῦ
 Πέρωνος καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν Ἀδμήτῳ καὶ Ἡδυχάρει. Ἀντιφάνης
 δ' ἐν Ἀντεΐᾳ·

πρὸς τῷ μυροπώλῃ γενόμενον κατελίμπανον
 αὐτὸν περὶ μύρον. * * *

* * * * μέλλει τε συνθεῖς σοι φέρειν
 τὰ κινναμώμινα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ νάρδινα.

There is no doubt that Antiphanes named *Peron*, who
 is named by Theopompus¹⁴.

Athen xii. 544. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀνταίῳ [Ἀντεΐα Schweigh.¹⁵]
 περὶ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων τρυφερότητος διαλεγόμενός φησιν·

ὦ τᾶν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτος;
 ὁ γέρων; ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως Ἑλληνικός,
 λευκὴ χλανὶς, φαιὸς χιτωνίσκος καλὸς,
 πιλίδιον ἀπαλὸν, εὐρυθμός βακτηρία,
 βαιὰ τράπεζα. τί μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλως
 αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδημείαν δοκῶ.

Pollux vii. 59. Ἀντιφάνης δ' αὐτὸ ἐναντία [ἐν Ἀντεΐᾳ¹⁶
 Leopard.] παρεξηγεῖται·

ταῖς δ' ¹⁷ἐνδύτοις στολαῖσι τετραγωδημέναις,
 σκελέαις, τιάραις—

¹³ *Et ante et post Φοινίκης aliquid omisit.* DINDORF.

¹⁴ v. 2. Αὐτὸν Πέρωνι Canter. v. 1. Πρὸς τῷ Πέρωνι γενόμενον κατελίμπανον
 Schweigh. v. 2. Αὐτὸν περὶ μύρον. * * μέλλει τε συνθεῖς σοι φέρειν Dindorf
 marking a *lacuna*. We might partly supply the *lacuna* thus: αὐτὸν περὶ μύρον
 τῷ Πέρωνι * *.

¹⁵ Schweigh. ad Athen. tom. xi. p. 497. *Antæus possit esse tragædiæ titulus, comædiæ parum videtur convenire. Comædias autem scripsit Antiphanes, tragædias, quod sciam, nullas. Quare vera videtur scriptura quæ alibi apud nostrum obtinet, ἐν Ἀντεΐᾳ.* As if the title of a tragedy could not also be the title of a comedy! when we find the Ἀθάμας, Ἀντιόπη, Βελλεροφόντης, Διόνυσος, Ἰξίων, &c. the titles of both. But although the reason assigned by Schweighæuser is of no weight, yet his emendation seems justified from Athen. iii. 127. b. xv. 690. a.

¹⁶ Approved by Toup ad Polluc. tom. iv. p. 372.

¹⁷ Ἐνδύτοις Porson. Adv. p. 283. ἐν αὐταῖς vulgo.

15. Ἀντερῶσα. Bekk. Anecd. p. 106, 5. λαγγάζει: Ἀντιφάνης Ἀντερῶση. A drama of Nicostratus bore this title¹⁸.

16. Ἀποκαρτερῶν. Pollux x. 138. στρωματεῖς.—κέχρηται δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀποκαρτεροῦντι.

17. Ἀργυρίου ἀφανισμός. Athen. ix. 409. d. Ἐπιγένης ἢ Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν Ἀργυρίου ἀφανισμῷ

——¹⁹ καὶ——

τότε περιπατήσεις κάπονίψει κατὰ τρόπον
τὰς χεῖρας, εὐώδη λαβὼν τὴν γῆν—

18. Ἀρκαδία or Ἀρκάς. See No. 8. Athen. x. 444. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρκαδία φησὶν·

οὔτε γὰρ νήφοντα δεῖ
οὔδαμῶν, πάτερ, παροινεῖν, οὔθ', ὅταν πίνειν δέῃ,
νοῦν ἔχειν. ὅστις δὲ μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ,
* * * μικρῷ πεποithῶς ἀθλίῳ νομίσματι,
εἰς ἄφοδον ἐλθὼν ὅμοιον πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὄψεται,
ἂν σκοπῇ τὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν τοῦ βίου τεκμήρια,
τὰς φλέβας θ' ὅποι φέρονται τὰς ἄνω καὶ τὰς κάτω
τεταμένας, δι' ὧν ὁ θνητὸς πᾶς κυβερνᾶται βίος.

19. Ἀρπαζομένη. Athen. ix. 401. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρπαζομένη·

λαβὼν ἐπανάξω σύαγρον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς καὶ λέοντα καὶ λύκον.

20. Ἀρχιστράτη. Athen vii. 322. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρχιστράτῃ·

τίς δ' ἐγχέλειον ἂν φάγοι,
ἢ κρανίου σινόδοντος;—

21. Ἄρχων. Athen. iv. 142. f. διακωμῶδων Ἀντιφάνης τὰ Λακωνικὰ δεῖπνα ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἄρχων φησὶν οὕτως·

ἐν Λακεδαίμονι

γέγονας; ἐκείνων τῶν νόμων μεθεκτέον
ἐστίν. βάδιζ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὰ ²⁰ φιλίτια·
ἀπόλαυε τοῦ ζωμοῦ, ²¹ ῥόφει, τὰς βύστακας
μὴ καταφρόνει, μηδ' ἕτερ' ἐπιζήτει καλά·
ἐν τοῖς δ' ἐκείνων ἔθεσιν ἴσθ' ἀρχαῖκός.

18 Athen. xi. 487. b. Νικόστρατος Ἀντερῶση. Suid. Νικόστρατος.

19 καὶ τότε π. Vulgo. τότε | Καὶ περιπατήσεις Dindorf.

20 φιλίτια Dindorf after Toup. Vulgo φειδίτια.

21 ῥόφει Dindorf after Ruhnken for φόρει.

22. Ἀσκληπιός. Athen. xi. 485. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀσκληπιῷ·
τὴν δὲ γραῦν τὴν ἀσθενοῦσαν πάνυ πάλαι τὴν βρυτικήν,
ρίζιον τρίψας τι μικρὸν, δελεάσας τε γεννικῇ
τὸ μέγεθος κοίλῃ λεπαστῇ, τοῦτ' ἐποίησ' ἐκπιεῖν.

23. Ἀσωτοί. Bekk. Anecd. p. 86, 14. γαμῶ ἢ γυνὴ λέγει
οὐ γαμοῦμαι: Ἀντιφάνης Ἀσώτοις. ἐγνημάμην ὁ ἀνὴρ λέγει
ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔγνημα. The grammarian has founded a rule upon
an expression which was used in a comic sense²².

24. Αὐλητής. Athen. xiv. 618. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ
Αὐλητῇ·

ποῖαν, φράσον γὰρ, ἥδε τὴν συναυλίαν
ταύτην; ἐπίσταται γάρ, κ. τ. λ. Seven lines.

A corrupt passage, which Casaubon, Schweighæuser, and
Dindorf, are unable to restore.

25. Αὐλητρίς ἢ Διδύμαι. Athen. viii. 343. d. Ἀντιφάνης
ἐν Αὐλητρίδι ἢ Διδύμαις Φοινικίδην τινὰ ἐπ' ὀψοφαγία κωμω-
δῶν φησιν·

ὁ μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπολέμησ' ἔτη δέκα
τοῖς Τρωσὶ διὰ γυναῖκα τὴν ὄψιν καλὴν,
Φοινικίδης δὲ Ταυρέα δι' ἔγχελυν.

Phœnicides is also named by Antiphanes in the *Πλούσιοι*.
see No. 105. and by Euphron (who was contemporary with
Callimedon: Athen. iii. 100. d.) in the *Μοῦσαι*: Athen. viii.
343. b.

26. Αὐτοῦ ἐρῶν. Athen. x. 455. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Αὐτοῦ
ἐρῶντί φησιν·

—τροφαλίδας τε λινοσάρκους. μανθάνεις;
τυρὸν λέγω.—Conf. Eustath. ad Hom. p. 1339, 17.

Athen. xv. 678 e. κυλιστὸν στέφανον—μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἐαυτοῦ ἐρῶντι. Conf. Polluc. vii. 199.
Pollux x. 152. ἀρυβάλλους δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συσπάστου βαλαν-
τίου ἐν Ἀντιφάνους²³ Αὐτοῦ ἐρῶντι.

27. Ἀφροδίσιον. Athen. x. 449. b. περὶ δὲ γρίφων, Ἀν-
τιφάνης—ἐν Ἀφροδισίῳ·

πότερ', ὅταν μέλλω λέγειν σοι τὴν χύτραν, χύτραν λέγω,
ἢ τροχοῦ ῥύμαισι τευκτὸν κοιλοσώματος κύτος
πλαστὸν ἐκ γαίης; κ. τ. λ. Seventeen trochaics.

²² See Porson. ad Eur. Med. 264. Elmsl. ad Eur. Med. 257.

²³ Αὐτοῦ ἐρῶντι Casaub. Vulgo Αὐτοῦ ἐρωτι.

Stob. Flor. 124, 27. Ἀντιφάνους ἐξ Ἀφροδισίου·

πενθεῖν δὲ μετρίως τοὺς προσήκοντας φίλους.

οὐ γὰρ τεθνᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν

ἣν πᾶσιν ἐλθεῖν ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον

προεληλύθασιν· εἶτα χ' ἡμεῖς ὕστερον

εἰς ταυτὸ καταγωγεῖον αὐτοῖς ἤξομεν

κοινῇ τὸν ἄλλον συνδιατρίψοντες χρόνον.

Bekk. Anecd. p. 95, 32. εὖειματεῖν: Ἀντιφάνης Ἀφρο-
δισίῳ.

28. Ἀφροδίτης γοναί. Athen. xv. 666. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν
Ἀφροδίτης γοναῖς·

τονδὶ λέγω, σὺ δ' οὐ συνίης. κότταβος

τὸ λυχνίον ἐστί. πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν. ὥα μὲν

καὶ πέμμα καὶ τράγημα νικητήριον.

B. περὶ τοῦ; γελοῖον. κοτταβιεῖτε τίνα τρόπον;

A. ἐγὼ διδάξω καθ' ὅν. ὅς ἂν τὸν κότταβον

ἄφεις, ἐπὶ τὴν πλάστιγγα ποιήσῃ πεσεῖν—

B. πλάστιγγα ποῖαν; τοῦτο τοῦπικείμενον

ἄνω τὸ μικρὸν, τὸ πινακίσκιον λέγεις;

A. τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πλάστιγξ. κ. τ. λ. Twenty lines *de cot-
tabo ludo*. v. 5—13 are in Athen. xi. 487. d. Ἀντιφ. Ἀφρο-
δίτης γοναῖς· Ἐγὼ ὑπιδείξω καθ' ὅν κ. τ. λ. v. 2 is referred
to by Ammonius v. λυχνίον.—λυχνίον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ λυχνία,
ὡς Ἀντιφ. φησὶν ἐν Ἀφροδίτης γοναῖς. v. 8 by Pollux x. 84.
ἐν δὲ Ἀντιφάνους Ἀφροδίτης γοναῖς πινακίσκιόν ἐστιν εἰρη-
μένον. Polyzelus exhibited a drama with this title²⁴.

29. Βάκχαι. Athen. x. 441. d. Ἀντιφάνης Βάκχαις·

ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστι, κακοδαίμων σφόδρα

ὅστις γαμει γυναῖκα, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς Σκύθαις·

ἐκεῖ μόνον γὰρ οὐ φύετ' ἄμπελος.—

30. Βοιωτία. Athen. xi. 474. e. ὅτι καὶ γυναικεῖον κοσ-
μάριον ἐστὶ κάνθαρος Ἀντιφάνης εἰρηκεν ἐν Βοιωτία. Athen.
xiv. 650. e. Ἀντιφ. ἐν Βοιωτία·

ἐνεγκεῖν ἐξ ἀγροῦ μοι τῶν ῥοῶν

τῶν σκληροκόκκων.

Pollux x. 88. Athen. ix. 367. e. ἐν τῇ Ἀντιφάνους

²⁵ Βοιωτία·

²⁴ See Fast. Hellen. Part II. B. C. 364. p. 117.

²⁵ Ἀντιφάνης Βοιωτίῳ· καλέσασα τε Athen.

καλέσας τε παρατίθησιν ἐν ²⁶ παροψίδι
²⁷ βολβούς—

Athen. III. 84. a. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Βοιωτίῳ. [— τία Casaub. Dindorf.]

καὶ περὶ μὲν ὄψου γ' ἡλιθιον τὸ καὶ λέγειν,
 ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀπλήστους. ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ λάμβανε
 παρθένε τὰ μῆλα. B. καλὰ γε. A. καλὰ δῆτ' ὦ θεοί·
 νεωστὶ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτ' ἀφιγμένον
 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.
 B. παρ' Ἑσπερίδων ὥμην γε νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον
 φασὶν τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα ταῦτ' εἶναι. τρία
 μόνον ἐστίν. B. ὀλίγον τὸ καλὸν ἐστὶ πανταχοῦ
 καὶ τίμιον.

Ἐριφος δ' ἐν Μελιβοία αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἱαμβεῖα προθεῖς
 ὥς ἴδια τὰ τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους ἐπιφέρει·

B. παρ' Ἑσπερίδων κ. τ. λ.

31. Βομβύλιος οἶ—κιος. Athen. III. 125. f. τοῦ κνισο-
 λοίχου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης μνημονεύει ἐν Βομβυλίῳ. Pollux x.
 179. σαφῶς δὲ αὐτὸ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Βομβυκίῳ δηλοῖ εἰπὼν·
 ἀγγεῖον ἀλφιτήριον *²⁶ ὁ κῶϊξ—

Athen. IV. 161. e. ἐξὸν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ποιητὴν
 ἐν Βομβυκίῳ (sic) λέγοντα, δραχμῆς ὠνήσασθαι “τὰς προσ-
 φόρους ἡμῖν τροφὰς, σκόροδα, τυρὸν, κρόμμνα, κάππαριν·
 πάντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν δραχμῆς.”

32. Βούσιρις. Phot. lex. νωταλεύματα. Athen. II. 47. d.
 Ἀντιφάνης Βουσίριδι·

βότρυς, ῥόας, φοίνικας, *²⁷ ἕτερα νώγαλα.

Bekk. Anecd. p. 89, 33. δρᾶμ' ἀκούσαι: Ἀντιφάνης Βου-
 σίριδι. Pollux x. 65. εἰπόντος Ἀντιφάνους ἐν Βουσίριδι
 “καὶ τὸ χερνίβιον πρῶτον ἢ πομπὴ σαφής.” *Busiris* was
 also among the titles of the comedies of Ephippus and
 Mnesimachus²⁸.

Βουταλίων see Ἀγροῖκος.

²⁶ παροψίδι Pollux.

²⁷ βολβούς deest Athen.

*²⁶ ὁ κῶϊξ ἐστίν Pollux.

*²⁷ ἕτερα νωταλεύματα Phot. Epit. Athen. omits the title of the drama.

²⁸ Athen. x. 442. d. Ἐφίππος ἐν Βουσίριδι. x. 417. e. Μνησίμαχος Βουσίριδι.

33. Βυζάντιος. Pollux vii. 170. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Βυζαντίῳ κατὰ τὴν νῦν χρήσιν εἶρηκε·

——πορφύρας ὀκτὼ κύκλοι.

34. Γάμοι. Athen. iii. 95. a. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Γάμοις·

ἐκτεμὼν χορδῆς μεσαῖον—

Athen. iv. 160. d. Ἀντιφάνει τῷ κωμικῷ—ἐν Γάμῳ·

κογχίον τε μικρὸν ἀλλαντός τε προστετμημένον.

Athen. iv. 169. d. πατάνια διὰ τοῦ π. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Γάμῳ·

πατάνια, σεῦτλον, σίλφιον, χύτρας, λύχνους,

κορίαννα, κρόμνυ', ἄλας, ἔλαιον, τρυβλίον.

Bekk. Anecd. p. 84, 13. βατάνια:—Ἀντιφάνης Γάμοις.

Whence it appears that some copies of the Γάμοι had βατάνια in the line quoted by Athenæus.

35. Γανυμήδης. Athen. x. 458. f. λεκτέον τίνα κόλασιν ὑπέμενον οἱ μὴ λύσαντες τὸν προτεθέντα γρίφον· ἔπινον οὗτοι ἄλμην παραμισγομένην τῷ αὐτῶν ποτῷ—ὥς Ἀντιφάνης δηλοῖ ἐν Γανυμήδει διὰ τούτων·

οἶμοι περιπλοκάς

λίαν ἐρωτᾶς. B. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς φράσω·

τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τοῦ παιδὸς εἰ ξύνοισθά τι,

ταχέως λέγειν χρή· κ. τ. λ. Thirteen lines.

Eubulus, one of the earliest writers of the Middle Comedy, also composed a drama with this title²⁹.

Γάστρων. See Κνοιθιδεῦς.

36. Γόργυθος. Athen. vii. 340. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Γοργύθῳ·

ἦττόν τ' ἀποσταίην ἂν ὦν προειλόμην

ἢ ³⁰ Καλλιμέδων γλαύκου πρόοιτ' ἂν κρανίον.

See No. 11.

37. Δευκαλίων. Athen. iii. 118. d. Ἀντιφάνης ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν Δευκαλίῳ—

τάριχος ἀντακαῖον εἴ τις βούλετ' ἢ

Γαδειρικόν, Βυζαντίας δὲ θυννίδος

ὀσμαῖσι χαίρει.

Athen. xiv. 646. f. Ἀντιφάνης Δευκαλίῳ·

σησαμίδας ἢ ³¹ μελίπηκτον ἢ τοιοῦτό τι.

²⁹ Athen. iii. 110. a. vi. 248. c. Εὐβουλος ἐν Γανυμήδει.

³⁰ For the time of Callimedes see Fast. Hellen. Part II. p. XLVI. x.

³¹ μελίπηκτα Athenæus: μελίπηκτον Dindorf.

Α Δευκαλίων was also written by Eubulus³².

38. Δίδυμοι. Athen. III. 127. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Διδύμοις·
ἀπέλαυσα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐδεσμάτων,
πιῶν τε προπόσεις τρεῖς ἴσως ἢ τέτταρας
ἐστρηνίων πῶς, καταβεβρωκὼς σιτία
ἴσως ἐλεφάντων τεττάρων.

Athen. VI. 237. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Διδύμοις·
³³ὁ γὰρ παράσιτός ἐστιν, ἂν ὀρθῶς σκοπῆς,
κοινωνὸς ἀμφοῖν, τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ βίου.
οὔδεις παράσιτος εὖχετ' ἀτυχεῖν τοὺς φίλους
τοῦναντίον δὲ πάντας εὐτυχεῖν αἰεί.
ἐστὶν πολυτελὴς τῷ βίῳ τις, κ. τ. λ. Twelve lines.

Athen. IX. 380. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Διδύμοις·
οἶνογευστεῖ, περιπατεῖ

ἐν τοῖς στεφάνοις—

Athen. X. 423. c. κατὰ τὸν κωμωδιοποιὸν Ἀντιφάνην, ὃς
ἐν Διδύμοις φησί·

τὸ ποτήριόν μοι τὸ μέγα προσφέρει λαβῶν.

ἐπεχεάμην ἄκρατον, οὐχὶ παιδίου,

κυάθους θεῶν τε καὶ θεαινῶν μυρίου·

ἐπειτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι τῆς σεμνῆς θεᾶς

καὶ τοῦ γλυκυτάτου βασιλέως διμοιρίαν.

Bekk. Anecd. p. 114, 4. συμπάσχειν· Ἀντιφάνης Διδύμοις.
Διορύττων see Θορίκιοι.

39. Διπλάσιοι. Athen. XI. 503. e. ὥδός· οὕτως ἐπεκαλεῖτο
τὸ ποτήριον—τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ σκολίῳ διδόμενον, ὡς Ἀντιφάνης
παρίστησιν ἐν Διπλασίοις·

τί οὖν ἐνέσται τοῖς θεοῖσιν; B. οὐδὲ ἐν

ἂν μὴ κεράσῃ τις. A. ἴσχε. τὸν ὥδον λάμβανε.

ἐπειτα μηδὲν τῶν ἀπηρχαιωμένων

τούτων περάνης, τὸν Τελαμῶνα, μηδὲ τὸν

Παιῶνα, μηδ' Ἀρμόδιον.

Stob. Flor. 121, 4. Ἀντιφάνους ἐκ Διπλασίων·
οὔθεις πώποτε

ὦ δέσποτ' ἀπέθαν' ἀποθανεῖν πρόθυμος ὢν·

τοὺς γλιχομένους δὲ ζῆν κατασπᾶ τοῦ σκέλους

³² Εὐβουλος ἐν Δευκαλίῳ Athen. III. 100. e. 107. f.

³³ ὁ γὰρ Dindorf post Wakefieldium. ὅρα γὰρ Athen. We might read ὁρᾶς;
παράσιτος—Conf. Eur. Orest. 581. 584.

ἄκοντας ὁ Χάρων, ἐπὶ ³⁴τὸ πορθμεῖόν τ' ἄγει
σιτιζομένους καὶ πάντ' ἔχοντας ἀφθόνως.
ὁ δὲ λιμός ἐστιν ἀθανασίας φάρμακον.

40. Δραπεταγωγός. Athen. iv. 161. e.—κατὰ τὸν ἡδιστον
Ἀντιφάνη· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Δραπεταγωγῷ λέγει·

κοσμίως ποιῶν τὴν ἔνθεσιν,
μικρὰν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθε, μεστήν δ' ἔνδοθεν
τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ αἱ γυναῖκες, κατέφαγε
πάμπολλα καὶ ταχύτατα—

41. Δυσέρωτες. Athen. iii. 100. f. τοῦ ὁποῦ μέμνηται
Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Δυσέρωσι περὶ Κυρήνης τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

ἐκείσε διαπλέω
ὅθεν διεσπάρσθημεν, ἐρρώσθαι λέγων
ἅπασιν, ἵπποις, σιλφίῳ, συνωρίσι,
καυλῷ, κέλησι, μασπέτοις, πυρετοῖς, ὁποῖς.

42. Δύσπρατος. Athen. vi. 262. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Δυσ-
πράτῳ φησὶν·

ὄραν τε κείμενα
ἄμητας ἡμιβρώτας ὀρνίθειά τε,
ὧν οὐδὲ λειφθέντων θέμις δούλῳ φαγεῖν,
ὥς φασιν αἱ γυναῖκες.

Ἐπικράτης δ' ἐν Δυσπράτῳ ἀγανακτοῦντα ποιεῖ τινα τῶν
οἰκετῶν καὶ λέγοντα “τί γὰρ” Εχθιον,” κ. τ. λ.—ἐκ τῆς παρα-
θέσεως τῶν ἱαμβείων δῆλός ἐστιν ὁ Ἐπικράτης τὰ τοῦ Ἀντι-
φάνους μετενεγκών. Epicrates, who thus transcribed from
Antiphanes, was himself a poet of the Middle Comedy:
Athen. x. 422. f.

Athen. xiv. 661. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Δυσπράτῳ ἐπαινῶν τοὺς
Σικελικοὺς μαγείρους λέγει·

Σικελῶν δὲ τέχναις ἡδυνθεῖσαι
δαιτὸς διαθρυμματίδες.

43. Δωδώνη. Athen. xii. 526. d. κοινῶς περὶ πάντων
τῶν Ἰώνων τρυφῆς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Δωδώνῃ τάδε λέγει·

πόθεν οἰκῆτῳ εἶ; τίς Ἰώνων
τρυφεραμπεχόνων ἀβρὸς ἡδυπαθῆς
ὄχλος ὥρμηται;

44. Ἐπίδαυρος. Bekk. Anecd. p. 454, 32. Ἀστράγαλος:—
λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἀστρίχους. Ἀντιφάνης Ἐπιδαυρίῳ (sic).

³⁴ Egregiam Valckenaerii emendationem recepit Gaisfordius. ἐπὶ τόπον θεῖον
Vulgo.

ἐπαίζομεν μὲν ἀρτίως τοῖς ἀστρίχοις.

Hence Pollux ix. 99. τοὺς ἀστραγάλους καὶ ἀστρίας εἰσὶν οἱ ὠνόμαζον. Ἀντιφάνης δὲ καὶ ἀστρίχους.

Bekk. Anecd. p. 98, 28. ἡκροᾶσο: Ἀντιφάνης Ἐπιδαύρῳ.

A drama entitled Ἐπίδανρος was also written by Alexis³⁵.

45. Ἐπικλήρος. Stob. Flor. 116, 23. Ἀντιφάνους ἐξ Ἐπικλήρου.

ὦ γῆρας, ὡς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισιν εἶ

ποθεινὸν, ὡς εὐδαιμον· εἶθ' ὅτ' ἂν παρῆς,

ἀχθηρὸν, ὡς μοχθηρὸν· εὖ λέγει τέ σε

οὐδεῖς· κακῶς δὲ πᾶς τις ὅς σοφῶς λέγει.

Alexis also composed a drama with this title³⁶.

46. Εὐθύδικος. Athen. iv. 169. d. βατάνιον εἶρηκεν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Εὐθυδίκῳ.

—— ἐπεὶτα πουλύπους τετμημένος

ἐν βατανιόισιν ἐφθός.—

Pollux x. 107. ἐν Ἀντιφάνους Εὐθυδίκῳ.—“ πουλ. τετμ. Ἐν πατανιόισιν ἐφθ.” Athen. vii. 323. b. Ἀντιφ. ἐν Εὐθυδίκῳ.

πάνυ συχνή

σφύραινα. B. κέστραν Ἀττικιστὶ δεῖ λέγειν.

Harpocr. Phot. Suid. ξενιτευομένους.³⁷ Ἀντιφάνης Εὐθυδίκῳ.

ἐγὼ ξενιτευόμενος ἐστρατευόμην.

47. Εὐπλοία. Stob. 99, 32. τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Ἀντιφάνους] ἐξ Εὐπλοίας.

λυπηρὸν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ τὸ ζῆν κακῶς,

ὥσπερ³⁸ πονηροὶ ζωγράφοι, τὰ χρώματα

πρώτιστον ἀφανίζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος.

Harpocr. Phot. ξυστίς. γυναικεῖόν τι ἔνδυμά ἐστιν ἡ ξυστίς πεποικιλμένον, ὡς δῆλον ποιούσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν κωμικῶν καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Εὐπλοίᾳ.

ὥσπερ ξυστίδα

ἔνδυμα³⁹ τούτῳ ποικίλον ἡμφιεσμένῳ.

³⁵ Athen. iii. 119. f. Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ.

³⁶ Athen. vi. 227. b. Bekk. Anecd. p. 81, 20. 104, 24. Ἀλεξίς Ἐπικλήρῳ.

³⁷ Ἀριστοφάνης Εὐδίκῳ Photius.

³⁸ πονηροὶ ζωγράφοι Grotius. Vulgo—ρῶ—γράφω.

³⁹ ἔνδυμα τῷ Harp. Photius omits the line of Antiphanes.

αὐλῶν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἰατρῷ. Stob. Flor. 99, 31. Ἀντιφάνους ἐξ Ἰατροῦ.

ἅπαν τὸ λυποῦν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ νόσος,
ὀνόματ' ἔχουσα πολλά—

56. Ἰππεῖς. Athen. xi. 503. b. Ἀντιφάνης Ἰππεῦσι·

πῶς οὖν διαιτῶμεσθα; τὸ μὲν ἐφίππιον
στρώμ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὁ δὲ καλὸς πῖλος καλὸς
ψυκτῆρ. τί βούλει; πάντ' Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.

57. Καινεύς. Athen. x. 433. c. οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι δέ τις καὶ
τὸ ποτήριον αὐτοῦ ⁴² λέγων φιάλην Ἀρεως κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφά-
νους Καινεά, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται οὕτως·

εἰ τῇ δῆλος ⁴³ φιάλην Ἀρεως,
κατὰ Τιμόθεον, ξυστόν τε βέλος.

58. Κᾶρες. Athen. iv. 134. b. μήποτε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης
ἐν Καρσί κατὰ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθος τῆς ὀρχήσεως κωμῶδεῖ τινα
τῶν σοφῶν ὡς παρὰ δεῖπνον ὀρχούμενον, λέγων οὕτως·

οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὀρχούμενον
ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν βάκηλον; οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται
ὁ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος,
ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκὼς τέχνην,
ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ.

59. Κάρνη. Athen. xi. 503. b. ἐν δὲ τῇ Κάρνῃ σαφῶς
δηλοῦται (Ἀντιφάνης) ὅτι τούτῳ ἐχρῶντο οἰνοχοοῦντες κυάθῳ·
εἰπὼν γὰρ “Τρίποδα καὶ κάδον παραθέμενος ψυκτῆρά τ'
οἴνου μεθύσκειται,” ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ποιεῖ αὐτὸν λέγοντα “Πότος
ἔσται σφοδρότερος. οὐκοῦν, εἰ φράσαι τις, οὐκ ἔτι ἔξεστι
κυαθίζειν γὰρ, Τὸν δὲ κάδον ἔξω καὶ τὸ ποτήριον λαβὼν
Ἀπόφερε τᾶλλα πάντα.” ⁴⁴

60. Κηπουρός. Athen. xiii. 586. a. See No. 8.

61. Κιθαρωδός. Athen. viii. 342. d. δημοῖ δὲ τοῦτ' Ἀντι-
φάνης ἐν Κιθαρωδῷ οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ “οὐ ψεῦδος οὐδέν φησιν,”—
ὁφθαλμὸν ὠρυττέν τις ὥσπερ ἰχθύος
Μάτων προσελθών.

Etymol. v. πόρκις. Ἀντιφάνης Κιθαρωδῷ.

⁴² Sc. Nestoris apud Hom. Il. xi. 632.

⁴³ φιάλην τὸ ὄπλον Ἀρεως Athen. τὸ ὄπλον may be rejected as an interpo-
lation.

⁴⁴ Verba non integra apposuit Athenæus. Sunt illa septem trimetrorum
reliquiæ, uno integro Τὸν δὲ κάδον κ. τ. λ. DINDORF.

εἰσδυνόμενος εἰς πόρκον, ὅθεν ἔξω πάλιν
οὐ ραδίως ἔξειμι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν.

Clearchus apud Athen. xv. 681 c. καλῶς περὶ αὐτῶν [sc. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων] εἶρηκεν ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κιθαριστῇ (sic).

οὐκ ἐφύσων οἱ Λάκωνες ὡς ἀπόρθητοί ποτε,
νῦν δ' ὀμηρεύουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κεκρυφάλους;

Dr Meineke⁴⁵ aptly compares Æschin. in Ctes. p. 72, 33, Antiphanes appears to refer to the defeat of Agis by Antipater in the summer or autumn of B. C. 331, which will fix this comedy to the beginning of B. C. 330.

Κλεοφάνης does not appear to be the title of a drama, but rather a *dramatis persona*: Athen. III. 98. f. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀντιφάνους Κλεοφάνη.

τὸ δὲ τυραννεῖν ⁴⁶ ἐστὶ τί;

ἢ τί ποτε τὸ σπουδαῖον ἀκολουθεῖν ἔρις

ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ μετὰ σοφιστῶν νῆ Δία

λεπτῶν, ἀσίτων, συκίνων, λεγόνθ' ὅτι

τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν εἶπερ γίγνεται;

οὐτ' ἔστι γάρ πω γιγνόμενον ὃ γίγνεται,

οὐτ' εἰ πρότερον ἦν, ἔστιν ὅγε νῦν γίγνεται.

ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ὄν οὐδέν. ὃ δὲ μὴ γέγονέ πω

οὐκ ἔστιν. κ. τ. λ. Fifteen lines. Conf. Athen. XIII.

565. f. ἀκολουθοῦντας ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ “μετὰ σοφιστῶν νῆ Δία λεπτῶν, ἀσίτων, σκυτίνων,” κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην. Aristotle began to teach in the Lyceum in Ol. 111. 2. B. C. 33 $\frac{5}{4}$: Apollod. apud Laërt. v. 10; and these lines might have been written in B. C. 333.

62. Κναφεύς. Stob. Flor. 61, 2. Ἀντιφάνους ἐκ Κναφεύς.

ὅστις τέχνην κατέδειξε πρῶτος τῶν θεῶν,

οὗτος μέγιστον εὗρεν ἀνθρώποις κακόν.

⁴⁵ Apud Dindorf. ad Athen. p. 681. c. I had formerly understood these lines of Antiphanes to describe the depressed state of Lacedæmon after the invasion of Laconia in B. C. 369. But from the identity of the term ὀμηρεύουσιν in Antiphanes (according to Elmsley's correction) and ὀμηρεύσοντας in Æschines, it appears probable that they both refer to the same event; which is also described by Clitarchus apud Harpocr. v. ὀμηρεύσοντας.

⁴⁶ τὸ δὲ τυραννεῖν ἐστὶν Athen.

ὅτ' ἂν γὰρ ἀπορῆταί τις, ἂν μὲν ἀργὸς ᾦν,
 ἐλθὼν ἀπεκινδύνενυσεν ἡμέραν μίαν,
 ὥστ' ἢ γεγονέναι λαμπρὸν ἢ τεθνηκέναι.
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἔχοντες ἀρραβῶνα τὴν τέχνην
 τοῦ ζῆν αἰεὶ πεινώμεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν.
 ἐξόν τε μικρὸν διαπορηθῆναι χρόνον,
 τὸν βίον ἅπαντα τοῦτο δρᾶν αἰρούμεθα.

63. Κνοιθιδεὺς ἢ Γάστρων. Athen. vii. 287. e. Ἀντι-
 φάνης ἐν ⁴⁷ Κνοιθιδεῖ.

ἄτοπόν γε κηρύττουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι
 κήρυγμ' ὅπου καὶ νῦν τις ἐκεκράγει μέγα
 μέλιτος γλυκυτέρας μεμβράδας φάσκων ἔχειν.
 εἰ τοῦτο τοιοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐδὲν κωλύει
 τοὺς μελιτοπώλας αὖ λέγειν βοᾶν θ' ὅτι
 πωλοῦσι τὸ μέλι σαπρότερον τῶν μεμβράδων.

Athen. x. 448. f. περὶ τῶν γρίφων Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κνοιθι-
 δεῖ ἢ Γάστρωνί φησιν.

ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν τοὺς κελεύοντας λέγειν
 γρίφους παρὰ πότον ῥόμην ληρεῖν σαφῶς,
 λέγοντας οὐδέν· κ. τ. λ. Fifteen lines.

64. Κορινθία. Athen. iii. 95. f. Ἀντιφάνης Κορινθία.

ἔπειτα κάκροκώλιον
 ὕειον Ἀφροδίτῃ, γελοῖον. B. ἀγνοεῖς.
 ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ δ' οὕτω φιληδεῖ ταῖς ὕσιν,
⁴⁸ ὥ δέσποθ', ὥστε σκατοφαγεῖν ἀπείρξατο
 τὸ ζῶον * * τοὺς δὲ βούς ἠνάγκασεν.

65. Κοροπλάθος. Pollux x. 103. Ἀντιφάνης Κοροπλάθῳ.

γύναι, πρὸς αὐλὸν ⁴⁹ ἦδες, ὀρχήσει πάλιν
 τὴν ἰγδιν—

ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἰγδιν ὀρχήσεως σχῆμα· ὁ δὲ παίζων πρὸς
 τοῦνομα κωμικὸς ἐπήγαγε—“τὴν θυεῖαν ἀγνοεῖς;” τουτέστιν
 ἡ ἰγδιν.

66. Κουρίς. Athen. iii. 120. a. Εὐθύνου τοῦ ταριχοπώλου
 μέμνηται Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κουρίδι οὕτως.

⁴⁷ Κνοιθίς Schweigh. Κνοιθιδεὺς Dindorf ex Phot. lex. Κνοιθιδεὺς. ὅρος τῆς
 Ἀττικῆς.

⁴⁸ v. 3 is thus amended in Schweigh. Athen. tom. xiii. p. 413. Δέσποτα,
 ὥστε σκατοφαγεῖν ἀπείρξε τὸ ζῶον, τοὺς δὲ βούς ἦν. in Athenæus.

⁴⁹ ἦδες Toup Em. ad Hesych. tom. iv. p. 234. ἦλθες Pollux.

ἐλθὼν τε πρὸς τὸν τεμαχοπώλην περίμενε,

παρ' οὗ φέρειν εἴωθα, καὶ οὕτω τύχη

Εὐθυνοσ, * * ἀπολογίζων αὐτόθι

χρηστόν τι περίμεινον, κέλευσον μὴ τεμείν.

Athen. vii. 303. f. Θυννίδος τὸ οὐραῖον ἐπαινεῖ Ἀντιφάνης
ἐν Κουρίδι οὕτως·

ὁ μὲν ἀγρῶ τρεφόμενος

θαλάττιον μὲν οὗτος οὐδὲν ἐσθίει,

πλὴν τῶν παρὰ γῆν, γόγγρον τιν', ἢ νάρκην τιν', ἢ

θύνης τὰ πρὸς τῇ—B. ποῖα; A. τὰ κάτωθεν λέγω.

B. τούτους φάγοις ἄν; Γ. τοὺς γὰρ ἄλλους νενόμικα

ἀνθρωποφάγους ἰχθύς. B. τὸ δεῖνα δ' ἐσθίεις

τουτὶ κακόνωτα πλοῖα. Γ. Κωπᾶδας λέγεις.

ἀγρίως γε.⁵⁰ (παρὰ) λίμνην γὰρ γεωργῶν τυγχάνω.

τὰ δ' ἐγχείλεια γράψομαι λιποταξίου,

κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδαμοῦ.

Alexis left a drama with the same title.⁵¹

67. Κυβευταί. Pollux x. 137. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις,
ρίσκοι, ὡς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κυβευταῖς·

“ρίσκος ἦν ὃν εἶπεν”—οἱ νεώτεροι are here distinguished
from Eupolis, Hermippus, and Aristophanes, who had been
just before mentioned. A drama with this title was also written
by Alexis⁵².

68. Κύκλωψ. Athen. vii. 295. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κύκλωπι
ὑπερακοντίζων τὸν τένθην Ἀρχέστρατον φησὶν·

ἔστω δ' ἡμῖν κεστρεὺς⁵³ τμητὸς,

νάρκη πνικτὴ, πέρκη σχιστὴ,

τευθὺς σακτὴ, συνόδων ὀπτὸς,

γλαύκου προτομή, κ.τ.λ. 10 Anapæsts. Athen. ix. 402. e.

ἐν δὲ Κύκλωπι φησι·

τῶν χερσαίων δ' ὑμῖν ἥξει

παρ' ἐμοῦ ταυτί·

βοὺς ἀγελαῖος, τράγος ὑλιβάτης,

αἰξ οὐρανία, κ.τ.λ. 9 Anapæsts; being a part of the same

⁵⁰ Either *παρὰ* or *γὰρ* must be omitted. Dindorf observes, *Nec γε nec γὰρ sed παρὰ delendum videtur.*

⁵¹ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Κουρίδι Athen. viii. 362. c. x. 422. e. 443. d.

⁵² Ἀλεξίς Κυβευταῖς Athen. iii. 96. a.

⁵³ “*Forsan τμητὸς.*” Porson. Adv. p. 96. Ὑμήτιος Athen.

scene as the preceding. Pollux ix. 88. παρ' Ἀντιφάνει ἐν τῷ Κύκλωπι·

—— κέρμα γάρ τι τυγχάνω.

69. Κώρυκος. Athen. iv. 161. a. Ἀντιφάνης—ἐν τῷ κυρίως Κωρύκῳ ἐπιγραφομένῳ φησί·

πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ πυθαγορίζων ἐσθίει
ἔμψυχον οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ πλείστης τοῦ βολοῦ
μάξης μελαγχρῇ μερίδα λαμβάνων λέπει.

Athen. ix. 409. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κωρύκῳ·

ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἀκροῶμαί σου κέλευσόν (⁵⁴μοι) τινά
φέρειν ἀπονίσσασθαι. B. δότω τις δεῦρ' ὕδωρ
καὶ σμῆμα.

Athen. ix. 366. c. ἀνηδύντων δὲ ἀλῶν πλήρεις οἱ Κυνικοί,
παρ' οἷς κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην, λέγει δ' ἐν Κωρύκῳ τις ἄλλος
κύων·

τῶν θαλαττίων δ' αἰὲ
ὄψων ἐν ἔχομεν, διὰ τέλους δὲ τοῦθ', ἄλας.

* * * * ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πίνομεν
οἰνάριον εἶδος, νῆ Δί', οἰκίας τρόπον
πόσειδος οἶον τοῖς παροῦσι συμφέρει
ἀπαξάπασιν ὀξυβάφῳ ποτηρίῳ.

70. Λαμπάς. Athen. xi. 487. b. Ἀντιφάνης Λαμπάδι. 486. f.
Ἀντιφάνης Λαμπάδι·

⁵⁵ τράπεζ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονος
ἀγαθοῦ μετανίπτρον ἐντραγεῖν, σπονδῇ, κρότος.

Alexis also wrote a drama with this title⁵⁶.

71. Λάμπων⁵⁷. Athen. vii. 307. d. Ἀντιφάνης Λάμπωνι·
κεστρεῖς ἔχων ἄλλους στρατιώτας τυγχάνεις
νήστες.

Athen. x. 423. d. Ἀντιφάνης—ἐν Λάμπωνι·

ὁ δεῖν' Ἰᾶπυξ, κέρασον εὐζωρέστερον.

72. Λεπτινίσκος. Athen. xiv. 641. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λεπτι-
νίσκῳ φησὶν οὕτως·

⁵⁴ μοι addit Koppiers apud Dindorf.

⁵⁵ τράπεζ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν Dindorf.

⁵⁶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Λαμπάδι Athen. xiv. 654. f.

⁵⁷ Fabricius thinks that the Λαμπάς and the Λάμπων were the same drama. Schweigh. Athen. tom. x. p. 363, agrees with him. But in tom. xiv. p. 37, he is doubtful. The short passages preserved in these four quotations afford us no means of ascertaining this point.

οἶνον θάσιον πίνοις ἄν; B. εἴ τις ἐγχεάι.

A. πρὸς ἀμυγδάλας δὲ πῶς ἔχεις; B. ἐρηνικῶς.

⁵⁸ μαλακὰς σφόδρα, δι' αἷς μέλιτι προσπαίζειν βία.

A. μελίπηκτα δ' εἴ σοι προσφέροι; B. ⁵⁹ τρώγοιμι καὶ ὦν δὲ καταπίνοιμ' ἄν ἄλλου δὴ τινος.

Eustath. ad Odys. p. 1401, 52. ἀστείως Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν ἐρωτήσει καὶ ἀποκρίσει ταῦτα· “Οἶνον θάσιον—κατάπινοιμ' ἄν.”

73. Λευκάς. Pollux vi. 66. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λευκάδι· “σησάμου—χλόης.” Athen. ii. 68. a. ἀρτύματα ταῦτα καταλέγει πού Ἀντιφάνης·

ἀστάφιδος, ἀλῶν, σιραίου, σιλφίου, τυροῦ, θύμου,

σησάμου, ⁶⁰ νίτρου, κυμίνου, (⁶¹ ροῦ, μέλιτος,) ὀριγάνου,

βοτανίων, ὄξους, ἐλαῶν, εἰς ἀβυρτάκην χλόης,

καππάριδος, ὦων, ταρίχους, καρδάμων, θρίων, ὀπου.

v. 2. 3. are quoted by Pollux, who supplies the title of the drama.

Suid. v. ἀνάριστος.—Ἀντιφάνης Λευκαδίῳ (sic).

ἐνταῦθ' ἀναρίστητος εὐθὺς κιθαριεῖ

Τιμοκλῆς νεαράν—⁶².

Λευκαδία ἢ Δραπέται was a drama of Alexis⁶³.

74. Λεωνίδης. Athen. x. 422. e. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λεωνίδῃ·

ἀλλὰ πρὶν δεδειπνάναι

ἡμᾶς παρέσται.

75. Λήμνιαι. Athen. vi. 230. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λημνίαις φησί·

παρετέθη τρίπους

πλακοῦντα χρηστὸν, ὃ πολυτίμητοι θεοὶ,

ἔχων, ἐν ἀργυρῷ τε τρυβλίῳ μέλι.

Athen. vi. 258. c. Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Λημνίαις τέχνην τινὰ ὑποτίθεται τὴν κολακείαν εἶναι ἐν οἷς λέγει·

εἴτ' ἔστιν ἢ γένοιτ' ἄν ἡδίων τέχνη

ἢ πρόσοδος ἄλλη τοῦ κολακεύειν εὐφυῶς;

⁵⁸ μάλλον δι' αἷς μέλιτι προσπαίζειν δέδοται Eustath.

⁵⁹ τρώγοιμ' ἄν. ὦν δὲ; καταπίνοιμ' ἄν Eustath.

⁶⁰ λίτρου Pollux.

⁶¹ Supplied by Pollux.

⁶² Another line, added by Suidas, ἔπειτα διὰ τε ταῦτ' ἀναρίστητος ὦν, appears to be quoted from some other passage.

⁶³ Athen. iii. 94. f. xi. 498. e. Λευκάς Pollux, x. 144.

ὁ ζωγράφος πονεῖ τι καὶ πικραίνεται·
 ὁ γεωργὸς ἐν ὅσοις ἐστὶ κινδύνοις πάλιν·
 πρόσσεστι πᾶσιν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πόνος·
 ἡμῖν δὲ μετὰ γέλωτος ὁ βίος καὶ τρυφῆς.
 οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον ἔργον ἐστὶ παιδιὰ,
 ἀδρὸν γελάσαι, σκῶψαί τιν', ἐκπιεῖν πολὺν,
 οὐχ ἡδύ; ἐμοὶ μὲν μετὰ τὸ πλουτεῖν δεύτερον.

76. Λυδός. Athen. x. 445. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λυδῷ εἶρηκε·

Κολχὶς ἄνθρωπος πάροις—

77. Λύκων. Athen. vii. 299. e. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λύκωνι κωμω-
 δῶν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους φησί·

καὶ τᾶλλα δεινούς φασι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
 εἶναι, τὸ νομίσαι τ' ἰσόθεον τὴν ἔγχελυν.

πολὺ τῶν θεῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ τιμιωτέρα.

τῶν μὲν γὰρ εὐξαμένοισιν ἐσθ' ἡμῖν τυχεῖν,

τούτων δὲ δραχμὰς τοῦλάχιστον δώδεκα

ἢ πλεον ἀναλώσασιν ὁσφρᾶσθαι μόνον.

οὕτως ἐσθ' ἄγιον παντελῶς τὸ θηρίον.

78. Μαλθάκη. Clem. Al. Pædagog. iii. p. 218. A. Ἀντιφάνης
 ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Μαλθακῇ [1. Μαλθάκη⁶⁴] τὸ ἐταιρικὸν τῶν
 γυναικῶν ἀποσκώπτει τὰ κοινὰ πάσαις ῥήματα εἰς τὴν κατα-
 τριβὴν ἐξηυρημένα λέγων·

έρχεται,

μετέρχετ' αὖ, προσέρχετ' αὖ, μετέρχεται,

ἡκει, πάρεστι, ῥύπτεται, προσέρχεται,

σμήται, κτενίζετ', ἐκβέβηκε, τρίβεται,

λουται, σκοπεῖται, στελλεται, μυρίζεται,

κοσμεῖτ', ἀλείφετ'· ἂν δ' ἔχη τι, ἀπάγχεται.

79. Μειλανίων. Athen. x. 423. d. Ἀντιφάνης Μειλανίῳ·

τοῦτον ἐγὼ κρίνω μετανιπτρίδα τῆς ὑγείας

πίνειν, ζωροτέρῳ χρώμενον οἰνοχόῳ.

80. Μελέαγρος. Pollux x. 73. ἀσκοπυτίνη· καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 τοῦτο ἂν τις εὖροι ἐν Ἀντιφάνους Μελεάγρῳ·

ἀσκοπυτίνην τινὰ

δίψους ἀρωγόν—

81. Μέλιττα. Stob. Flor. 59, 17. Ἀντιφάνους Μελίττης·

ἐπὶ χρήμασιν δ' ὧν ἔμπορος φρονεῖ μέγα,

ὧν ἐστὶ πάντων ἐνίοτ' ἄνεμος κύριος.

⁶⁴ Lucian. tom. vii. p. 232. Αὐτοθαῖδα τὴν κωμικὴν, ἢ Μαλθάκην, ἢ Γλυκέ-
 ραν τινὰ μιμησάμενος.

82. Μέτοικος. Athen. iv. 170. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μετοίκῳ
 προσέλαβον ἐλθὼν τουτονὶ
 τραπεζοποιὸν, ὃς πλυνεῖ σκεύη, λύχνους
 ἐτοιμάσει, σπονδὰς ποιήσει, τᾶλλ' ὅσα
 τούτῳ προσήκει.

83. Μήδεια. Pollux vii. 57. Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν Μηδείᾳ
 — ἣν χιτῶν ἀμόργινος.

A *Medea* was also written by Eubulus and by Strattis⁶⁵.

84. Μητραγύρτης. Athen. xii. 553. c. Ἀντιφάνης—ἐν
 Μητραγύρτῃ φησὶν

τὴν τε παῖδ' ἀλείμματα
 παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ λαβοῦσαν, εἶτα τοὺς πόδας
 ἐκέλευ' ἀλείφειν πρῶτον, εἶτα τὰ γόνατα.
 ὥς θᾶπτον ἡ παῖς δ' ἥψατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ποδῶν
 ἔτριψέ τ', ἀνεπήδησεν.

Bekk. Anecd. 88, 18. δεδιωκημένα: Ἀντιφάνης Μηναγύρτῃ
 (sic).

85. Μίδων. Pollux x. 152. ἀργυροθήκην δὲ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν
 Μίδωνι εἶρηκεν. Pollux vii. 211. Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ Μύλῳ
 εἶρηκε “βιβλιδίου κόλλημα.” For Μύλῳ we may substitute
 Μίδωνι. Μίδων was the title of a drama of Alexis⁶⁶.

86. Μίνως. Athen. ii. 58. d. μαλάχαι.—ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντι-
 γράφοις εὗρον τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους Μίνωos διὰ τοῦ ο γεγραμ-
 μένον· “τρώγοντες μολόχης ρίζαν.” A Μίνως was also
 written by Alexis⁶⁷.

87. Μισοπόννηρος. Athen. vi. 226. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μισο-
 πονήρῳ

εἶτ' οὐ σοφοὶ δῆτ' εἰσὶν οἱ Σκύθαι σφόδρα;
 οἱ γενομένοισιν εὐθέως τοῖς παιδίοις

65 Εὐβουλος ἐν Μηδείᾳ Athen. vii. 300. c. Στράττις ἐν Μηδείᾳ Ath. xi.
 467. e. xv. 690. f. Harpoc. Μυσῶν λεία.

66 Ἀλεξὺς Μίδωνι Athen. xv. 700. a. Casaubon ad Athen. x. 423. d.
 proposes Μειλανίωνι for Μύλῳ in Pollux vii. 211. Pollux Μύλωνα *fabulam*
Antiphanis nominat. an aliam ab ista? an hanc ipsam? Sed locus corrigendus.
 Jungermannus ad Poll. l. c. adopts his conjecture. Meursius in Poll. x. 152
 reads Μύλῳ for Μίδωνι, and Hemst. ad locum observes, *hoc loco* [x. 152]
 Μύλῳ *non inepte reponi concedam.* But the title Μίδων is verified by the
 similar title of Alexis.

67 Athen. vii. 289. f. μνημονεύει τοῦ Μενεκράτους [the physician, contem-
 porary with Archidamus and Philip] καὶ Ἀλεξὺς ἐν Μίνῳ.

διδόασιν ἵππων καὶ βοῶν πίνειν γάλα,
⁶⁸ οὐ μὰ Δία τιτθὰς εἰσάγουσι βασκάνους,
 καὶ παιδαγωγούς αὐθις, ὧν μείζω * *
 * * * γε μαίας νῆ Δία.

αὐται δ' ὑπερβάλλουσι, μετὰ γε νῆ Δία
 τοὺς μητραγυρτοῦντάς γε· πολὺ γὰρ αὐ γένος
 μιαιώτατον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία
 τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας ⁶⁹ τίς (γε) βούλεται λέγειν.

* * μετὰ γε τοὺς τραπεζίτας· ἔθνος
 τούτου γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστίν ἐξωλέστερον.

88. Μνήματα. Athen. iv. 161. a. περὶ (τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν)
 φησὶν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μνήμασι·

τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δ' ἔτυχον ἄθλιοί τινες
 ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ τρώγοντες ἄλιμα καὶ κακὰ
 τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες ἐν τῷ κωρύκῳ.

89. Μοιχοί. Athen. vi. 225. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μοιχοῖς·

οὐκ ἐστίν οὐδέν θηρίον τῶν ἰχθύων
 ἀτυχέστερον. τῷ μὴ γὰρ ἀποχρῆν ἀποθανεῖν
 αὐτοῖς ἀλοῦσιν, εἴτα κατεδηδεσμένοις
 εὐθὺς ταφῆναι, παραδοθέντες ἄθλιοι
 τοῖς ἰχθυοπώλαις τοῖς κακῶς ἀπολουμένοις
 σήπονθ', ἑωλοὶ κείμενοι δὺ ἡμέρας
 ἢ τρεῖς· μόλις δ' ἐάν ποτ' ὠνητὴν τυφλὸν
 λάβωσ', ἔδωκαν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν
 τούτῳ. κομίσας δ' ἐξέβαλεν * * οἴκαδε,
 τὴν πείραν ἐν τῇ ῥινὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ λαβών.

90. Μύστις. Athen. x. 441. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μύστιδι—
 γυναῖκες δ' εἰσὶν αἱ διαλεγόμεναι—

βούλει καὶ σὺ, φιλτάτῃ,
 πιεῖν; B. καλῶς ἔχοιμι. A. τοιγαροῦν φέρε.
 μέχρι γὰρ τριῶν ⁷⁰ * φασὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς.

Athen. xi. 494. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μύστιδι—γραῦς ἐστὶ
 φίλοινος ἐπαινοῦσα κύλικα μεγάλην καὶ ἐξευτελίζουσα τὸ

⁶⁸ οὐ Hermann. οὐχὶ Vulgo.

⁶⁹ βούλεται τίς Dindorf, who observes *legebatur τίς γε βούλεται. Explendi versus non una via est. Sed conjecturis eo magis abstinendum, quod proximi versus initium excidit.*

⁷⁰ μέχρι καὶ τριῶν γὰρ Schw. *Indicavi lacunam. Excidit, ni fallor, δεῖν.*
 DINDORF.

ὄξυβαφον ὡς βραχύ. εἰπόντος οὖν τινος πρὸς αὐτὴν “σὺ δ’
ἀλλὰ πῖθι,” λέγει·

τοῦτο μὲν σοι πείσομαι.

καὶ γὰρ ἐπαγωγὸν, ὦ θεοὶ, τὸ σχῆμά πως
τῆς κύλικός ἐστιν ἄξιόν τε τοῦ κλέους
τοῦ τῆς ἐορτῆς. οὐ μὲν ἡμεν ἄρτι γὰρ
ἐξ ὄξυβαφίων κεραμέων ἐπίνομεν.

τούτῳ δέ, τέκνον, πολλὰ καγάθ’ οἱ θεοὶ
τῷ δημιουργῷ δοῖεν, ὃς ἐποίησέ σε,
τῆς συμμετρίας καὶ τῆς ἀφελείας οὐνεκα.

In Athen. x. 446. b. the same lines are given: Ἀντιφ. ἐν
Μύστιδι· Σὺ δ’ ἀλλὰ πῖθι. B. τοῦτο μὲν σοι, κ.τ.λ. Pollux
x. 67. quotes v. 5. ἐν Ἀντιφάνους Μύστιδι· Ἐξ ὄξυβαφίων,
κ. τ. λ.—Porphyrius περὶ ἀποχ. ii. p. 131. Ἀντιφάνει ἐν
Μύστιδι λέγεται·

ταῖς εὐτελείαις οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι γάρ·
τεκμήριον δ’, ὅταν γὰρ ἐκατόμβας τινὲς
θύωσιν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν ὕστατος
πάντων * * καὶ λιβανωτὸς ἐπετέθη.
ὥστ’ ἄλλα μὲν τὰ πολλὰ παραναλούμενα
δαπάνην ματαίαν οὔσαν αὐτῶν οὐνεκα,
τὸ δὲ μικρὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἀρεστὸν τοῖς θεοῖς.

91. Νεανίσκοι. Athen. vi. 224. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Νεανίσκοις φησὶν·
ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ῥόμην τὰς Γοργόνας
εἶναί τι λογοποίημα· πρὸς ἀγόραν δ’ ὅταν
ἔλθω πεπίστευκ’· ἐμβλέπων γὰρ⁷¹ αὐτόθι
τοῖς ἰχθυοπώλαις λίθινος εὐθὺς γίγνομαι·
ὥστ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστ’ ἀποστραφέντι μοι
λαλεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἂν ἴδω γὰρ ἡλίκον
ἰχθὺν ὅσου τιμῶσι, πῆγνυμαι σαφῶς.

Stob. Flor. 97, 8. Ἀντιφάνους ἐκ Νεανίσκων·
ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστι παρακάλυμμα τῶν κακῶν,
ὦ μῆτερ, ἢ πενία⁷² (δὲ) περιφανὲς τε καὶ
ταπεινόν.

92. Νεοττίς. Athen. iii. 108. e. ἐκ Νεοττίδος Ἀντιφάνους·
παῖς ὢν μετ’ ἀδελφῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐνθάδε
ἀφικόμην ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος ἐμπορίου,

⁷¹ Thus corrected by Porson. Conf. Advers. p. 76.

⁷² δὲ added by Grotius.

Σύρος τὸ γένος ὦν. περιτυχὼν δ' ἡμῖν ὁδὶ
κηρυττομένοις ὀβολοστάτης ὦν ἐπρίατο,
ἄνθρωπος ἀνυπέρβλητος εἰς πονηρίαν,
τοιούτος οἶος μηδὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
μηδ' ὦν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐκείνος ἥσθιεν
ὁ τρισμακαρίτης εἰσφέρειν, ἔξω θύμον.

Athen. vi. 223. e.—Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Νεοττίδι—

ὁ δεσπότης δὲ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἀπέλαβεν, ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. B. ⁷³ ἠγάπησεν ἂν
τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

Plutarch. Demosth. c. 9. “Ἀπέλαβεν—Δημοσθένης”—

πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀλονήσου λόγον Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τουτὶ
πέπαιχεν ἦν Ἀθηναίοις Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβά-
νειν ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου. This drama may be
referred to B. C. 342 ⁷⁴.—Athen. xiii. 586. a. See No. 8. A
Νεοττίς was also composed by Eubulus ⁷⁵.

93. Ὁβριμος. Pollux x. 21. Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ὁβρίμῳ φησὶν·

ἂν κελεύῃ με σταθμοῦχος. B. ⁷⁶ ἡ σταθμοῦχος δ' ἐστὶ τίς;

⁷⁷ ἀποπνίξεις (συ) γάρ με καινὴν πρὸς με διαλεκτὸν λαλῶν.

A. ⁷⁸ εἰ τέτακτό μοι στεγάρχῳ—

94. Οἰνόμαος ἢ Πέλοψ. Athen. iv. 130. e. Ἀντιφάνης ὁ
κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Οἰνομάῳ ἢ Πέλοπι διαπαίζων ἔφη·

τί δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες μικροτράπεζοι,

φυλλοτρῶγες δράσειαν; ὅπου

τέτταρα λήψει κρέα μικρ' ὀβολουῦ.

παρὰ δ' ἡμετέροις προγόνοισιν ὅλους

⁷⁹ βοῦς ὥπτων, ὕς, ἐλάφους, ἄρνας·

τὸ τελευταῖον δ' ὁ μάγειρος ὅλον

τέρας ὀπτήσας, μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ

θερμὴν παρέθηκε κάμηλον.

Eubulus also wrote a comedy with this title ⁸⁰.

⁷³ ἠγάπησε γὰρ Plutarch l. c.

⁷⁴ See Fast. Hellen. Part II. B. C. 343, p. 143.

⁷⁵ Εὐβουλος ἐν Νεοττίδι Athen. xi. 467. b.

⁷⁶ ἡ σταθμοῦχος δ' Pollux. ὁ δὲ σταθμοῦχος Toup. em. ad Polluc. tom. iv. p. 385.

⁷⁷ ἀποπνήξεις γάρ με MS. apud Jungerm.

⁷⁸ εἰ τέτακτό μοι στεγάρχων Pollux. εἰ δ' ἐτέτακτό μοι στεγάρχῳ Toup.

⁷⁹ βοῦς ὀπτῶσιν Vulgo. βοῦς ὥπτων, σὺς Jacobs. βοῦς ὥπτων, ὕς Dindorf.

⁸⁰ Εὐβουλος ἐν Οἰνομάῳ ἢ Πέλοπι. Athen. xv. 678. f.

95. Οἰωνιστής. Porphyrius apud Euseb. Præp. x. 3. p. 465.
D. Κεκίλιος δὲ ὅλον δράμα ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος Ἀντιφάνους,
τὸν Οἰωνιστὴν, μεταγράψαι φησὶ τὸν Μένανδρον εἰς τὸν
Δεισιδαίμονα.

96. Ὅμοιοι. Athen. xi. 471. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὅμοίοις
ὥς δ' ἐδείπνησαν, συνάψαι βούλομαι γὰρ τὰν μέσῳ,
καὶ Δίος σωτήρος ἦλθε θηρίκλειον ὄργανον,
⁸¹ τῆς τρυφερᾶς ἀπὸ Λέσβου σεμνοπότου σταγόνος
πλήρες, ἀφρίζον, ἕκαστος δεξιτερᾷ δ' ἔλαβεν.

Athen. xiv. 642. a. Ἀντιφάνης—ἐν Ὅμοίοις
εἶτ' ἐπεισῆγεν χορείαν ἢ τράπεζαν δευτέραν
καὶ παρέθηκε γέμουσαν πέμμασι παντοδαποῖς.

Athen. iv. 158. c. Ἀντιφάνης Ὅμοίαις (sic).

⁸² εὖ δ' ἐγένεθ' ὅτι φακῆν
ἔψειν μ' ἐδίδασκε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τις εἷς.

The Ὅμοία was a drama of Alexis⁸³.

97. Ὅμοπάτριοι. Athen. xv. 655. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τοῖς
Ὅμοπατρίοις φησὶν.

ἐν Ἡλίου μὲν φασὶ γίγνεσθαι πόλει
φοίνικας, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ γλαῦκας· ἡ Κύπρος
ἔχει πελείας διαφόρους· ἡ δ' ἐν Σάμῳ
Ἦρα τὸ χρυσοῦν, φασὶν, ὀρνίθων γένος,
τούς καλλιμόρφους καὶ περιβλέπτους ταῶς.

98. Ὁμφάλη. Athen. iii. 112. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὁμφάλῃ.

— πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις εὐγενὴς γεγώς
δύναιτ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν ποτ' ἐκ τῆσδε στέγης,
ὄρων μὲν ἄρτους λευκοσωμάτων ἵπνον
καταμπέχοντας ἐν πυκναῖς διεξόδοις,
ὄρων δὲ μορφὴν κριβάνοις ἠλλαγμένους,
μίμημα χειρὸς Ἀττικῆς, οὓς δημόταις
Θεαρίων ἔδειξεν.

οὗτός ἐστι Θεαρίων ὁ ἄρτοποιος, οὗ μνημονεύει Πλάτων ἐν
Γοργίᾳ⁸⁴, συγκαταλέγων αὐτῷ καὶ Μίθαικον—καὶ Ἀριστο-
φάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ καὶ Αἰολοσίκωνι κ. τ. λ.

⁸¹ On the metre of these lines conf. Gaisford. ad Hephæst. p. 354.

⁸² εὖ δ' ἐγένεθ' ὅτι φακῆν—τις εἷς Porson. adv. p. 71.

⁸³ Athen. xiv. 642. d. Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ὅμοίᾳ (τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δράμα καὶ ὡς Ἀντιδότου
φέρεται).

⁸⁴ Plato Gorg. p. 518. b. See Fast. Hellen. v. c. 387. p. 103.

Athen. III. 123. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ
ἐν χύτρᾳ δέ μοι

ὅπως ὕδωρ ἔψοντα μηδέν ὄψομαι.

οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω μηδ' ἔχοιμ'. εἰ δ' ἄρα
στρέφῃ με περὶ τὴν γαστέρ' ἢ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν,
παρὰ Φερτάτου δακτύλιός ἐστὶ μοι δραχμῆς.

Athen. III. 125. a. παρ' Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ
οὐ φιλοτάριχος οὐδαμῶς εἰμ', ὦ κόρη.

99. Ὀμώνυμοι. Athen. III. 74. d. τῶν δὲ σύκων ἐστὶ γένη
πλείονα. Ἀττικὸν μὲν, οὐ μνημονεύει Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὀμωνύ-
μοις· ἐπαινῶν δὲ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τάδε λέγει “οἶα
—φέρει.”

II. 43. b. οὐ γὰρ Ἀντιφάνει τῷ κωμικῷ πεπίστευκα
λέγοντι κατὰ πολλὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων
καὶ ὕδωρ κάλλιστον ἔχειν. φησὶ γάρ·

οἶα δ' ἡ χώρα φέρει

⁸⁵ διαφέροντα τῆς ἀπάσης, Ἰππόνικ', οἰκουμένης,
τὸ μέλι, τοὺς ἄρτους, τὰ σῦκα. B. σῦκα μὲν νῆ τὸν Δία
πάνυ φέρει. A. βοσκήματ', ἔρια, μύρτα, θυμιάματα,
* πυροὺς, ὕδωρ διαφέρων, * * *

ὥστε καὶ γνοίην ἂν εὐθὺς Ἀττικὸν πίνων ὕδωρ.

100. Ὀρφεύς. Pollux x. 172. Ἀντιφάνης Ὀρφεῖ·

—βύστραν τιν' ἐκ φύλλων τινῶν.

101. Παιδεραστής. Athen. VII. 303. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Παι-
δεραστῇ·

τῆς τε βελτίστης μεσαῖον θυννάδος Βυζαντίας
τέμαχος ἐν τεύτλου λακιστοῖς κρύπτεται στεγάσμασι.

102. Παράσιτος. Athen. III. 96. b. Ἀντιφάνης Παρασίτῳ·
χοιρίων

σκέλη καπύρ'. B. ἀστεῖόν γε νῆ τὴν Ἑστίαν
ἄριστον. A. ἐφθός τυρός ἐπεδόνει πολὺς.

Athen. III. 118. d. Ἀντιφάνης—ἐν Παρασίτῳ·
τάριχος ἀντακαῖον ἐν μέσῳ
πίον, ὀλόλευκον, θερμόν.

Athen. IV. 169. e. ἐν Παρασίτῳ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης—
ἄλλος ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγας

ἥξει τις ἰσοτράπεζος εὐγενής. B. τίνα
λέγεις; A. Καρύστου θρέμμα, γηγενής, ζέων.

⁸⁵ Corrected by Porson Adv. p. 54. Vulgo πάσης Ἰππόνικε τῆς οἰκουμένης—
θύματα—ὕδωρ πίνων. v. 5. ὕδωρ δὲ διαφέρων Porson.

B. εἴτ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις; ὕπαγε. A. κάκκαβον λέγω·
 σὺ δ' ἴσως ἂν εἴποις λοπάδ'. B. ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦνομα
 οἷε διαφέρειν, εἴτε κάκκαβόν τινες
 χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες εἴτε σίττυβον;
 πλὴν ὅτι λέγεις ἀγγεῖον οἶδα.

Pollux x. 106. κάκκαβον δὲ τὴν κακκάβην—Ἀντιφάνης
 κέκληκεν εἰπὼν ἐν Παρασίτῳ “Κάκκαβον λέγω—σίττυβον.”

Athen. viii. 358. d. κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνους Παράσιτον·

ἐγὼ περὶ τὴν ὀψωνίαν μὲν οὐ πάνν
 ἐσπούδακ', οὐδ' αὖ συνέτεμον λίαν πάνν,
 ὥς ἂν τις ἄλλως ἐξενεχθεῖσιν * *
 ὅπου * * τοῦ διαλάβοι κραιπάλην

Ἑλληνικῶς—

Athen. ix. 370. e. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Παρασίτῳ ὡς εὐτελοῦς
 βρώματος τῆς κράμβης μέμνηται·

οἷα δ' ἐστὶν οἶσθα σὺ
 γύναι; B. σκόροδα, τυρὸς, πλακοῦντες, πράγματα
 ἐλευθέρι', οὐ τάριχος, οὐδ' ἠδύσμασιν
 ἄρνεια καταπεπλησμέν', οὐδὲ θρυμματὶς
 τεταραγμένη, καὶ λοπάδες ἀνθρώπων φθοραί.
 καὶ μὴν ραφάνους γ' ἔψουσι λιπαρὰς, ὦ θεοί,
 ἔτνος θ' ἅμ' αὐτοῖς πίσινον.—

Alexis also wrote a drama with this title⁸⁶.

103. Παρεκδιδομένη. Athen. iv. 156. c. κατὰ τὸν ἠδὺν
 Ἀντιφάνη, ὃς ἐν τῇ Παρεκδιδομένη ἔφη·

ὄμνυμι δ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν,
 ἐξ οὗ τὸ μεθύειν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γίγνεται,
 ἢ μὴν ἐλέσθαι τοῦτον ἂν ζῆν τὸν βίον
 ἢ τὴν Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεροχὴν.
 ῥοφεῖν φακῆν ἐσθ' ἠδὺ μὴ δεδοικότα,
 μαλακῶς καθεύδειν ἄθλιον δεδοικότα.

104. Παροιμίαι. Athen. ii. 60. e. Κηφισόδωρος⁸⁷ ὁ Ἰσο-
 κράτους μαθητὴς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους (τέσσαρα δ'
 ἐστὶ ταῦτα βιβλία) ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ὡς οὐ ποιήσαντι

⁸⁶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Παρασίτῳ Athen. iii. 123. f. x. 421. d.

⁸⁷ Cephisodorus the disciple of Isocrates is mentioned with Theopompus Ephorus and Philistus by Dionys. tom. v. p. 626, and with Theodectes, Hype-rides, Lycurgus, Æschines, Ib. tom. vi. p. 722. His work against Aristotle is quoted again by Athenæus viii. 354. c. and iii. 122. b. That he also wrote against Plato appears from Dionys. tom. vi. p. 757.

λόγου ἄξιον τὸ παροιμίας ἀθροῖσαι, Ἀντιφάνους ὅλον ποιήσαντος δράμα τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον Παροιμιαί· ἐξ οὗ καὶ παρατίθεται τάδε·

⁸⁸ ἔγωγ' ἂν εἰ τῶν ὑμετέρων φάγοιμί τι
μύκητας ὠμούς ἂν φαγεῖν δοκῶ * *
καὶ στρυφνὰ μῆλα, κεί τι πνίγει βρῶμά τι.

Phot. lex. στίμην καὶ στίμιν. ὃ τινες στίβην. Ἀντιφάνης Παροιμιαζομένῳ·

στίμιν, κάτοπτρα, κρωβύλους, ⁸⁹ κεκρυφάλους.

Πέλοψ see Οἰνόμαος.

105. Πλούσιοι. Athen. viii. 342. e. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Πλουσίοις κατάλογον ποιεῖται ὀψοφάγων ἐν τούτοις.

Εὐθυνος δ' ἔχων

σανδάλια καὶ σφραγίδα καὶ μεμυρισμένος
τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι ἐλογίζετο·
⁹⁰ Φοινικίδης δὲ Ταυρέας θ' ὃ φίλτατος,
ἄνδρες ⁹¹ παλαιὸν ὀψοφάγοι, τοιοῖ τινες
οἷοι καταβροχθίζειν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ τεμάχη,
ὀρῶντες ἐξέθνησκον ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι,
ἔφερόν τε δεινῶς τὴν ἀνοψίαν πάνυ.
κύκλους δὲ συναγείροντες ⁹² ἔλεγον ἂν τάδε,
ὥς οὐ βιωτόν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀνασχετόν
⁹³ τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τινὰς
ὑμῶν ἀναλίσκειν τε πολλὰ χρήματα,
ὄψου δὲ μηδὲν * * εἰσπλεῖν μηδὲ γρῦ.
τί οὖν ὄφελος τῶν νησιάρχων ἐστι; δεῖ
νόμῳ κατακλείσαι τοῦτο. παραπομπὴν ποιεῖν
τῶν ἰχθύων. ⁹⁴ νυνδὲ Μάτων συνήρπακε
τοὺς ἀλιέας, καὶ Διογείτων νῆ Δία
ἅπαντας ἀναπέπεικεν ὥς αὐτὸν φέρειν

⁸⁸ The first line is thus corrected by Porson Adv. p. 57.

⁸⁹ κεκρυφάλους is also used by Antiphanes with the υ long in Athen. xv. 681. c. See No. 61.

⁹⁰ See above No. 25.

⁹¹ παλαιὸν ὀψοφαγίστατοι Jacobs. παλαιοὶ ὀψοφάγοι τοιοῦτοι Dindorf. The copies of Athenæus have παλαιὸν ὀψοφάγοι τοιοῦτοι and παλαιὸν ὀψοφάγοι τοιοῖ.

⁹² Conf. Dobræum ad Aristoph. Plut. 980.

⁹³ Perhaps an allusion to the Social war B. C. 355.

⁹⁴ νυνδὲ Dindorf. νῦν δὲ Vulgo.

κού δημοτικόν γε τοῦτο δρᾶ, τοιαῦτα φλῶν.
γάμοι δ' ἐκείνοις καὶ πότοι νεανικοὶ
ἦσαν.

106. Ποίησις. Athen. vi. 222. a. τὰ παρ' Ἀντιφάνει λε-
γόμενα ἐν Ποιήσει·

μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγωδία
ποίημα κατὰ πάντ'· εἴ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι
ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσιν ἐγνωρισμένοι,
πρὶν καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν· ὥς ὑπομνήσαι μόνον
δεῖ τὸν ποιητήν. Οἰδίπουν γὰρ ἂν μόνον
φῶ, τ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατήρ Λαῖος,
μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες,
τί πείσεθ' οὗτος, τί πεποίηκεν. ἂν πάλιν
εἴπῃ τις ⁹⁵ Ἀλμέωνα, καὶ τὰ παιδία
πάντ' εὐθὺς εἴρηχ', ὅτι μανεῖς ἀπέκτονε
τὴν μητέρ', ἀγανακτῶν δ' Ἄδραστος εὐθέως
ἥξει, πάλιν τ' ἄπεισι * * * *
ἐπειθ' ὅταν μηδέν δύνωντ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι,
κομιδῇ δ' ⁹⁶ ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν,
αἵρουσιν ὥσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν,
καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοισιν ἀποχρώντως ἔχει.
ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ
εὔρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινὰ, τὰ διωκημένα
πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν,
τὴν εἰσβολήν. ἂν ἐν τι τούτων παραλίπη
⁹⁷ Χρέμης τις ἢ Φεῖδων τις, ἐκσυρίττεται.
Πηλεῖ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔξεστι καὶ Τεύκρῳ ποιεῖν.

107. Ποντικός. Athen. vii. 302. f. ἄδηλον ἐπὶ τίνων
ἔταξε τὸ ὑπογάστριον Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ Ποντικῷ, ὅταν
λέγῃ·

⁹⁵ Ἀλκμέωνα Dindorf. Vulgo Ἀλκμαίωνα.

⁹⁶ ἀπειρήκωσιν Dindorf.

⁹⁷ Casaubon ad Athen. 222. a. remarks: *Nolim temere fidem librorum dam-
nare qui in Antiphanis nomine hic consentiunt: puto tamen Poesim quæ hic
nominatur eam esse fabulam quam pars veterum criticorum Aristophani ad-
scribebat, pars Archippo.* But the concluding lines of this fragment, in which
fictitious names, *Chremes* and *Phidias*, are mentioned, belong to the Middle
comedy, and could have no place in a drama which was composed in the time
of Archippus.

ὅστις ὠψώνηκ' ἴσως
 τούτους μεγαλείως ταῖς κάκιστ' ἀπολουμέναις
 ὑπογαστρὶ ἐλθὼν, ὅσα Ποσειδὼν ἀπολέσαι
 τάττειν τε γεννικῶς παρασκευάζεται
 πλευρὰν μετ' αὐτῶν.

Alexis also wrote a Ποντικός⁹⁸.

108. Προβατεύς. Athen. vii. 295. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Προ-
 βατείῃ φησίν·

Βοιωταῖαι μὲν ἐγχέλεις, μῦς Ποντικοί,
 γλαῦκοι Μεγαρικοί, μαινίδες Καρύστιαι,
 φάγροι δ' Ἐρετρικοί, Σκύριοι δὲ κάραβοι.

109. Πρόβλημα.⁹⁹ Athen. x. 450. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ Προ-
 βλήματί φησιν·

ἰχθύσιν ἀμφίβληστρον ἀνὴρ πολλοῖς ἐπιβάλλων,
 οἰηθεὶς, μεγάλη δαπάνη μίαν εἵλκυσε πέρκην·
 καὶ ταύτην ψευσθεὶς ἄλλην κεστρεὺς ἴσον αὐτὴν
 ἦγεν. βουλομένη δ' ἐπεται πέρκη μελανούρῳ.

B. κεστρεὺς, ἀνὴρ, μελάνουρος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι λέγεις.

οὐδὲν λέγεις γάρ. A. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς φράσω.

ἔστι τις ὃς τὰ μὲν ὄντα διδοὺς οὐκ οἶδε δεδωκὼς
 οἷσι δέδωκ', οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔχων ὦν οὐδὲν ἐδεῖτο.

B. διδοὺς τις οὐκ ἔδωκεν οὐδ' ἔχων ἔχει;

οὐκ οἶδα τούτων οὐδέν. κ. τ. λ. Nineteen lines.

110. Πρόγονοι. Athen. vi. 238. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Προ-
 γόνοις·

τὸν τρόπον μὲν οἶσθά μου,
 ὅτι τῦφος οὐκ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς φίλοις
 τοιουτοσί τίς εἰμι, τύπτεσθαι μύδρος,
 τύπτειν κεραυνὸς, ἐκτυφλοῦν τιν' ἀστραπή,
 φέρειν τιν' ἄραντ' ἄνεμος, ἀποπνίξαι βρόχος,
 θύρας μοχλεύειν σεισμὸς, εἰσπηδᾶν ἀκρίς,
 δειπνεῖν ἀκλητος μῦια, μὴ ἔξελθεῖν φρέαρ,
 ἄγχειν, φονεύειν, μαρτυρεῖν, ὅς' ἂν μόνον
 τύχῃ τις εἰπὼν, ταῦτ' ἀπροσκέπτως ποιεῖν
 ἅπαντα. καὶ καλοῦσί μ' οἱ νεώτεροι

⁹⁸ Ἀλεξίς ἐν τῷ Ποντικῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Athen. iii. 100. c. 3 lines naming Callimedon.

⁹⁹ Casaubon remarks: *Videtur hanc fabulam edidisse ut inanes sophistarum logomachias traduceret.*

διὰ ταῦτα πάντα σκηπτόν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μέλει
τῶν σκωμμάτων μοι· τῶν φίλων γὰρ ὦν φίλος
ἔργοισι χρηστὸς οὐ λόγοις ἔφυν μόνον.

111. Σαπφώ. Athen. x. 450. e. ἐν δὲ Σαπφοῖ ὁ Ἀντι-
φάνης αὐτὴν τὴν ποιήτριαν προβάλλουσαν ποιεῖ γρίφους
τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, ἀπολυομένου τινὸς οὕτως· ἡ μὲν γάρ
φησιν·

ἔστι φύσις θήλεια βρέφη σῶζουσ' ὑπὸ κόλποις
αὐτῆς. ὄντα δ' ἄφωνα βοὴν ἴστησι γεγωνόν,
καὶ διὰ πόντιον οἶδμα καὶ ἠπείρου διὰ πάσης,
οἷς ἐθέλει θνητῶν· τοῖς δ' οὐ παρευῶσιν ἀκούειν
ἔξεστιν· κωφὴν δ' ἀκοῆς αἴσθησιν ἔχουσιν.

ταῦτά τις ἐπιλυόμενός φησιν·

ἡ μὲν φύσις γὰρ ἦν λέγεις ἐστὶν πόλις·
βρέφη δ' ἐν αὐτῇ διατρέφει τοὺς ῥήτορας.

οὔτοι κεκραγότες δὲ τὰ διαπόντια

¹⁰⁰ τὰκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τὰπὸ Θράκης λήμματα

έλκουσι δεῦρο. νεμομένων δὲ πλησίον

αὐτῶν κάθηται λαιδορουμένων τ' αἰεὶ

ὁ δῆμος, οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀκούων οὔθ' ὁρῶν.

Σ. πῶς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν, ὦ πάτερ,

ῥήτωρ ἄφωνος, ἦν μὴ ἄλῶ τρις παρανόμων;

Β. καὶ μὴν ἀκριβῶς ῥόμην ἐγνωκέναι

τὸ ῥηθέν. ἀλλὰ δὴ λέγε.

ἔπειτα ποιεῖ τὴν Σαπφὴν διαλυομένην τὸν γρίφον οὕτως·

θήλεια μὲν νυν ἐστὶ φύσις ἐπιστολή.

βρέφη δ' ἐν αὐτῇ περιφέρει τὰ γράμματα·

ἄφωνα δ' ὄντα ταῦτα τοῖς πόρρῳ λαλεῖ,

οἷς βούλεθ'· ἕτερος δ' ἂν τύχῃ τις πλησίον

ἐστὼς ἀναγιγνώσκοντος οὐκ ἀκούσεται·

Pollux vii. 211. βιβλιογράφος παρὰ Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Σαπ-
φοῖ.

112. Σκληρίαι. Athen iii. 77. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Σκληρίαις·

ἔστι γε παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν δίφορον συκὴν κάτω.

113. Σκύθης ἢ Ταῦροι. Athen. vi. 243. c. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν
Σκύθῃ.

¹⁰⁰ These allusions mark a state of things such as that which Demosthenes describes de Cherson. in B.C. 341; and this drama may be placed not later than that period.

ἐπὶ κῶμον, εἰ δοκεῖ,
 ἴωμεν ὥσπερ ἔχομεν. B. οὐκοῦν ¹⁰¹ δᾶδα καὶ
 στεφάνους λαβόντες. ¹⁰² Χαιρεφῶν οὕτως * *
 μεμάθηκε κωμάζειν ἄδειπνος.

Athen. vi. 247. f. Ἀντιφάνης Σκύθη·
 ταχὺ γὰρ γίγνεται
 κακκλησιαστής οἰκόσιτος.—

Pollux vii. 59. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σκύθαις Ἀντιφάνης ἔφη—
 x. 168. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Σκύθαις ἢ Ταύροις·
 σαράβαρα καὶ χιτῶνας ¹⁰³ ἐνδεδυκότες
 πάντες—

114. Στρατιώτης ἢ Τύχων. Athen. iii. 103. e. παρ'
 Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Στρατιώτῃ ἢ Τύχωνι παραινέσεις εἰσφέρων
 ἄνθρωπος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ὅς φησιν·

ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ¹⁰⁴ δὲ φύς
 ἀσφαλές τι κτήμ' ὑπάρχειν τῷ βίῳ λογίζεται
 πλεῖστον ἡμάρτηκεν. ἢ γὰρ εἰσφορά τις ἥρπακε
 τ' ἀνδοθεν πάντ', ἢ δίκη τις περιπεσὼν ἀπώλετο,
 ἢ στρατηγήσας προσῶφλεν, ἢ χορηγὸς αἰρεθεὶς
 ἱμάτια χρυσᾶ παρασχὼν τῷ χορῷ ῥάκος φορεῖ,
 ἢ τριηραρχῶν ἀπήγξατ', ἢ πλέων ἤλωκέ ποι,
 ἢ βαδίζων ἢ καθεύδων κατακέκοφθ' ὑπ' οἰκετῶν.
 οὐ βέβαιον οὐδέν ἐστι, πλὴν ¹⁰⁵ ὅς' ἂν καθ' ἡμέραν
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἡδέως τις εἰσαναλίσκων τύχῃ.
 οὐδὲ ταῦτα σφόδρα τι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀρπάσαι
 κειμένην ἂν τις προσελθὼν· ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν ἐνθεσιν
 ἐντὸς ἡδὴ τῶν ὀδόντων τυγχάνῃς κατεσπακῶς,
 τοῦτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ νόμιζε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μόνον.

τὰ αὐτὰ εἶρηκε καὶ ἐν Ὑδρίᾳ.—Athen. vi. 257. d. Ἀντι-
 φάνης ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Στρατιώτῃ τὰ ὅμοια λέγει περὶ
 τῆς τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλέων τρυφῆς. ποιεῖ δέ τινα ἀναπυν-
 θανόμενον στρατιώτου τάδε·

¹⁰¹ δᾶδα καὶ Meineke apud Dindorf. Vulgo καὶ δᾶδα καὶ.

¹⁰² Chærepho was mentioned by Timotheus (a poet of the middle comedy):
 Athen. vi. 243. d. and by Menander in his first play the Ὀργή, in B. C. 321.
 Athen. Ib. 243. a.

¹⁰³ Thus Salmasius. πάντας ἐνδεδυκώτας and πάντες ἐνδεδυκότες Pollux.

¹⁰⁴ γεγώς Valck. conf. Porson. Adv. p. 62.

¹⁰⁵ ὅς' ἂν—τύχῃ Porson. ὁ ἂν—τύχοι Vulgo.

— ¹⁰⁶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, φῆς, εἰπέ μοι διήγετε
πολὺν χρόνον; B. τὸν πάνθ' ἕως ἣν ὁ πόλεμος.
A. ἐν τίνι τόπῳ μάλιστα; λέγε γάρ. B. ἐν Πάφῳ·
οὐ πρᾶγμα τρυφερόν διαφερόντως ἣν ἰδεῖν
ἄλλως τ' ἄπιστον. A. ποῖον; B. ἐρριπίζετο
ὑπὸ τῶν περιστερῶν ὑπ' ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός
δειπνῶν ὁ βασιλεύς. A. πῶς; εἰσας τᾶλλα γὰρ
ἐρήσομαί σε τοῦτο, πῶς; B. ἠλείφετο
ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἤκοντι τοιούτῳ μύρῳ
καρποῦ ¹⁰⁷ σύχ' οἶόν φασι τὰς περιστεράς
τρώγειν. διὰ τὴν ὁσμὴν δὲ τούτου πετόμεναι
παρῆσαν, οἷαί τ' ἦσαν ἐπικαθίζάνειν
ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν· παῖδες δὲ παρακαθήμενοι
ἐσόβουν. ἐπαίρουσαι δὲ μικρὸν οὐ πολὺ
τοῦ μήτ' ἐκείσε μήτε δεῦρο παντελῶς
οὕτως ἀνερρίπιζον, ὥστε σύμμετρον
αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, μὴ περίσκληρον, ποιεῖν.

Athen. xiv. 654. e.—Ἀντιφάνην ἐν Στρατιώτῃ ἢ Τύχωνι—
τῶν ταῶν μὲν ὡς ἅπαξ τις ζεύγος ἤγαγεν μόνον,
σπάνιον ὃν τὸ χρῆμα· πλείους εἰσὶ νῦν τῶν ὀρτύγων.
χρηστὸν ἄνθρωπον δ' εἰάν τις ἓνα μόνον ζητῶν ἴδῃ,
ὄψετ' ἐκ τούτου πονηροὺς πέντε παῖδας γεγονότας.

Athen. ix. 397. a. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Στρατιώτῃ ἢ Τύχωνι—
“Τῶν ταῶν—ὀρτύγων.” Pollux ix. 48. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν
Στρατιώτῃ·

ἐκ τῶν μαγειρείων βαδίζων, ¹⁰⁸ ἐμβαλὼν
εἰς τοῦψον.

Alexis left a drama with this title ¹⁰⁹.

115. Τίμων. Athen. vii. 309. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Τίμωνι—
ἦκω πολυτελῶς ἀγοράσας εἰς τοὺς γάμους

¹⁰⁶ Fortasse ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ scribendum. DINDORF.

¹⁰⁷ σύχ' οἶον Porson Adv. p. 88. who had before him συχνοῦ γ' ὄν. But the MSS. have συχνοῦ ὄν.

¹⁰⁸ We may read ἐνέβαλεν. Some copies, however, exhibit ἐκ δὲ μαγειρείων βαδίζων * ἐμβαλὼν, with a lacuna before ἐμβαλὼν. And we might arrange the passage thus:

ἐκ δὲ μαγειρείων βαδίζων * * * *
ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τοῦψον—

¹⁰⁹ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Στρατιώτῃ Athen. vi. 223. e. where the expression of Demosthenes on Halonnesus is ridiculed.

λιβανωτὸν ὀβολοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς
 πάσαισι, τοῖς δ' ἥρωσι τὰ ψαίστ' ἀπονέμων.
 ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἐπριάμην κωβιούς.
 ὥς προσβαλεῖν δ' ἐκέλευσα τὸν τοιχωρύχον,
 τὸν ἰχθυοπώλην, “προστίθηνμι,” φησὶ, “σοὶ
 τὸν δῆμον αὐτῶν· εἰσὶ γὰρ Φαληρικοί.”
 ἄλλοι δ' ἐπώλουν, ὡς εἰκ', ¹¹⁰ Ὀτρυνικούς.

Ταῦροι. See Σκύθης.

116. Τραυματίας. Athen. x. 446. a. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ
 Τραυματίᾳ·

μὴ μεστὰς αἰεὶ
 ἔλκωμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμὸς εἰς μέσον
 παταξάτω τις, καί τι καὶ μελίσκιον
 στροφὴν λόγων παρελθέτω τις. ¹¹¹ ἡδύ τοι
 ἐστὶν μεταβολὴ παντὸς ἔργου, πλὴν ἐνός.

——— παραδίδου δ' ἐξῆς ἐμοὶ
¹¹² (τὸν) ἀρκεσίγνιον, ὡς ἔφασκ' Εὐριπίδης.

A. Εὐριπίδης γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν; B. ἀλλὰ τίς;

A. Φιλόξενος δῆπουθεν. B. οὐδὲν διαφέρει,
 ὦ τάν· ἐλέγχεις μ' ἐνεκα συλλαβῆς μιᾶς.

Pollux x. 46. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Τραυματίᾳ·

κατεσκευασμένος
 λαμπρότατον ἱατρεῖον ¹¹³ εὐχάλκοις πάνυ
 λουτηρίοισιν, ¹¹⁴ ἐξαλίπτροις, κυλικίσι,
 σικύαισιν, ὑποθέτοισιν.

Pollux iv. 183. ἐν Ἀντιφάνους Τραυματίᾳ·—“Κατεσκευ-
 ασμένος—ἐξαλείπτροις.”

117. Τριταγωνιστής. Athen. xiv. 643. c. ὁ Κυθήριος
 Φιλόξενος, ὃν ἐπαινῶν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ Τριταγωνιστῇ
 φησὶ·

¹¹⁰ Explained by Palmerius Exerc. p. 508. *Ridiculi gratia de Otrynico pago mediterraneo facit mentionem, quasi inde gobiones advehi potuerint, quod erat absurdum.*

¹¹¹ ἡδύ τοι Porson. ad Eur. Or. 228.

¹¹² Dindorf ad l. *Post v. 5. plura omisit: οἶνον Athenæus posuisse Antiphanes vero τὸν scripsisse videtur Casaubono.* I have adopted the conjecture of Casaubon. The copies have παραδίδου δ' ἐξῆς ἐμοὶ οἶνον ἀρκεσίγνιον.

¹¹³ εὐλάμπροις in iv. 183. ἐν χαλκοῖς in x. 46.

¹¹⁴ ἐξαλείπτροις iv. 183. ἐξαλίπτροις x. 46.

πολύ γ' ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ποιητῶν διάφορος
ὁ Φιλόξενος. τὰ πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ὀνόμασιν
ιδίοισι καὶ καινοῖσι χρήται πανταχοῦ·
ἔπειτα τὰ μέλη μεταβολαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν
ὥς εὖ κέκρται. θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἦν
ἐκεῖνος, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν.
οἱ νῦν δὲ κισσόπληκτα καὶ κρηναῖα καὶ
ἀνθεσιπότατα μέλεα μελέοις ὀνόμασι
ποιοῦσιν ἐμπλέκοντες ἀλλότρια μέλη.

Philoxenus died in B. C. 380, ¹¹⁵ and this drama was probably composed soon after.

118. *Τυρρηνός*. Athen. vi. 240. f. Ἀντιφάνης *Τυρρηνῶ*
ἀρετὴν τὸ προῖκα τοῖς φίλοις ὑπηρετεῖν.

B. λέγεις ἔσεσθαι ¹¹⁶ τὸν Τιθύμαλλον πλούσιον.
εἰσπράζεται γὰρ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ σου λόγου,
παρ' οἷς ἐδείπνει προῖκα συλλέξει συχνήν.

Athen. vii. 329. e. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν *Τυρρηνῶ*
δημον δ' Ἀλαιοῦς ἐστίν. ἐν γὰρ τοῦτό μοι
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστίν, καὶ κακῶς ἀκούσομαι.

B. τί δῆτα τοῦτο; A. θράτταν, ἢ ψῆττάν τιν', ἢ
μύραιναν, ἢ κακὸν τί μοι δώσει μέγα
θαλάττιον.

119. Ὑδρία. Athen. iii. 104. a. See No. 114. Athen. xiii.

572. a. Ἀντιφάνης ¹¹⁷ Ὑδρία.

οὗτος δ' ὃν λέγω
ἐκ γειτόνων αὐτῷ κατοικούσης τινὸς
ιδὼν ἐταῖρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο,
ἀστῆς, ἐρήμου δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν
¹¹⁸ ἡθὸς τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης,
ὄντως ἐταῖρας. αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τούνομα
βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὃν καλόν.

120. Ὑπνος. Athen. x. 449. d. Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ὑπνῷ τοιού-
τους γρίφους προβάλλει. “οὐ θνητὸς” κ. τ. λ. (Nine lines)—
xiii. 572. b. Ἀλεξίς ἢ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὑπνῷ. “Διὰ ταῦθ’

¹¹⁵ See Fast. Hellen. Part II. p. 105.

¹¹⁶ τὸν Τιθ. Porson. Adv. p. 80.

¹¹⁷ Ὑδρία Dindorf. Vulgo Ὑδρα.

¹¹⁸ Schweigh. compares Hor. Carm. iv. 2, 22.

ὁ πόρνος οὗτος"—κ. τ. λ. (Three lines)—xv. 671. d. τὰ
ἐξ¹¹⁹ Ὑπνου Ἀλέξιδος.

οὐδ' ἐν Τριβαλλοῖς ταῦτά γ' ἐστὶν ἔννομα.

οὐ φασὶ τὸν θύοντα τοῖς κεκλημένοις

δείξαντ' ἰδεῖν τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰς τὴν αὔριον

πωλεῖν ἀδείπνοις ἅπερ ἔθηκ' αὐτοῖς ἰδεῖν.

τὰ αὐτὰ ἱαμβεῖα φέρεται καὶ παρ' Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Ὑπνῳ.

121. Φάων. Pollux vii. 192. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φάωνι. "στρώ-
ματα, κλῖνας, καινὰς τύλας." x. 40. ἐν τῷ Ἀντιφάνους
Φάωνι καὶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν χρῆσιν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν τὰς τύλας,
στρώματα, κλῖνας. A drama with this title was written by
Plato¹²⁰.

122. Φιλέταιρος. Athen. ix. 396. d. Ἀντιφάνης Φιλε-
ταίρῳ.

κομψὸς γε μικρὸς κρωμακίσκος οὐτοσί

γαλαθηνός.

123. Φιλίσκος. Pollux x. 176. εἴποις δ' ἂν—σκευὸς τι
ὀλοσίδηρον, ὡς ἐν Ἀντιφάνους Φιλίσκῳ. Ἀλέξιος Φιλίσκῳ is
quoted Athen. xiv. 642. f.

124. Φιλοθήβαιος. Athen. vi. 225. f. Ἀντιφάνης—ἐν
Φιλοθηβαίῳ φησὶν.

οὐ δεινὸν ἐστὶ προσφάτους μὲν ἂν τύχη

πωλῶν τις ἰχθῦς, συναγαγόντα τὰς ὀφρῦς

τοῦτον σκυθρωπάζοντά θ' ἡμῖν προσλαλεῖν,

εἰάν σαπρούς κομιδῇ δέ, παίζειν καὶ γελᾶν;

τοῦναντίον γὰρ πᾶν ἔδει τούτους ποιεῖν.

τὸν μὲν γελᾶν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον οἰμώζειν μακρά.

Athen. xiv. 622. f. κατὰ τὸν ἥδιστον Ἀντιφάνην, ὅς ἐν τῷ
Φιλοθηβαίῳ φησί.

¹²¹ πάντ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἢ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος

τῆς ἔνδον οὔσης ἔγχελυσ Βοιωτία

τμηθεῖσα κοίλοις ἐν βυθοῖσι κακκάβης

χλιαίνειτ', αἶρεθ', ἔψεται, παφλάζεται,

προσκάεθ', ὥστε μηδ' ἂν, εἰ χαλκοῦς ἔχων

μυκτῆρας εἰσέλθοι τις, ἐξελθεῖν πάλιν

119 Ὑπνου Schweigh. Dindorf. Vulgo Ὑπονοίας.

120 See Fast. Hellen. v. c. 391. p. 99.

121 In Athenæus in this order: "πάντ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν"—κατὰ τὸν ἥδιστον—φησὶν.

"ἢ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος" κ. τ. λ.

εἰκῇ· τοσαύτην ἑξακοντίζει πνοήν.

B. λέγεις μάγειρον ζῶντα. κ. τ. λ. 26 lines.—Athen. iv. 169. c. Ἀντιφ. ἐν Φιλοθηβαίῳ. “Πάντ’ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν—παφλάζεται.”

125. Φιλοκτήτης. Stob. Flor. 115, 15. Ἀντιφάνους ἐκ Φιλοκτήτου·

σοφὸν γέ τοι τί πρὸς τὸ βουλευεῖν ἔχει
τὸ γῆρας, ὥς δὴ πόλλ’ ἰδὸν τε καὶ παθόν.

A *Philoctetes* was composed by Strattis¹²².

126. Φιλομήτωρ. Athen. iii. 100. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φιλομήτορι·

ἔμμητρον ἂν ἢ τὸ ξύλον, βλάστην ἔχει·

μητρόπολις ἐστὶν, οὐχὶ πατρόπολις—

μήτραν τινὲς πωλοῦσιν, ἥδιστον κρέας·

Μήτρας ὁ Χίος ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ φίλος.

127. Φιλοπάτωρ. Athen. xiii. 559. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φιλοπάτορι·

γεγάμηκε δῆπον. B. σὺ τί λέγεις; ἀληθινῶς

γεγάμηκεν ὃν ἐγὼ ζῶντα περιπατοῦντά τε

κατέλιπον;

128. Φιλῶτις. Athen. xiv. 662. b. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φιλῶτιδι
τὴν σοφίαν τῶν μαγείρων ἐμφανίζων φησὶν·

οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν γλαυκίδιον ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε

ἔψειν ἐν ἄλμῃ φημί. B. τὸ δὲ λαβράκιον;

A. ὀπτᾶν ὅλον. B. τὸν γαλέον; A. ἐν ὑποτρίμματι

ζέσαι. B. τὸ δ’ ἐγχέλειον; A. ἄλες, ὀρίγανον,

ὔδωρ. B. ὁ γόγγρος; A. ταυτόν. B. ἡ βατίς; A. χλοή.

B. πρόσσεστι θύννου τέμαχος. A. ὀπτήσεις. B. κρέας

ἐρίφειον; A. ὀπτόν. B. θάτερον; A. τάναντία.

B. ὁ σπλήν; A. σεσάχθω. B. νῆστις; A. ἀπολεῖ μ’ οὔτοσί.

Athen. vii. 295. c. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἐν Φιλῶτιδι καὶ ταῦτα λέγει.
“Οὐκοῦν—νῆστις;”

129. Φρεάρριος. Athen. xv. 691. d. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν¹²³ Φρε-
αρρίῳ στακτῆς τοῦ μύρου μνημονεύων φησὶ·

στακτὴ δυοῖν μναῖν οὐκ ἀρέσκει μ’ οὐδαμῶς.

130¹²⁴ Χρυσίς. Athen. iv. 172. c. Ἀντιφάνης—ἐν Χρυσίδι—

¹²² Στράττις ἐν Φιλοκτῆτῃ Athen. vii. 327. e. Pollux vii. 134.

¹²³ Φρεαρρίῳ Porson. Adv. p. 146. Vulgo Φρεάρρῳ.

¹²⁴ Some comedies falsely ascribed to Antiphanes have been expunged from

τέτταρες δ' αὐλητρίδες.
 ἔχουσι μισθὸν καὶ μάγειροι δώδεκα
 καὶ δημιουργοὶ, μέλιτος αἰτούσαι σκάφας.
 Athen. xi. 500. e. Ἀντιφάνης Χρυσίδι·
 σαπροπλούτῳ δ', ὡς λέγουσι, νυμφίῳ,
 κεκτημένῳ τάλαντα, παῖδας, ἐπιτρόπους,
 ζεύγη, καμήλους, στρώματ', ἀργυρώματα,
 φιάλας, τριήρεις, τραγελάφους, καρχήσια,
 γαυλοὺς ὀλοχρύσους, πλοῖα. τοὺς κádους μὲν οὖν
 καλοῦσι γαυλοὺς πάντες οἱ προγástορες.

Of the fragments which belong to uncertain comedies we have only space for a short account; and, where the quotations are long, it will be sufficient in some cases to refer the reader to the sources from which they are derived.

Fragm. Inc. 1. Stob. Ecl. i. 9, 5. p. 224.

μάλιστα δ' ἐκπλήττει με τῶν συνειδóτων
 ὁ χρόνος, ὃν αἰεὶ λανθάνειν ἀμηχανῶ.

2. Stob. Flor. 9, 16. ¹²⁵ Ἀντιφάνους·

ὁ μὴδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδενὸς δεῖται νόμου.

3. Stob. 10, 22. τὰ πονηρὰ κέρδη τὰς μὲν ἡδονὰς ἔχει
 μικρὰς, ἔπειτα δ' ὕστερον λύπας μακρὰς.

4. Stob. 16, 12. ὡς δυστυχεῖς ὅσοις τοῦ κέρδους χάριν
 ἐπίπροσθε ταῖσχα φαίνεται εἶναι τῶν καλῶν·
 ἐπισκοτεῖ γὰρ τῷ φρονεῖν τὸ λαμβάνειν.

5. Stob. 21, 4. εἰ θνητὸς εἶ, βέλτιστε, θνητὰ καὶ φρόνει.

6. Stob. 24, 7. τὸ μὴ συνειδέναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ
 ἀδίκημα μὴδὲν ἡδονὴν πολλὴν ἔχει.

7. Stob. 27, 5. δέσποιν', ὅτ' ἂν τις ὀμνύοντος καταφρονῇ,
 ᾧ μὴ σύνοιδε πρότερον ἐπιωρκηκότι,
 οὗτος καταφρονεῖν τῶν θεῶν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
 καὶ πρότερον ὁμόσας αὐτὸς ἐπιωρκηκέναι.

8. Stob. 29, 51. τῆς ἐπιμελείας δούλα πάντα γίγνεται.

the list by a correction of the texts. For Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ Athen. vi. 261. f. Casaubon, Brunck, and others have restored Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γ. For Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κρησί Athen. iii. 75. c. Porson Adv. p. 59 reads justly Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Κρ. In Athen. xiv. 656. f. for Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φυσιογνωμονικῷ—καὶ ἐν Προτρεπτικῷ, Dindorf has restored the true reading Ἀντισθένης ἐν Φ. comparing Laert. vi. 15. 16. where both these works of Antisthenes are named.

¹²⁵ Ἀντιφάνους is repeated before all the following articles from Stobæus.

9. Stob. 34, 4. οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν λεγόμενον μακρῶς, ὅτε
ὁ λέγων ὑποτάττει τοῖς λόγοις τὰ πράγματα.
10. Stob. 37, 13. τρόπος δίκαιος κτήμα τιμιώτατον.
11. Stob. 51, 18. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν ἀνάγκη γίγνεται,
τὸ προῖκ' ἀποθανεῖν ἔστι φανερά ζημία.
12. Stob. 53, 9. τίς δ' οὐχὶ θανάτου μισθοφόρων, ὧ φιλτάτῃ,
ὅς ἐνεκα τοῦ ζῆν ἔρχετ' ἀποθανούμενος;
13. Stob. 59, 15. ἐν γῇ πένεσθαι κρεῖττον ἢ πλουτοῦντα πλεῖν.
14. Stob. 62, 9. δούλῳ γὰρ οἶμαι πατρίδος ἐστερημένῳ
χρηστὸς γενόμενός ἐστι δεσπότης πατρίς.
15. Stob. 68, 27. ὥς ἔστι τὸ γαμεῖν ἔσχατον τοῦ δυστυχεῖν.
16. Stob. 72, 9. οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν βαρύτερον τῶν φορτίων
ὄντως γυναικὸς προῖκα πολλὴν φερομένης.
17. Stob. 73, 48. ἐγὼ γυναικὶ δ' ἐν τι πιστεύω μόνον,
ἐπ' ἂν ἀποθάνῃ—κ. τ. λ. Three lines.
18. Stob. 73, 52. ὀφθαλμιῶν ἄνθρωπος κ. τ. λ. Three lines.
19. Stob. 74, 3. μὴ ¹²⁶ ὄμμασιν τὸ σῶμα λαμπρύνειν θέλε,
ἔργοις δὲ καθαροῖς καὶ τρόποις τὴν καρδίαν.
20. Stob. 74, 9. τί φῆς; λαθεῖν ζητῶν τι πρὸς γυναῖκ' ἐρεῖς
τὸ πρᾶγμα; καὶ τί τοῦτο διαφέρει * *
ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς κήρυξιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ φράσαι;
21. Stob. 79, 7. ὅστις δ' ἐρυθριᾷ τηλικούτος ὧν ἔτι
πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονέας κ. τ. λ. Six lines.
22. Stob. 83, 19. υἱῷ γὰρ ἀγαπητῷ τι πράττων πρὸς χάριν
ἔρανον ἑμαυτῷ τοῦτον οἶομαι φέρειν.
23. Stob. 91, 14. ἄρ' ἔστι λῆρος πάντα πρὸς τὸ χρυσίον.
μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ κ. τ. λ. Seven lines.
24. Stob. 93, 20. οὐ πώποτ' ἐζήλωσα πλουτοῦντα σφόδρα
ἄνθρωπον, ἀπολαύοντα μηδὲν ὧν ἔχει.
ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς κακὸς,
τυφλοὺς, βλέποντας παραλαβὼν, πάντας ποιεῖ.
25. Clem. Al. Strom. iv. p. 483. D. Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς—¹²⁷ “ὁ
πλοῦτος” φησί—
θατέρου πλέον βλέποντας παραλαβὼν τυφλοὺς
ποιεῖ.

¹²⁶ χρώμασιν Gesn. Grot.

¹²⁷ In Clemens, ὁ πλοῦτος, φησί, πλέον θατέρου βλέπ. Antiphanes seems to have expressed the same thought nearly in the same words on two different occasions.

26. Stob. 97, 1. καλῶς πένεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ πλουτεῖν κακῶς.
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεον τὸ δ' ἐπιτίμησιν φέρει.
27. Stob. 99, 27. λύπη μανίας ὁμότοιχος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ.
28. Stob. 107, 5. οἴμοι τάλας, ὡς ἄδικον, ὅτ' ἂν ἡ μὲν τύχη
λίπη τινὸς τὴν τάξιν ὁ δὲ τρόπος μένη.
29. Stob. 108, 29. τὰ τύχης φέρειν δεῖ γνησίως τὸν εὐγενῆ.
τὸ μὲν ἀτυχεῖν παντὸς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ
ἀνδρὸς δ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἀτυχίαν ὀρθοῦ τρόπου.
30. Stob. 116, 13. —σφόδρα
τί ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ὁ βίος οἴνῳ προσφερής·
ὅτ', ἂν ἡ τὸ λοιπὸν μικρὸν, ὅξος γίγνεται.
31. — 14. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ γῆρας, ὥσπερ ἐργαστήριον,
ἅπαντα τὰνθρώπεια προσφοιτᾷ κακά.
32. — 15. τὸ γῆρας ὥσπερ βωμός ἐστι τῶν κακῶν·
πάντ' ἐστ' ἰδεῖν εἰς τοῦτο καταπεφευγότα.
33. — 16. ὦ γῆρας, ὡς ἅπασι τοῖς ζητοῦσί σε
ψέγειν ἀφορμὰς παραδίδως τοῦ πράγματος.
34. — 26. οὐδεὶς τὰ πατρῷά πω γέρων κατεδήδοκεν,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατεμώρανεν, οὐδ' ἐλύσατο
πορνίδιον, οὐδὲ θυροκοπῶν ὠφλεν δίκην.
οὕτω τὸ γῆρας σωφρονοῦν οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ.
35. Pollux vii. 52. Ἀντιφάνης δέ που φησί·
περίνησσα καὶ περίλευκα καὶ πεντέκτενα.
36. Athen. i. 3. b. ἐκεῖνα τῶν Ἀντιφάνους ἐρεῖ τις—
αἰεὶ δὲ πρὸς Μούσαισι καὶ λόγοις πάρει,
ὅπου τε σοφίας ἔργον ἐξετάζεται.
37. Athen. i. 4. f. —¹²⁸ οὗτοι δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
τὰ δεῖπν' ἀφορῶσι, καὶ πέτονται δεξιῶς
ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἄκλητοι—
Ἀντιφάνης φησί. καὶ ἐπάγει “οὓς ἐκ κοινοῦ ἔδει
τρέφειν τὸν δῆμον αἰεὶ θ' ὥσπερ
Ὀλυμπίασί φασι ταῖς μνίαις ποιεῖν,
βοῦν τοῖς ἀκλήτοις προκατακόπτειν πανταχοῦ.”
38. Athen. i. 8. d. βίος θεῶν γὰρ ἐστὶν, ὅταν ἔχῃς ποθὲν
τάλλότρια δειπνεῖν, μὴ προσέχων λογίσμασι.
καὶ πάλιν·

¹²⁸ Sic Porson. Adv. p. 44. post Salmasium. Vulgo οὗτοι δὲ τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν ἐν
τῇ πόλει ἀφορῶσι καὶ πέτονται δεξιῶς ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἄκλητοι.

- ¹²⁹ μακάριος ὁ βίος, ὃ πόρον εὐρίσκειν μ' αἰεὶ
 δεῖ καινόν, ὥς μάσημα ταῖς γνάθοις ἔχω.
39. Athen. i. 11. c. Ἀντιφάνης· “ἄριστον ἐν ὅσῳ ὁ μάγειρος ποιεῖ.”
 εἶτ' ἐπάγει·
 συνακρατίσασθαι πῶς ἔχεις μετ' ἐμοῦ; * *
40. ——— 12. b. ——— ¹³⁰ Ὀμηρος οὔτε βούς
 θύων ἐποίει ζωμόν, οὐδ' ἤψεν κρέα
 οὐδ' ἐγκέφαλον· ὥπτα δὲ καὶ τὰς κοιλίας.
 οὔτω σφόδρ' ἦν ἀρχαῖος.
41. ——— 14. f. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, τὸν τράχηλον ὥς ἔχω.
42. ——— 15. a. διηγεῖται δὲ τὴν φαινίνδα παιδιὰν οὕτως Ἀντι-
 φάνης·
 σφαῖραν λαβὼν
 τῷ μὲν διδούς ἔχαιρε, τὸν δ' ἔφενγ' ἅμα,
 τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε, τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν,
 κλαγκταῖσι φωναῖς.—
 ἔξω, μακρὰν, παρ' αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, κάτω,
 ἄνω, βραχεῖαν ἀπόδοσιν ἐγκαταστρέφει.
43. ——— 18. c. εἰς μακαρίαν τὸ λουτρόν· ὥς διέθηκέ με.
 ἐφθὸν κομιδῇ πεποίηκεν κ. τ. λ. Four lines.
44. ——— 22. f. τὸ δὲ ζῆν εἶπέ μοι
 τί ἐστί; τὸ πίνειν φῆμ' ἐγώ.—
¹³¹ ὁρᾷς παρὰ ρείθροισι χειμάρροισι ὅσα
 δένδρων αἰεὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν
 βρέχεται μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος οἷα γίγνεται;
 τὰ δ' ἀντιτείνονθ' οἶονεὶ δίψαν τινὰ
 ἢ ξηρασίαν σχόντ' αὐτόπρεμν' ἀπόλλυται.
45. ——— 23. a. δεῖ γὰρ φαγόντας δαψιλῶς βρέχειν.—
46. ——— 27. d. ¹³² ἔξ' Ἡλιδος μάγειρος, ἔξ' Ἀργους λέβης,
 Φλιάσιος οἶνος, ἐκ Κορίνθου στρώματα,
 ἰχθὺς Σικυῶνος, Αἰγίου δ' αὐλητρίδες,
 τυρὸς Σικελικός,—
 μύρον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐγχείλεις Βοιωταί.
47. Athen. i. 28. f.—ἔστιν ὅψον χρηστὸν ἐπαγωγὸν πάννυ,
 οἶνός τε θάσιος κ. τ. λ. Four lines.

¹²⁹ The copies of Athenæus have μακάριος ὁ βίος, ᾧ δεῖ μ' αἰεὶ καινὸν πόρον εὐρίσκειν, ὥς μάσημα ταῖς γν. ἔχ.

¹³⁰ In Athenæus ζωμόν δὲ οὐκ ἐποίει Ὀμηρος θύων βοῦς.

¹³¹ Comp. Soph. Antig. 712. quoted by Dindorf.

¹³² Antiphanes treats the same subject in Nos. 97. 108.

48. Athen. II. 38. b. κρύψαι, Φειδία,
 ἅπαντα τᾶλλα τις δύναιτ' ἂν πλήν δυοῖν,
 οἶνόν τε πίνων εἰς ἔρωτα τ' ἐμπεσών.
 ἀμφοτέρω μηνύει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων
 καὶ τῶν λόγων ταῦθ' ὥστε τοὺς ἀρνούμενους
 μάλιστα τούτους καταφανεῖς ποιεῖ.—
49. — 40. c. ¹³³ συνεχῶς γὰρ ἐμπιπλάμενος ἀμελὴς γίγνεται
 ἄνθρωπος, ὑποπίνων δὲ πάνυ φροντιστικός.
50. — 44. a. οἶνω τὸν οἶνον ἐξελαύνειν,
 σάλπιγγι τὴν σάλπιγγα, τῷ κήρυκι τὸν βοῶντα,
 κόπῳ κόπον, ψόφῳ ψόφον, τριωβόλῳ δὲ πόρνην,
 αὐθαδίαν αὐθαδία, Καλλίστρατον μαγείρῳ,
 στάσιν στάσει, μάχῃ μάχην, ὑπωπίοις δὲ πύκτην,
 πόνῳ πόνον, δίκη δίκην, γυναικὶ τὴν γυναῖκα.
51. — 45. a. ¹³⁴ μεταλλάξαι διάφορα βρώματα
 ἔσθ' ἡδὺ, καὶ τῶν πολλάκις θρυλλομένων
 διάμεστον ὄντα τὸ παραγεύσασθαι τινος
 καινοῦ. διπλασίαν γὰρ παρέσχευεν ἡδονήν.
52. — 47. b. ἐν νόσημα τοῦτ' ἔχει
 αἰεὶ γὰρ ὀξύπεινός ἐστι. B. Θετταλὸν
 λέγεις κομιδῇ τὸν ἄνδρα.
53. — 49. b. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τρίπους ἦρθη κατὰ χειρῶν τ' ἐχέομεν.
54. — 56. e. νήττας, σχαδόνας, κάρυ ἐντραγεῖν, ὦ', ἐγκρίδας,
 ραφανίδας ἀπλύτους, γογγυλίδας, χόνδρον, μέλι.
55. — 60. c. τὸ δεῖπνόν ἐστι μᾶζα κεχαρακωμένη
 ἀχύροις, κ. τ. λ. Eight lines.
 καὶ προελθών
 — τίς γὰρ οἶδ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέλλον, ὅτι παθεῖν
 πέπρωθ' ἐκάστῳ κ. τ. λ. Three lines.
56. — 63. a. ἀσπάραγος ¹³⁵ ἐπηγλαΐζετ', ὦχρος ἐξήνθηκέ τις.
57. — 65. e. μέλι, πέρδικες,
 φάτται, νήτται, χήνες, ψᾶρες,
 κίττα, κολοιοὺς, κόψιχος, ὄρτυξ,
 ὄρνις θήλεια—

¹³³ In the copies of Athenæus, συνεχῶς μὲν γὰρ ἐμπιπλάμενος ἄνθρωπος ἀμελὴς γίγνεται, ὑποπίνων δὲ πάνυ φρ.

¹³⁴ τὸ μεταλλάξαι διάφορα βρώματα Casaub. Vulgo μεταλλάξαι βρώματα διάφορα.

¹³⁵ ἐπηγλαΐζετ' Porson. Adv. p. 57. Vulgo ἡγλαΐζεν.

58. ——— 66. d. εἰ μὲν ἄρα πέπερι φέρη τις πριάμενος,
στρεβλοῦν γράφουσι τοῦτον ὡς κατάσκοπον.
· πάλιν·
νῦν δεῖ περιόντα πέπερι καὶ καρπὸν βλίτου
ζητεῖν.
59. ——— II. p. 163. Dind. ¹³⁶ Ἀντιφάνης· “τί φής; ἐνθάδ’ οἴσεις
τι καταφαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν· εἴθ’ ὥσπερ οἱ πτωχοὶ
χαμαὶ ἐνθάδ’ ἔδομαι καὶ τις ὄψεται.”
60. ——— Ibid. εὐτρέπιζε—
ψυκτῆρα, λεκάνην, τριπόδιον, ποτήριον,
χύτραν, θυεῖαν, κάκκαβον, ζωμήρυσιν.
61. Athen. xi. 781. e. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ δὴ βακχίου παλαιγενοῦς
ἀφρῶ σκιασθὲν χρυσοκόλλητον δέπας
μεστὸν, κύκλῳ χορεῦον, ἔλκουσι γνάθοις
ὀλκοῖς ἀπαύστοις, παντελῶς ἐστραμμένον
τᾶνω κάτω δεικνύντες.
62. Athen. xv. 686. b. κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνους * *
ἐνεγκεῖν δεῦρο τῶν χρηστῶν δύο
καὶ δᾶδα χρηστὴν ἡμμένην χρηστῷ πυρί.
63. Athen. ii. 66. f. Ἀντιφάνης ἢ Ἀλεξίς·
οὔτοσί, δέ σοι
τοῦ λευκοτάτου πάντων ἐλαίου Σαμιακοῦ
ἔστιν μετρητής.
64. Zenob. Adag. vi. 34. p. 163. Ἀλεκτρύων τις ἐγένετο Φιλίππου
στρατηγός, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς φασὶ Χάρης ὁ Ἀθη-
ναῖος· μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ κωμικός, καὶ
Ἀντιφάνης.
65. Plutarch. Mor. p. 79. A. συμβαίνει δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους, ὥς
τις εἶπε τῶν Πλάτωνος συνήθων. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιφάνης
ἔλεγε παίζων ἐν τινὶ πόλει τὰς φωνὰς εὐθὺς λεγο-
μένας πηγνυσθαι διὰ ψύχος, εἴθ’ ὕστερον ἀνιεμένων
ἀκούειν θεροῦς ἀ τοῦ χειμῶνος διελέχθησαν.
66. Plutarch. Demosth. c. 4. Δημοσθένης ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάτισχνος καὶ
νοσώδης, καὶ τὴν λαιδορουμένην ἐπωνυμίαν τὸν Βά-
ταλον ¹³⁷ εἰς τὸ σῶμα λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν

¹³⁶ On these two fragments Dindorf observes, *Antiphanis fragmenta ab Ruhnkenio ex Epitomes codice Parisino secum communicata primus edidit Koppiers.* Conf. Schweigh. tom. vi. p. 478.

¹³⁷ Æschin. Fals. leg. p. 41, 13. ἐν παισὶ μὲν γὰρ ὦν ἐκλήθη—Βάταλος. Noticed by Demosthenes himself de Cor. p. 288.

παιδων λαβεῖν. ἦν δ' ὁ Βάταλος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι φασίν, αὐλητῆς τῶν κατεαγόντων· καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτον κωμωδῶν αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἔνιοι δέ τινες ὡς ποιητοῦ τρυφερά καὶ παροΐνια γράφοντος τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνηνται¹³⁸. Since Batalus, the subject of this drama, was a noted person when Demosthenes was a boy, he must have been known at least as early as B.C. 367¹³⁹.

138 Liban. vit. Demosth. p. 2. ἱστορεῖται τινα Βάταλον Ἐφέσιον αὐλητὴν γενέσθαι, ὃς πρῶτος ὑποδήμασι γυναικείοις ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐχρήσατο καὶ μέλεσι κατεαγόντι, καὶ ὅλως τὴν τέχνην ἐμάλθαξεν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοὺς ἐκλύτους καὶ ἀνάνδρους Βατάλους ἐκάλουν. He is called Βάταλος ὁ αὐλητῆς by Lucian tom. viii. p. 23. Hemsterhusius ad Aristoph. Plut. p. 365. conjectures that the drama in which Batalus was satirized might be the Αὐλητής: *Si conjecturæ locus detur, opportuna jocos in Batalum Antiphanis comœdia cui titulus Αὐλητής apud Athenæum.*

139 The following words for which the authority of Antiphanes is quoted may be included in a note.

ἀλουργιαῖον: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλουργέ. Ἀντιφάνης. Suid.

ἀμαρτυρήτους: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμαρτύρους. οὕτως Ἀντιφ. Suid.

ἀνόκαιον: τὸ ὑπερῶν οἶκημα Ξενόφων ἐν Κύρου Ἀναβάσει [v. 4, 29. where some copies have ἀνωγαίων]. καὶ τὸν κωμωδιοποιὸν οἱ περὶ Ἀντιφάνην. Bekk. Anecd. p. 405, 32. Ἀνώγειον: τὸ ὑπ. οἶκημα. Ξ. ἐν Κ. Ἀ. καὶ τῶν κωμωδιοποιῶν οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοφάνην [1. Ἀντιφ.] Suidas.

ἀποδικεῖν: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι. οὕτως Ἀντιφάνης. Bekk. Anecd. p. 427, 9. Suid.

ἀρδεύειν: παρ' Ἀντιφάνει μόνω. Bekk. Anecd. p. 443, 22.

αὐχένιοι: χιτῶνος εἶδος, ὑπὸ Ἀντιφάνους. Hesych.

ἐπιστάτης: ἀντὶ τοῦ διδάσκαλος ὁμολογουμένως Ἀντιφάνης. Bekk. Anecd. p. 96, 12.

ἐπίτοκος ἢ γυνὴ ἀδοκίμως εἶπεν Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμωδός, δέον ἐπίτεξ εἰπεῖν. Phrynich. p. 333. ed. Lobeck.

ἦθη:—Ἀντιφάνης εἶπε πληθυντικῶς. Bekk. Anecd. p. 98, 15.

κάθημα: ὄρμου εἶδος—ὡς Ἀντιφάνης κάθημα. ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ καθετῆρα. Pollux v. 98. where H. Steph. from Hesychius proposes κάθεμα.

κύδαροι: πλοιάρια ἅττα. παρ' Ἀντιφάνει τὸ ὄνομα. Phot. lex.

πτωχεύειν: οὐ τὸ ἐπαιτεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ πένεσθαι. Ἀντιφάνης. Bekk. Anecd. p. 112, 24.

τρίτῳ καὶ τετάρτῳ ἔτει: ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸ τριῶν καὶ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν, οὕτως Ἀντιφάνης. Phot. lex. Suid.

ὑπέρχολος γενόμενος: ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπεραγανακτήσας. οὕτως Ἀντιφάνης. Phot. lex. Suid.

χολᾶν: τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι. Ἀντιφάνης. Bekk. Anecd. p. 116, 8.

χρήσασθαι: ἀντὶ τοῦ δανείσασθαι. Ἀντιφάνης. Bekk. p. 116, 11.

Out of 260 or 280 comedies which Antiphanes composed we have the titles of 130. But even of these there are very many of which we possess little more than the names, and of which nothing remains to indicate either the nature of the subject or the time of the composition¹⁴⁰. We have the titles, however, of 130: but 130 or 150 more are wholly lost; and we cannot safely pronounce that Antiphanes forbore to treat particular subjects, when there remain behind 130 or 150 dramas of which we know nothing. If therefore in the extant fragments no vestiges appeared of the early period of the Middle Comedy, we should not be warranted on that account in rejecting the dates assigned to Antiphanes by the grammarians. But even among the titles of dramas which do remain to us are some that may be referred to the early period. In this class we may place such names as the following: the *Adonis*, *Æolus*, *Athamas*, Ἀσκληπιός, *Ganymedes*, *Deucalion*, *Medea*, *Oenomaus*, *Phaon*, *Philoctetes*: which were also among the titles of Plato and Strattis and Araros and Philetærus; of Nicophon and Amphis and Eubulus¹⁴¹, poets who belonged to the close of the Old or the commencement of the Middle Comedy. Nor are the fragments without allusions to contemporary events and contemporary names. In many comedies we find the names of Thearion, Philoxenus, Misgolas, Callimedon, Demosthenes, and others, whose times agree with the period assigned to this poet. We may sometimes trace a ridicule of tragedy or a parody of tragic passages¹⁴².

In fixing the time of Antiphanes we have formerly interpreted the terms of Suidas and the grammarian too rigidly. According to Suidas Antiphanes was born κατὰ τὴν ἑγ' ὀλυμπιάδα. But this account does not limit the birth to the first year of that Olympiad. It would be equally true if he had been

The following fragments are of doubtful authority:

Stob. Flor. 63, 12. Ἀντιφάνους. “εἴ τις φησὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντας οὐχὶ νοῦν ἔχειν.” Four lines. Quoted by Athenæus xiii. 563. a. from Theophilus ἐν τῷ Φιλαύλῳ. where v. 1. is rightly given τίς φησὶ τοὺς ἐρ. οὐχὶ νοῦν ἔχειν;

Athen. i. 28. d. Ἀντιφάνης δὲ “Νᾶπυ Κύπριον” κ.τ.λ. given by Pollux vi. 67. to Eubulus: Εὐβουλος ἐν Γλαύκῳ φησί. “Καὶ νᾶπυ Κύπριον” κ.τ.λ. Four lines.

¹⁴⁰ See for example in the preceding list Nos. 3. 6. 13. 15. 16. 23. 33. 50. To which many others might be added.

¹⁴¹ For Eubulus see Nos. 35. 37. 83. 94. For Araros and Nicophon, No. 4. For Strattis, Nos. 83. 125. For Amphis, No. 5. For Plato, No. 121.

¹⁴² See Nos. 1. 106. Fr. Inc. 44.

born in Ol. 93. 4. We have seen that he survived till the beginning of B. c. 330¹⁴³, and he lived 74 years; which carries back his birth to B. c. 404, the close of Ol. 93. 4. Again, the grammarian places his first exhibition *μετὰ τὴν ἡ' ὀλυμπιάδα*, which does not determine it to the first year of that Olympiad. The grammarian by the term *ὀλυμπιάδα* will express not the Olympic games, but the Olympic cycle of four years: and "after Ol. 98" will most naturally mean that Antiphanes first exhibited in Ol. 99: but the precise year is not marked. We may assume, then, that Antiphanes was born in B. c. 404, towards the close of Ol. 93, 4. that he first exhibited about B. c. 383, and that he died in B. c. 330 towards the close of Ol. 112, 2. at the age of 74 years.

All the fragments are consistent with this period of the dramatic life of Antiphanes, and fall within B. c. 383–330, except the single passage in which Seleucus is named¹⁴⁴. That passage, as Dr Meineke truly remarks, could not have been written before B. c. 306. This date, however, for Antiphanes is not only inconsistent with Suidas and the grammarian, who agree together in placing him forty years higher than that period, but with some notices contained in his own fragments. For Thearion lived in the latter time of Aristophanes¹⁴⁵; and it is not likely that he would have been named by Antiphanes, if Antiphanes had not begun to write comedy till forty years after the death of Aristophanes. Batalus flourished at least before B. c. 367¹⁴⁶; but he would scarcely have been ridiculed in a comedy written at least twenty-five years after that date¹⁴⁷. These notices are consistent with the time assigned by the grammarians, but not with the mention of Seleucus after B. c. 306. For these reasons it may be suspected that this passage was in reality written by Alexis, and ascribed to Antiphanes by mistake. These two poets might well be sometimes confounded, since they flourished together; they were placed together at the head of the Middle Comedy, and were the two most voluminous writers of the drama. Alexis left 245 comedies¹⁴⁸; to Antiphanes 260 were ascribed by the lowest

¹⁴³ See No. 61. ¹⁴⁴ See No. 103. ¹⁴⁵ See No. 98. ¹⁴⁶ See Fr. Inc. 66.

¹⁴⁷ These intervals arise out of the date of Dr Meineke, who places the first exhibitions of Antiphanes *μετὰ τὴν ρή' ὀλυμπιάδα*, that is, in Ol. 109. B. c. 343.

¹⁴⁸ Suid. "Ἀλεξίς—ἐδίδαξε δράματα σμέ. Repeated by Eudocia, p. 60.

estimate. In that numerous collection they composed many plays with the same title¹⁴⁹; and, in quoting from these, the two were sometimes confounded. We have seen an example in the *Ὑπνος*. Each composed a play with this title, and Athenæus did not know from which of the two he was quoting. Sometimes again a drama belonging to the one was found in the collection of the other. Thus the author of the *Ἀλείπτρια* was doubted. The *Antea* of Alexis and the *Antea* of Antiphanes were nearly the same drama. On another occasion Athenæus is in doubt as to the author of a particular passage¹⁵⁰. Now, if the *Παρεκδομένη* was a title common to both, or if the author of this drama was doubted, from either of these causes it might happen that Athenæus committed an error; and that the passage in which Seleucus was mentioned was quoted from Antiphanes, when in reality it was written by Alexis¹⁵¹.

H. F. C.

¹⁴⁹ We have seen fifteen in the preceding collection. See Nos. 14. 44. 45. 66. 67. 70. 73. 85. 86. 96. 102. 107. 114. 120. 123.

¹⁵⁰ See Fr. Inc. 63. Schweighæuser tom. xiv. p. 18. 34. concludes that this fragment was from the *Antea*. But we have no proof of this. It might just as probably have belonged to the *Ὑπνος* or the *Ἀλείπτρια*, or to some other drama whose title is unknown.

¹⁵¹ Athenæus may have named the wrong poet by mere mistake. That such a mistake might occur we have a proof in Casaubon ad Athen. viii. 358. d. *Sic laudatur Sophoclis Ὀρεστέα*. where he names *Sophocles* instead of *Æschylus*.

ON THE NAMES OF THE ANTEHELLENIC INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

IT is generally admitted that the country which we now call Greece, acquired the collective name of Ἑλλάς, and its people that of Ἕλληνες, subsequently to the time of Homer. This is inferred (Thuc. i. 3) from the absence of any such collective name, and its correlative *Barbarian*, in the Homeric poems. There are indeed serious objections to the supposition that the name was confined in the time of Homer, as Thucydides seems to suppose, to the little district of Phthiotis. The mention of *Elisha* and Javan in the book of Genesis (x. 2, 4), which must surely be Hellas and Ionia, not the insignificant state of Elis, which had no claim to give a denomination to European Greece, the name Ἑλλήσποντος, which few will now derive from the mythological Helle, and even the usage of Homer himself, who can hardly have meant to limit the fame of Ulysses to Thessaly, when he makes Penelope speak of him as Ἄνδρὸς, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, Od. A. 344—all these circumstances combine to throw great doubt on the commonly received opinion. It is not necessary however to do more than advert to them here: at whatever time the Hellenes became a distinct people, and extended their name over Greece, it is certain that they had traces and traditions of other tribes who had preceded them in it. What were the names of these tribes? Perhaps it may be thought that a mere name is hardly worth the labour of an investigation: but as they have for the most part left us nothing else, we must endeavour to make what we can of so slender a bequest.

Another prejudice against such an inquiry may arise from the necessity of making it in great measure etymo-

logical. Were the names in question to be derived, after the ancient method from the Phœnician and the Hebrew, or after the newer fashion from the Celtic, Scythian, or Sanscrit, this objection would be reasonable. Every derivation of a word from a language not spoken in the country where the word itself is current, (except when foreign names have evidently been brought in with foreign deities, or foreign customs and articles of traffic), must be merely conjectural. Where nations, though politically independent, are connected by so close an affinity of language, manners, and traditions, as the Semitic or Teutonic families, we may be allowed to seek in one branch, for that portion of the original stock of words which has escaped from the possession of the other. In such a relation the Latin alone stands to the Greek. But there can be nothing like certainty, unless an etymology is furnished by the very language in which the word was used: and even then, as a single word may at times admit of several derivations, all equally in accordance with the analogies of the language, among many which *may be true*, that which *is true* must be pointed out by other confirmatory circumstances. The application of etymology to the early history and mythology of Greece under these conditions, instead of merely producing a new crop of ingenious fancies, may be expected to place the true nature of both in a light in which they have never yet been seen.

In the passage where Strabo speaks of Greece, as having been anciently inhabited by barbarians (vii. p. 465. ed. Ox.), he enumerates the Phrygians under Pelops, and the companions of Danaus from Egypt, the Thracians who came with Eumolpus into Attica and with Tereus into Phocis, the Phœnicians under Cadmus in Bœotia, the Aones, Tembices, and Hyantes in the same country, and the Dryopes, Caucones, Pelasgi, Leleges, within and without the Isthmus. To these may be added the Carians, whom some supposed to be the same as the Leleges, and others to be different from them; and the Curetes, who dwelt with the Leleges in Acarnania. In regard to the foreign colonists who came, or have been supposed to come, with Pelops, Danaus, or Cadmus, it is evident that the name Barbarian has a different

meaning as applied to them and to the Pelasgi, Leleges, Dryopes, and Caucones, who, whether they had immigrated into Greece or not, were not considered as of foreign origin by the Greeks themselves. Whether the Aones, Hyantes, and Tembices of Bœotia were really different from the Leleges, who anciently inhabited it (Strabo vii. p. 466), is doubtful: at all events nothing is known of them; and their names may have been devised by the ready ingenuity of later times, to explain the names of the Aonian and Temmician mounts, and the city of Hyampolis. I shall therefore confine my inquiry to the Pelasgi, the Dryopes, the Leleges, the Caucones, the Thracians, and the Carians; and it will be my object to show, that all these names express, in various ways, one and the same thing—that harshness and rudeness of speech, which is the original meaning of the word *βάρβαρος*.

The exquisite fineness of the Hellenic ear, to which we owe the early perfection of language and versification in Greece, led to the early appropriation of a distinguishing epithet to those who spoke less harmoniously than themselves. There is no stronger tie of community than to speak the same language, no difference more readily remarked, or which more effectually keeps nations from mingling, than a diversity of speech. Almost every foreign language too seems barbarous; Italian to the unlettered Englishman, not less than English to the Italian. Even in Homer, besides less obvious instances which will be pointed out, we find the Carians described as *βαρβαρόφωνοι* (B. 867.) and the Sinties of Lemnos as *ἀγριόφωνοι*. The word *βάρβαρος* itself, according to Strabo, xiv. p. 946, was an onomatopœia ἐπὶ τῶν δυσεκφόρως καὶ σκληρῶς καὶ τραχέως λαλούντων, applied by the Greeks contemptuously to other nations ὡς ἂν παχυστόμους ἢ τραχυστόμους. Nor was this confined to the Greeks. When Herodotus (ii. 158) says that the Egyptians call all barbarians, who do not speak as they do, he cannot mean that they use this word, but that they distinguish other nations by some epithet implying the same thing. So Ezekiel says, iii. 5, “Thou art not sent to a people *deep of life* and *heavy of tongue*,” i.e. not to a people speaking a foreign language. If those who spoke

Hebrew and Coptic thought all other tongues barbarous, the countrymen of Homer may be forgiven this piece of national vanity. They even went so far as to consider a *βάρβαρος* as having neither tongue nor voice:

ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας πρὸ τοῦ
ἐδίδαξα τὴν φωνὴν ξυνὼν πολὺν χρόνον. Arist. Aves. 200.
οὔθ' Ἑλλὰς οὔτ' ἄγλωσσος, οὔθ' ὅσην ἐγὼ
γαῖαν καθαίρων ἰκόμην, ἔδρασέ πω. Soph. Trach. 1062;
i. e. 'neither Greek nor barbarian¹.'

Besides describing the language of foreign nations generally by such epithets as these, the Greeks were accustomed to compare it to the language of birds. It may seem strange that, birds having more power of articulation than other animals, so that Aristotle (Hist. Anim. iv. 9) allows them not only a *φωνή*, but even a *διάλεκτος*, their notes should have been chosen to express the harshness and confusion of a barbarous language. But there could have been no contrast, if there had not been some resemblance; and the approach to articulation in the voices of birds, joined with their chattering, as foreigners are usually thought to speak fast, make the comparison a very natural one. The passage in which Herodotus explains the legend of the speaking dove of Dodona, by the foreign language in which the Egyptian priestess delivered her oracles, we shall have to recur to hereafter. When the Alexandrian in Theocritus complains of the Sicilian women (xv. 87),

παύσασθ' ὦ δύσταντοι ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοισαι
τρυγόνες,

it is not merely of their garrulity that he complains, but of their broad Doric, which grated on his ears. The swallow's note was also used to describe a barbarous language: see the passages quoted in Blomfield's note on *χελιδόνος δίκην Ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη*, Æsch. Ag. 1017. Herodotus (iv. 183), speaking of the Garamantes, says that their language resembles that of no other nation; that they squeak like bats:

¹ Hence Ἑλλοπες i. e. ἄφωνοι, βάρβαροι. The country occupied by them was that in which the oracle of Dodona stood. Μολοσσοί (from *μόλις* and *ὄσσα vox*) is equivalent to *μογίλαλοι*, a barbarous language appearing to be mouthed and spoken with effort.

τετρίγασι κατάπερ αἱ νυκτερίδες, which Mela (i. 8) renders *strident non loquuntur*. Comp. Plin. v. 8. The speech of the Slavonians, according to Riemer (Lex. v. βάρβαρος), sounds to the ears of Germans like the twittering of birds; and no doubt the Slavonians have some equally complimentary way of describing the speech of the Germans.

But the stork laboured under the heaviest charge of defective elocution; he was held to have no tongue at all. "Sunt qui affirmant ciconiis non inesse linguam," says Pliny (x. 32); to which Solinus adds (c. 40) that they produced their notes by their beaks. As being ἄγλωσσος, therefore, the stork was especially adapted to represent a people of barbarous speech: and accordingly we find that in the time of Homer the inhabitants of the Thracian side of the Hellespont were called Κίκονες. That this name is no other than the Latin *ciconia* cannot, I think, be reasonably doubted: Vossius in his Etym. L. Lat. objects, that the *o* in *ciconia* is long; but if a difference in quantity does not prevent our deriving *persona* from *persono*, it can hardly be a valid objection here. When the word came to be of four syllables, the lengthening of the middle vowel was almost a matter of necessity. Should it be denied that the word is the same, it must still be evident that the name of the Κίκονες is derived from the notes of birds, as it is one of a whole class of words of this signification; κικκά, a hen; κίκιρρος, a cock; κικκαβίζω, to make the sound of birds; κοκκόαξ, a crow; κοκκοβαίη, an owl; κόκκυξ, an onomatopœia in many languages for the *cuckoo*, and more remotely connected with the same letters; κύκνος, κυκάω, κωκύω, all denoting shrill, inarticulate and confused sound.

The name Πελασγοί has been often taken in hand by etymologists, but I think hitherto not very satisfactorily. To pass over the ancient derivations of Pelasgus from Peleg, and Graius from Reu, that which makes the root to be πέλαγος, though sanctioned by the authority of Hermann (Opusc. ii. p. 174), offends against analogy², and, if it be applicable to the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians of later times, is not so to the ori-

² *Pelasgos* a verbo πελαζειν cognominatos esse, miror Sturzio persuaderi potuisse, Dial. Mac. p. 9. Lobeck ad Phryn. p. 109.

ginal Pelasgians of Dodona or Thessaly. Πελαργοί is no doubt the more ancient form of the name: but the derivation of the word so spelt from πέλω, *verso*, and ἀγρός transposed into ἀργός, though analogical, is not convincing; because it describes the people by no specific character. The Pelasgi were eaters of acorns in Thesprotia and Arcadia, stone-masons at Athens, ploughers of the deep as Tyrrhenians; and though they might cultivate the plains of Argos and Thessaly, these were probably not their first abodes, nor was their occupation in them different from that of other men. "They were fond," says Mr Keightley in his elegant work on Mythology (p. 270), "of cultivating the rich soil on the banks of streams." Doubtless before as well as since the promulgation of the Ricardo theory of rent, the tillers of the ground have been fond of rich soils: but it does not appear that this was a peculiarity of the Pelasgi. Müller, who favours the same etymology, (Orch. p. 125), contends that Arcadia was not wholly without fertile vallies, which an agricultural people might cultivate: this is true; so the Highlands have their straths; but we should be justly surprised if any Celtic etymologist should maintain that Gael means a *husbandman*³.

The ancients themselves generally refer the name Pelasgi to a patriarch Pelasgus; always indeed, as Niebuhr (p. 40, not. 107) with his usual accurate discrimination has remarked, when they speak of the Pelasgians of primitive times. It is evident however that Herodotus and Thucydides had no idea that the Pelasgians of their own days were a different people from those of the antehellenic times, who had by accident acquired a similar name: they reason from the one to the other, in a way which proves a belief in their identity, so far as identity can belong to a people at the interval of so many hundred years. If therefore the name, as applied to the Pelasgians of later times

³ Wachsmuth, *Hell. Alterth.* i. p. 29, adopts the same view of the Pelasgi, and thinks the name Ἀργόλας, in Paus. i. 28, 3, *bedeutsam*. But as Ἀργόλας is there spoken of, not as a husbandman, but a builder of the Pelasgic wall at Athens, is it not much more natural to refer this name to ἔργον and λαός or λαός? The Ἀργάδεις in the division of the Athenian tribes before Clisthenes were ἐργάδεις. Herod. v. 66. Plut. Sol. § 23.

was properly derived from *πελαργοί*, and interpreted *storks*, we have no reason to seek another meaning for it when applied to the primitive Pelasgians: and childish as the explanation given by Myrsilus may have been⁴, when he referred the name of storks to the wandering life of the Pelasgi, or that of the Etym. Magnum which refers it to their linen dresses, there seems nothing childish in the supposition that it denoted their rudeness of speech. That *Πελαργοί* is the original name, may be argued, not only from these explanations, and from the name of the nymph Pelarge⁵, whom Pausanias represents as presiding over the Cabiræan mysteries at Thebes, but still more convincingly from the frequent substitution of σ for ρ in the smoother dialects. The writers on the dialects, who invert everything, say that the σ was changed into ρ in this word as in many others by the Eretrians (Phrynichus ed. Lob. p. 109. Maistaire p. 146. ed. Reitz.): but when we consider that the Eretrians were a colony from Elis, that the dialect of Elis was characterized not only by this *rhotacismus*, but also by the use of the digamma⁶, that it was derived from Ætolia⁷, and that the Latin frequently attests the superior antiquity of the forms with ρ , we shall be disposed to regard the Eretrian as really the older form. There can be no doubt that *Πελαργός* really means *a stork*; and if one nation were called *Κίκονες* on account of their speech, why might not another be called *Πελαργοί*?

The name of the *Δρύορες* is also that of a bird. It

⁴ See Niebuhr p. 40.

⁵ The occurrence of this antiquated form in connexion with the Cabiræan orgies (Paus. ix. 25.) may vindicate them from the suspicion of Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 1253. The reading *Πελαργικέ*, Il. II. 233, is not unimportant, and perhaps genuine; there was no particular reason why the word should be altered here, rather than any where else where *Πελασγοί* occurs in Homer; but it is very natural that an antique form should be preserved in the appellation of the god, when another had taken place of it in common speech. "Hujus (sc. rhotacismi) plura olim in libris manu scriptis vestigia fuisse probabile est, ut Schol. Lucian. Reviv. 42. p. 160. τὸ πελασγικόν—γράφεται καὶ πελαργικόν." Lob. ad Phryn. voc. *Πελαργός*.

⁶ Mus. Crit. i. 536.

⁷ Müller Dorians, Vol. II. p. 487: or from the Caucones and Leleges?

occurs in the Aves of Aristophanes, l. 304: but the scholiast, and the lexicographers who have copied him, give us no other information about it than that it is not the same as the *δρυοκολάπτης* or woodpecker. Nor has its name any connexion with *δρῦς*; it is probably connected with *τρύζω*, a word which denoted especially the notes of birds, whence *τρύγων*, and with *τρώζειν*, which signifies the same thing; with *δρυνάζειν*, *φλυαρεῖν*, (Hes.), and ultimately with *τρύω*, which means to bore, and thence to produce a sharp vibrating sound, as *drill* and *thrill* are connected in English. The original abode of the Dryopes was probably on mount Parnassus (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1218); and to this district the name Dryopis properly belongs (Herod. i. 56. viii. 31): but they were also found in Trachis, to which Hercules is said to have removed them, that they might grow more civilized, and in the Peloponnesus (Herod. viii. 73). Their barbarism is attested not only by their name, but by their practice of robbery (Schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1218). Under the name of *Κραυγαλλίδαι* (Bremi ad Æsch. Ctes. p. 88) we find them infesting the neighbourhood of Delphi by their violence, and referring their origin to *Κραγάλευς* the son of Dryops. The name *Κραυγαλλίδαι* is evidently connected with *κραυγή*; and *κραυγὸς* was a species of woodpecker, a bird remarkable for the harshness of its note: see Hesych.

The name of *Λέλεγες* appears to have been either formed from *λέγω*, by that reduplication which served in Greek to express the quick repetition of an act, in which case it will signify to chatter, or from the kindred root *λαλέω*, *λαλάζω*. *Λάλαγες*, according to Hesychius, meant, as some said, frogs, as others, a species of birds: in the latter case the analogy which has already been shown in the *Κίκονες*, *Πελασγοί*, and *Δρύοπες*, will be still further illustrated; but whichever it means, the reference to the loudness and harshness of the voice will be equally evident. This is at least as probable an etymology as that which Hesiod gave, from *λέγω*, to collect (Strabo, p. 466. Siebelis ad Paus. iii. 1), as if Jupiter had collected them together to form a people for Deucalion. They inhabited the south west of the Peloponnesus, Ætolia and Phocis, and Asia Minor, where Homer places them in the Trojan war, not far from Troy, Il. Φ. 85–87. In this country ruined fortresses and ancient sepulcres seem to have been

generally attributed to the Leleges. Τηλεβόαι was a name given to a people the same with the Leleges, or closely connected with them; for Teleboas was made the nephew of Lelex according to Aristotle (Strabo ubi sup.), and the Teleboæ his twenty-two sons. This name may contain a similar allusion to that of Κρανγαλλίδαι: and that of Πολυκάων, according to Pausanias (III. 1. IV. 1), son of Lelex⁸ and first king of Messenia, representing, as Müller observes, the Lelegian population, is probably of similar origin and import with that of the Caucones.

The sound of the name Καύκωνες of itself suggests the idea that it was meant to characterize the speech of the nation which was so called by assimilating it to that of birds. The cormorant, καύηξ, received its name, according to the Etym. Magn. p. 493, ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν καυ καυ. Hence κανκαλίας and κανκιάλης, names of birds in Hesychius, and most probably sea-birds; and καύαλος in the same lexicographer, explained by μωρολόγος, which Wesseling suspects without reason, and would change into βάβαλος⁹. Hence too, and not as the etymologists say, from ἀνχεῖν, comes κανχᾶσθαι, to boast; loud talking and boasting being very naturally connected together. The name of the Καύκωνες would lead to the supposition of a more than ordinary *barbarism* in their speech; and accordingly we find that some regarded them as Pelasgians, some as

⁸ Lelex is said to have had an elder son Μύλης, to whom was attributed the invention of the corn mill (μύλη), not, I apprehend, as Wachsmuth supposes (I. 28), because the Leleges were an agricultural people, but because, being regarded as αὐτόχθονες, the method of making bread, one of the first arts of incipient civilization, was naturally attributed to one of their earliest heroes. So the Pelasgus of Arcadia was said to have invented bread: Paus. I. 14, 1. It is a characteristic circumstance that the Athenian Autochthon, Cecrops, was made the inventor of the first law of civilized society, that of marriage. The countrymen of Solon were determined to put in an early claim to the glory of legislation.

⁹ As a deep opening of the throat is necessary to make this sound, we have (κάπω) κάπτω to devour greedily, κάφω to make a deep respiration, (καύω) καίω to burn. The connexion between blowing and burning is seen in many words; πέρθω and πρήθω (πέρθω signifies in Homer always to destroy with fire;) *flo*, *flamma*, *blasen* Germ. and *blaze*. The deep opening of the throat in speaking is probably expressed in Χάονες, the name of the people among whom Dodona stood.

Macedonians, and others as Scythians: Strabo, p. 783. The Caucones of the Iliad were an Asiatic people, and are enumerated with the Leleges, the Carians, and the Pelasgi (K. 429. Υ. 329): they probably dwelt, where they were found in later times, on the banks of the Parthenius; in the Odyssey they are spoken of in the Peloponnesus (Γ. 366), where they occupied Triphylia, and probably Elis: Strabo, p. 502. At Lepreum in Triphylia the tomb of Caucon was shown, a sufficient evidence, no doubt, to many persons of the futility of these speculations on the name of his people.

That the speech of the Carians was harsh to Hellenic ears we know from the epithet *βαρβαρόφωνοι*, and the use of *Κάρβαρος* as equivalent to Barbarian; and it is therefore not surprising if their name should be significant of this quality. Its peculiar harshness consisted, as we may infer from Eustathius, p. 29, in the frequent occurrence of the letter ρ. The word *καρκαίρω*, which is used by Homer, Il. Υ. 157, to express a strong vibratory sound, is evidently formed by reduplication from *καίρω*. Lennep in his Etymol. L. Gr. refers it to a root which he supposes to signify the sound made by the feet scraping the ground. I should however prefer connecting it with *κάρκαρος*, i. e. *τραχύς*, Hes. *κάραγος*, ὁ θρασὺς ψόφος, οἶον *πρίων* Id. whence *χαίρω*, to shew the teeth in laughing, *κάρκαρος*, *δεσμός*, i. e. *carcer*, *carceres*, a prison or a barrier, set with stakes like teeth, *καρχαρόδους* &c. This will suit very well with the peculiar barbarism of the *Kâres*, which consisted in the frequent use of the *hirrrient* ρ.

The relation in which the Thracians stood to the Greeks is obscure. In the historical times they were considered as barbarians, in the sense which the word *then* bore: when the name was first given to them, I doubt if it implied anything more than the same harshness of speech, which the Hellenes marked by the name they gave to several other tribes, whose affinity to themselves was by no means remote. It is scarcely possible that a people whose speech differed so widely from that of the Hellenes as to render them mutually unintelligible, should have acted so important a part as the Thracians in the history of Hellenic poetry, music, and religion. The name itself, *Θρᾶξ*, *Θρᾶττα*, is derived from *θράσσω*, whence *ταράσσω*, and its connection with this verb on the one hand,

and with *θραύω* on the other, sufficiently shews that the idea both of harshness and confusion was implied in the appellation¹⁰. When Aristophanes, *Ran.* 680, calls the swallow *θρηκία χελιδών*, and in the same play, 1283, imitates a jangling and unintelligible sound by the word *φλαττοθραττοφλαττόθρατ*, he plainly gives us to understand what idea the syllable *θρατ* conveyed to a Greek. The other syllable *φλατ* is no less illustrative of the principle I am endeavouring to establish: it is the root of *παφλάζω* connected with *θλάω*, as *θράττω* with *θραύω* (*φλάσας θλάσας* Hes.), and signifying to make a noise like the wave *breaking* among the shells and pebbles on the shore (*Hom. Il. N.* 798). Hence the name *Παφλαγόνες*, and the application of it in Aristophanes to the bellowing and chattering demagogue, Cleon. Compare the *Equites*, 136, and elsewhere, with *Pax* 314, *παφλάζων καὶ κεκραγώς*. I think it not improbable that other barbarous nations may have derived their names from a similar source, the *Βέβρυκες* and the *Βρύγες* from *βρύκω*, which is not very different in sense from *καρκαίρω*, as it signifies *τρίζειν τοὺς ὀδόντας*. Hes. *Βρύκος*. *βάρβαρος* *ibid.* The later form *Φρύγες* stands in the same relation to *Βρίγες* or *Βρύγες*, as *φρίσσω* to *βρύκω*. See the note on *Βρίκον*. *βάρβαρον* in Hes. "*Ἀμυκος* the king of the *Bebryces*, and the whole nation of the *Μυγδόνες*, appear to have owed their names to the verbs *μύκω* and *μύζω* (see *Riemer's Lexicon*); and the *Μυσοί* probably were named from a kindred root. These last words appear to express a more imperfect articulation than the rest, an approach to the lowing and bellowing of brutes.

The *Λαιστρυγόνες* of Homer, the barbarous inhabitants of Sicily or Italy, afford us another, hitherto I believe un-

¹⁰ As confusion is one of the qualities naturally ascribed to a barbarous speech, I will here suggest that this is probably expressed by the name *Δόλοπες*. Its first syllable I consider to be the same as the root of *θολερός*. *Θολόν*, *τεταραγμένον*. Hes. *θολῶσαι ταραξαι* *Id.* The word is not derived from the *sepia*; but the fish itself is named from its power of making the water turbid. The change of *θ* into *δ* is very common in the *Æolian* and *Macedonian* dialects. See *Maittaire*, p. 141. So in German and English *dick*, *thick*; *ding*, *thing*; *dank*, *thank*. The sound of *th* is now scarcely known, except to the English and the Greeks. If my etymology be correct, we obtain a common root for *dolus* and *doleo* in Latin, denoting the *confusion* of fraud, and the *perturbation* of grief.

suspected, example of a similar principle of nomenclature. The first syllable *λαις* is a form of the *λα ἐπιτατικόν* (*λαίσπαις βούπαις* Hes.), the second is derived from *τρύζω* or *τρίζω*¹¹, which are the same words. Had a fabulist to invent a name for a people who, like the Garamantes, "*strident magis quam loquuntur*," I do not know how he could devise a better than *Λαιστρυγόνες*. It is curious to see how the whole fable betrays the traces of its origin, though already altered by passing through many hands, before it reached those of Homer. *Λάμος* the son of Neptune (the father also of the loud-voiced *Πολύφημος*) has derived his name from *λάω*, which signifies to make a loud noise (Hes. *λάε. ἐψόφησεν*) whence *λάκω*, *λάσκω*, but also by a very natural transition, the opening of the mouth being necessary for both, to eat, Od. T. 229: this, aided perhaps by the analogy of *λαιμός*, which indeed is the same word in another form, may have procured the people of *Λάμος* the credit of being like the monster *Λαμία*, the ogress of the African deserts, and the bugbear of the Grecian children, devourers of men: Schol. Aristoph. Pax 742 (757)¹². The name of the king *Ἀντιφάτης* alludes probably to the description of the shepherds, *ποιμένα ποιμὴν Ἡπύει εἰσελάων, ὅδε τ' ἐξελάων ὑπακούει*, which may have originally been meant only as descriptive of their reciprocal call and reply, sounding far through the pastures and mountains. The epithet *τηλέπυλος*, which Homer has given to no other city, may have been designed to mark an equal

¹¹ *Τρύζει, ψιθυρίζει, γογγύζει, ἀσήμως λαλεῖ*. Etym. M. With the indistinct speech of barbarians, the idea of loudness seems also to have been connected.

¹² The Grææ are supposed to have derived their name from their being born old women,

Φόρκυι δ' αὖ Κητώ Γραίας τέκε καλλιπαρήους

ἐκ γενετῆς πολιάς. Theog. 270. Æsch. Pr. v. 819.

The other personages connected with the enterprise of Perseus are terrific monsters; but what terror could there be in three "ancient maidens," even though possessed of but one eye and one tooth among them? Probably their name was derived from *γράω*, which signifies to eat, (differing from *ἐσθίω*, as *fressen* from *essen*); whence *γάγγραινα*. The Grææ appear from the names *Φόρκυς* and *Κητώ* (*orca* and *cete*) to have been seamonsters; and *πολιός*, the standing epithet for the sea and what belongs to it, has been transferred to them, and interpreted 'hoary' in the literal sense.

power in the voices of the watchmen. There is a want of distinctness in this part of the description, which seems to shew that Homer had derived a tale from others, which had already received additions, not agreeing with its primary meaning. He is usually considered as the fountain of mythology and fable; but the streams had flowed far, and received many mixtures, before they reached him.

The name of the Λίγυες, another people of Italy, not mentioned indeed in Homer, but in Hesiod (if the common reading of the line quoted from him by Eratosthenes, p. 434. ed. Ox. be correct), is the most common epithet for the notes of birds, and not only for the clear and liquid, as the nightingale's, but for the harsh and shrill, as of the tribes of waterfowl. When the king of the Ligurians was said to have been changed into a swan, or when the same bird was assigned as a son to the Thracian god Mars (Apollod. Bibl. 2, 5, 11. 7, 7. Hyg. Fab. 31. Steph. Byz. Tenedos), it was not the swan of Ovid that was meant, which

udis abjectus in herbis

Ad vada Maeandri *concinit* albus olor,
but the swan of a poet more true to nature, the swan whose loud shrill note was an appropriate simile for the clamours of a barbarian army. Il. B. 459.

Τῶν δ' ὡς ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ

Χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων—

Κλαγγηδὸν προκαθίζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών.

Virgil has availed himself both of the swan of natural history and the swan of the mythologers.

Dant sonitum *rauci* per stagna *loquacia* cygni. Æn. xi. 457.

Namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati,

Populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum

Dum canit et maestum musa solatur amorem,

Canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam

Linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem. Æn. x. 190.

So harsh was the voice of the swan, that it was said "hujus generis avem ita conviciis esse plenam, ut ipsa ave clamante, reliquae aves taceant quae praesto fuerint." Fulgentius 2. 16.

The Latin name *olor* is probably connected with the root of ὀλολύζω, ὀλοφύρω, or with ὤζειν, βοᾶν, as *oleo* is with ὤζειν.

Dionysius Periegetes describes the swan very appropriately for our purpose, speaking of the Pactolus,

Τοῦ δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι καθήμενος εἶαρος ὦρῃ
Κύκνων εἰσαίοις λιγυρὴν ὄπα. l. 833.

There was a happy ambiguity in the word; and when the swan from his milk-white plumage became the consecrated bird of the Delian Apollo, the patron's musical fame was transferred to him. Voss in his *Briefe über die Mythologie* (Vol II. p. 97) attributes to Hesiod the first mention of the singing swan of the Ligures: but Hyginus in the fable to which he refers (154.) quotes Hesiod only for the conversion of the tears of the Heliades into amber; and in the Shield of Hercules, v. 314, the *melodische Geflügel* exists only in his own translation. Hesiod says κύκνοι ἀερσιπόται μεγάλ' ἥπυον, *made a loud noise*. It is curious to see how timidly men maintained the evidence of their senses against the fable of the swan's music: even Aristotle believed that they at least became musical on their death-bed, and that the mariners, as they sailed past the Ligurian shore, heard them singing with a mournful voice (Hist. Anim. ix. 13, 2). The Λίγυες extended, according to the Greek mythical geography¹³, along the coast of Gaul; hence Apollodorus makes Cygnus the son of Pyrene. The fiction of the loud-voiced Γηρυονεύς¹⁴ seems to imply that the barbarous language of the Spanish nations¹⁵ was characterized in the same way as so many others which we have already passed in review.

¹³ From which however the *historian* should beware of inferring that the same people dwelt from the gulf of Genoa to the Pyrenees.

¹⁴ Geryones inhabited an island named from one of the Hesperides; and these were the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto, a strange genealogy, if they were originally considered as musical nymphs (Apoll. Rhod. Schol. p. 642. ed. Schæf.) I believe the epithet λιγύφωνοι (Hes. Theog. 275. 518), to which they owe this character, had the same meaning originally as λίγυες. The first navigators probably brought back few tales of delight. The Sirenes appear from their name to have been monsters who drew mariners with ropes (σειραί) to their destruction, perhaps an emblem of a whirlpool.

¹⁵ The name Ἰβηρες appears to have had a similar origin to the rest. Ἰβρι τινὲς τὸ βοᾶν Hes. who says it is a Lydian word. The root however is undoubtedly Greek, and from it come ἰβύει. τύπτει βοᾶ. ἰβυξ. εἶδος ὀρνέου κρακτικού. It was probably the crane; for those who are accustomed to trace

I have now, I think, established by a pretty copious induction that the Hellenes gave names to other nations, expressive of the effect which the speech of those nations produced on their ears. If some of the etymologies I have proposed should seem uncertain, others admit of no doubt; and though there might have been an accidental coincidence in one or two cases, it can never be admitted in such a number as I have brought forward. One objection will probably occur to the reader: is it likely that so many nations and tribes should have been handed down to us under names which must have been given to them by those who ridiculed their speech as barbarous? What is become of the names by which they must have called themselves? To this I reply, that many considerable nations, as the Phœnicians, the Æthiopians, the Lydians, the Mauri, the Numidians, have lost their own names, and either are known only by the appellations which the Greeks gave them, or would have been so, had we known them only through the Greeks. Now such is the case with the antehellenic tribes into whose names we have been inquiring: they had become extinct or nearly so before the historical times; and the name which was originally a reproach on their barbarism, may have been adopted subsequently by themselves, as no doubt it was used by the Hellenes, without any consciousness that a reproach was implied in it. The Carians, we are told by Herodotus (I. 171), maintained that they had always borne the same name: this appears however from the context only to have been meant as a disclaimer of their being the same people with the Leleges. Besides, if the name *Kâpes* had originally, as I have supposed, a reproachful meaning, it must have lost it in the time of Homer, who would not ancient fables, will not easily believe that *Ἰβυκος* and the crane have come together by chance in the well known story. *Ἰβυξ*, *ἴβυς*, *ἰβίς*, *ἰβίξ* are only varieties of the same word. When the Greeks saw the ibis in Egypt, they gave it the name of their own bird the *ἰβυξ*, as they assimilated the crocodile to their lizard. From the sense of *τύπτειν* comes the Latin *vibex*. *Ἰβρίκαλοι* according to Hesychius means *χοῖροι*: so *grus* is allied to *γρύζω*. The location of the Iberians in the remotest east and west is analogous to what has happened to the Heneti or Veneti, to the country of *Æa*, &c. See above p. 175.

have given them the epithet *βαρβαρόφωνοι*, if the word itself had then been known to express the same thing. They could therefore have no reasonable repugnance to call themselves by the name by which the Greeks had from time immemorial distinguished them.

If I am right in the explanations I have given of the names Pelasgi, Leleges, Dryopes, Caucones, the Hellenes, when they became conscious of a distinct existence as a people, must have perceived among them, or on their frontiers, other tribes, whose speech or pronunciation differed so much from their own, as to lead them to bestow on them appellations descriptive of that circumstance. What was the amount of that difference? Perhaps it may be possible to mediate between the opposing opinions on this subject, especially as Kruse, one of the latest and ablest advocates of the essential difference between the Hellenes and the Pelasgi, admits that the Hellenes incorporated with themselves the Pelasgi and the other tribes which preceded them (see *Phil. Mus.* p. 317), a circumstance which could hardly be without influence upon the Hellenes themselves. On the other hand I think it must be conceded, that the names we have examined would not have been given to the elder tribes, had their successors differed from them only as Dorians differed in speech from Ionians. The precise amount of the difference it is and must remain impossible to determine: that it was such as not to exclude a radical similarity of language is proved, by the only evidence of which such a hypothesis is susceptible: it solves all the phænomena, and no other hypothesis does the same.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Δωδώνη* has been considered incapable of a Greek etymology. The following, if it be not convincing, may be plausible enough to take away the force of a negative argument. *ὄζος* is a branch, and on the authority of the analogy of *ὄζω*, *ὄδωδα*, *odor*, we may safely suppose a kindred form *ὄδος*. With the intensive prefix, *δα*, *Δωδώνη* would be the place of thick branches, or grove. Thasus was anciently called *Ὀδωνίς*, (*Hesych.*); but its name *θάσος* is *ἀπο τοῦ δάσος* (*Etym. M.* p. 443), which *Hesychius* explains *σύνδενδρος τόπος*. This intensive *δα* is found in other proper names, *Δωρίς* (*δα ὄρος*), *Δαυλὶς* (*δα ὕλη*), *Paus.* p. 807. *Bodona* stands in the same relation to *Dodona* as *bis* to *δῖς*, *Βελφούς* to *Δελφούς*, *bellum* to *duellum*. *Maittaire*, p. 139. *Strabo* observes of all the *Larissæ* that they were *ποταμόχωστοι*, p. 891. This implies the action of a powerful stream, which was found in the neighbourhood of the *Larissa* of Thessaly, of the Troad, and of Syria; and the plain of Argos was well watered,

A trace of this difference may be found I think in Herodotus' account of the oracle of Dodona, when stripped of those circumstances with which it has been dressed up by Egyptian mendacity on the one hand and Greek credulity, not without a mixture of the former quality, on the other. That a priestess or sacred attendant was carried off from Thebes by Phœnicians, and brought to Dodona, and her sister to Lilga, and that the Egyptians sought them in all directions without success, till they heard long after what was become of them, is a story very fit to be told by the Theban *verger* to the wandering Greek, who, with the prodigies of the city of Jupiter before his eyes, thought nothing incredible: but it is astonishing that it should have passed current in an age of historical criticism. Pure fiction however is as rare as pure truth; and there is a nucleus round which the largest accretion must have been deposited. If the Hellenes continued to resort to Dodona, from the antiquity and authority of this earliest of oracles, as we know they did, they would of course hear a language there which they might indeed easily understand, which might be interpreted to them if they did not understand it, but which would differ so much from their own, that they would call it the language of birds, and the priestess who uttered it a *πελειάς*. Possibly when the name Pelasgi had already become a mere national appellative, and had ceased to suggest the idea of a barbarous speech, the oracle might affect an ancient dialect, until by degrees the difference wore out, and the dove spoke with a human voice. The blackness of the dove¹⁷ which seems to have influenced Herodotus in believing the foundress of the oracle to have been an Egyptian, was an inference from the name *πελειάς*, *πελὰς* being an old form for *μελὰς*, whence *πελαργοί*, *black-white*, alluding to the marked contrast of these colours in the plumage of the stork. 'Η *πελειὰς*, says Arist. H. An. v. 11, *καὶ μέλαν καὶ μικρόν*. I see nothing

though the citadel was dry. We may venture then to derive the name from *ρέω* with the intensive prefix *λα*. *Λαδρέοντι*. *παρὰ τὸ λα καὶ τὸ ρέω*, *λαρέοντι*, *μεγάλως ρέοντι*, *καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ δ*. Etym. M. The *ι* is long by nature; for on most of the coins of Larissa the name is *Λαρισα* or *Λαρισαιων*, which favours the derivation from *ρέω*.

¹⁷ According to Athenæus (ix. 394), the Dorians used *πελειάς* for *περιστερά*, i. e. the specific name of the black pigeon for the general name of the tribe.

incredible in the account of Herodotus that the Pelasgi, understood only of those of Dodona, probably their primitive seat, once knew no distinctive names for their gods. Their Δεὺς, afterwards the father of gods, seems θεὸς in an older form; and Διώνη, the nymph of Dodona and first wife of Jupiter (Creuzer Myth. iv. 172. 173), and Δευνὼ, which we must suppose the origin of the Latin *Juno*, only present the same idea with feminine terminations.

The view I have taken of the meaning of the name Pelasgi is certainly inconsistent with the account that “all Greece was once called Pelasgia,” which Herodotus, ii. 56, seems to imply. But is this account of any historical value? In Homer’s time the name Pelasgi was limited to Epirus, Thessaly, Crete, and Asia Minor; and the name Pelasgia never occurs in his poems at all. It must then have been used in this extended sense long prior to the Homeric times; and where are the proofs of its use? Were there authors older than Homer, in whom the name occurred? This Herodotus himself distinctly denies; all the poets who were said to have lived before him, had really lived after him; and prose-writers are out of the question. Did foreign nations call Greece Pelasgia? Certainly not, as far as we can judge from the books of Scripture, which alone are older than the time of Homer. Either therefore the application of the name Pelasgia to the whole of Greece rests on the same kind of authority as that of Cranaa to Attica, and many others, and has no historical foundation at all, or it expresses an inference from the fact that there was scarcely any part of Greece in which traces of Pelasgian population might not be discerned. This was no doubt true, but is not at all inconsistent with my explanation of the name.

A question naturally arises here: were these different tribes, Pelasgi, Leleges, &c. distinct? or is Pelasgi a generic name like Hellenes, and Leleges, Dryopes, Caucones subordinate divisions, like those of Dorian and Ionian? I see no means of obtaining a satisfactory answer to this question. Their names appear to resolve themselves into a varied expression of the same idea; but as this only denotes their difference in speech from those who gave them their names, it can afford us no information as to their affinity with each other. That the speech of all was radically Greek I should infer,

as in the case of the Pelasgi, from the absence of all traces, in the regions which they occupied, of the prevalence of a language, which described the great objects of nature by words of different roots from the Greek. With this presumption, I think, we must be content: but were I to offer a conjecture as to their common character, it would be that the Doric dialect, in its oldest form, is the link which connects *all* the vanished races, of whom we have been speaking as inhabiting Greece, with the Hellenic language, and that the Ionic was from the remotest times essentially contrasted with all the others. To justify this conjecture, which excludes the Pelasgi from an influence on the Ionic and consequently on the Attic language, it would be necessary to enter into an examination of the grounds on which Herodotus considered the inhabitants of Attica to have been once Pelasgians. The way has been prepared for such an examination by what has been said on the nature of the evidence on which it was presumed that *all* Greece was once called Pelasgia. If the reader, bearing this in mind, adverts also to the circumstance, that Herodotus appears to have thought that whatever was true of the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians of Attica, was true also of the antehellenic Pelasgi generally, and *vice versa* (II. 51. I. 57)¹⁸, he will perceive that it is not the testimony of the Father of History which is questioned, but only the soundness of his historical theories.

M. C. Y.

J. K.

¹⁸ On the same presumptive grounds, as it seems, he says (VII. 94), that the Ionians when they inhabited the shore of the bay of Corinth were called Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες.

DE PAUSANIAE STILO
AUGUSTI BOECKHII PROLUSIO ACADEMICA.

VETERUM scriptorum tractatio, qua magna pars juvenilis institutionis continetur, quum plurimis non tam ob res et sententias, quam ob eas, quae inde animis adolescentium imprimantur, formas utilissima visa sit; subit mirari, dum grammatica utriusque linguae ratio a permultis eximie exponitur, genera dicendi, quibus ipsis variae dictionis formae potissimum comprehenduntur, ita hodie negligi, ut criticorum, qui nunc sunt, acutissimi vix prima illius disciplinae rudimenta teneant, nec cum Dionysii Halicarnassensis vel Longini vel Hermogenis arte et peritia comparari ullo modo possint. Nempe ut nihil expeditius, quam elegantiam scriptoris laudibus inanibus extollere; ita acre et subtile stilorum iudicium in difficillimis philologi muneribus ponendum videtur, quum praesertim ea res non singularum collatione formularum perfici queat, sed ex soni similitudine et discrepantia et ex peculiari, quam unumquemque scriptorem legendo patiamur, mentis affectione interiore pendeat. Ex quo genere siquam angusto hoc loco conjecturam periclitamur, venia nobis petenda est, quod paucis significamus sententiam, quae sine uberiore disputatione absolvi nequeat.

Inter scriptores Graecos recentiores, si Sophistarum declamationes exceperis, pauci sunt stili proprietate tam insignes quam Pausanias, quem in Graeciae descriptione certam quandam dictionis formam aemulari nemo negaverit. Sed quaenam illa forma sit, non videtur satis curiose quaesitum esse. Etenim qui rhetoris Cappadocis ingenium, quale epigrammate Anthologiae¹ designatur, in Pausania sibi agnoscere visi sunt, eos nuperus editor de scriptore suo bene meritus² vel ideo recte

¹ Anthol. Palat. t. II. p. 444.

² Siebelis Praefat. ed. maj. t. I. p. XVII. sq.

vituperavit, quod Periegeten Pausaniam putarunt illum Cappadocem, Herodis Attici discipulum esse, cuius orationem Philostratus³ validam dicit fuisse, nec ab antiquo dicendi genere discrepantem: noster enim Pausanias nec Cappadox fuit neque antiqui stili oratorii, hoc est Attici, ulla offert vestigia; quippe aliud est antiquum stilum referre, aliud antiqua verba captare: ex quibus hoc, non illud in ejus, quod superest, operis auctorem cadit. Accedit, quod Cappadocis Pausaniae oratio Herodeae similis aliquatenus Philostrato testante fuit; cui Periegetae dictio nulla ex parte congrua est. At plurimi inde a Xylandro in eam sententiam discesserunt, Herodoti imitorem Pausaniam fuisse⁴: quod ut verum est, ita magis in singulis vocibus formulisque et sentiis, quibus stilus non absolvitur, quam in universo orationis habitu et colore cernitur: et quum Herodoteae dictionis virtus potissima in dulcedine et nativa jucunditate posita sit, in Pausania callidus harum rerum iudex vix quidquam dulce gratumve reppererit. Aut fallimur magnopere, aut unde stilum suum Pausanias certe magna ex parte formaverit, simplicissima via invenimus. Quippe in forma orationis nihil mentem magis ferit quam numerus: quodsi, qualis numerus sit, recte constitueris, stili ipsius proprietatem definiveris: cetera enim ut plurimum in eundem modum composita reperiuntur. Jam vero cujus aures Atticis numeris assueverint, dum Pausaniam viva voce recitat, ne unam quidem periodum apte cadentem deprehenderit: ita omnia fracta, concisa, inversa, perturbata sunt; quae praeponenda ceteris verbis fuisse arbitreris, ea postposita, quae postponenda, ea occupata sunt; denique verborum collocatio prorsus ea est, ut auctor legentes quasi deludere videatur, ne recte intelligi possit. Praeterea dictio jejuna, exilis, exsanguis est: quod ante nos alii notarunt. Ut uno verbo omnia comprehendamus, stilus *Asianus* et *Hegesiacus* est; quem excoluit *Hegesias Magnes Sipylenus*, hoc est Pausaniae popularis⁵: sive, quod verisimillimum, haec rhetorum secta in

³ Vit. Sophist. II. 13.

⁴ V. Siebelis l. c. p. xx. sq. Qui Thucydidis sectatorem Pausaniam dixit, ejus aures mire comparatae fuerint.

⁵ Lydum esse Pausaniam et ad Sipylum diutius commoratum, rectissime monuit Siebelis l. c. p. v. collatis locis scriptoris v, 13, 4. II, 22, 4. I, 21, 5, I,

Hegesiae patria usque ad Pausaniam perduravit, eâque hic institutus domi est, sive Pausanias popularis sui stilum sponte amplexus eum in patriae honorem opere suo celebrare voluit: ut, quum nullum paulo amplius Asianae dictionis specimen supersit, illa qualis fuerit, jam ex ipso potissimum Pausania cognoscendum videatur. Enimvero Hegesias rhetor,⁶ qui Ptolemaeis Lagide et Philadelpho imperantibus floruit, dum studet Atticum Charisium imitari, ejusque vult similis esse, atque ita se Atticum putat, ut veros illos Atticos prae se paene agrestes judicet,⁷ Asiani stili fundamenta jecit, corrupta Attica dicendi forma⁸; eoque non solum in orationibus, sed etiam in Alexandri rebus gestis tradendis usus est. Eum Cicero⁹ perverse fugere numerosam comprehensionem docet; idemque de eodem: “Sunt etiam, inquit, qui illo vitio, quod ab Hegesia fluxit, infringendis concidendisque numeris in quoddam genus abjectum incidant, Siculorum simillimum.” Adde Theonem¹⁰: ‘Επιμελητέον δὲ καὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων, πάντα διδάσκοντα ἐξ ὧν διαφεύζονται τὸ κακῶς συντιθέναι, καὶ μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἔμμετρον καὶ εὐρυθμον λέξιν, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Ἡγησίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν καλουμένων ῥητόρων. Quae vero supersunt paucula stili Hegesiaci exempla, ea ita similia Pausaniae numeris sunt, ut eundem te scriptorem tenere putes; veluti quae Dionysius¹¹ servavit: “Ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ἐορτῆς ἀγαθὴν ἄγομεν ἄλλην,” “Ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας εἰμὶ τῆς μεγάλης Σιπυλεύς,” “Οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν εἰς Θηβαίων ὕδωρ ἔπτυσεν ὁ Διόνυσος· ἡδὺς (sc. ὁ Ἴσμηνός) μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ, ποιεῖ δὲ μαίνεσθαι.” Neque alius generis est illud exemplum, quod Herodoti verbis trans-

24, 8. Immo toties Sipylenas res commemorat, ut Sipylenum Magnetem fuisse non dubitemus: cf. praeter locos modo allatos vi, 22, 1. viii, 2, 3. coll. iii, 22. 4. item viii, 17, 3. Postremo x, 4, 4, Cleonis Magnetis Sipyleni familiares sermones refert.

⁶ De eo v. imprimis Voss. H. Gr. t. i. p. 80 sq. Ruhnken. ad Rutil. Lup. p. 25 sqq.

⁷ Sunt verba Ciceronis Brut. 83.

⁸ Strabo xiv. p. 959. ‘Ἡγησίας ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὃς ἤρξε μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ λεγομένου στύλου, παραφθείρας τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἔθος τὸ Ἀττικόν.

⁹ Orat. c. 67. 79.

¹⁰ Progymnasm. 2. ubi cave εὐρυθμον male intelligas.

¹¹ De comp. verb. c. 4.

ponendis finxit ipse Dionysius et Ἡγησιακὸν σχῆμα τῆς συνθέσεως, μικρόκομψον, ἀγεννὲς, μαλθακὸν appellat: Ἀλυάπτου μὲν υἱὸς ἦν Κροῖσος, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ τύραννος ἐθνῶν· ὃς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ῥέων Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων μεταξὺ, πρὸς βορέαν ἔξεισιν ἄνεμον εἰς τὸν καλούμενον πόντον Εὐξεινον. Quarum nugarum ubi Hegesiam sacerdotem Dionysius dicit, quis non Pausaniam eorundem vel pontificem maximum dixerit? Adeo in eum omnia quadrant, quae alio loco¹² de Hegesia pronunciavit Dionysius: ubi fracto isti homini dubitans utrum tam hebes et crassum ingenium fuerit, ut non potuerit perspicere, qui numeri generosi, qui ignobiles sint, an tam attonita mens, ut melioribus perspectis tamen deteriores praeferret, hoc alterum videtur haud immerito existimare, quod per tot ejus scripta ne una quidem pagella reperiatur feliciter composita. Idem Hegesias casus graves et miserandos exilibus verbis describere,¹³ et in iis pro dictione vere grandi pravis et male fucatis argutiis uti solitus est¹⁴: et illa quidem exilitate non cedit Hegesiae bellorum Messeniacorum apud Pausaniam narratio, in qua contexenda alio insuper Asiani stili auctore, Myrone Prienensi,¹⁵ usus est. Postremo in eo quoque Hegesiae similem Pausaniam judicamus, quod ille, ut Cicero¹⁶ ait, “non minus sententiis peccavit quam verbis: ut non quaereret, quem appellaret ineptum, qui illum cognosset;” et quod Hegesias fabulis nimium indulsit.¹⁷ Lydis tamen vel Phrygibus, et popularibus potissimum Sipylenis, ea praesertim aetate, qua Graecae litterae labentes Sophistarum maxime ingeniis sustentarentur, quidni Hegesias potuerit placere dignumque, quod aemularentur, specimen videri, qui ipsi M. Terentio Varroni, masculae linguae auctori praestantissimo, stilum suum probaverit¹⁸?

Scrib. Berolini d. III. m. Iul. a. MD.CCC.XXIV.

¹² De comp. verb. c. 18, p. 244-254. ed. Schaefer.

¹³ Vide locum ap. Dionys. de comp. verb. c. 18.

¹⁴ Agatharchides exempla praebet ap. Phot. cod. 250. p. 1335. Cf. Longin. π. ὑψ. 3. Nec meliora sunt, quae Strabo ix, p. 607. ex oratione Hegesiae servavit.

¹⁵ iv, 6. Fragmenta v. ap. Athen. vi, p. 271. F. xiv, p. 657. D. Is idem haud dubie est atque ille Rutilio Lupo commemoratus: et hunc quidem Ruhnkenius Hist. crit. or. p. 167. ed. Reisk. recte, opinor, Asianis accenset.

¹⁶ Orat. 67.

¹⁷ Gell. N. A. ix, 4.

¹⁸ Cic. ad Att. xii, 6.

ON CERTAIN FRAGMENTS QUOTED BY
HERODIAN THE GRAMMARIAN.

IN a treatise by the grammarian Herodian, entitled *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*, that is, touching singular exceptions to grammatical rules in the Greek language, which was discovered some years ago in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and was published by Dindorf in the first volume of his *Grammatici Graeci*, a collection which unfortunately was never continued, there are some fragments, which, though taken from obscure writers, are yet deserving of notice, as possessing a certain degree of historical value. Two of them in particular claim attention, as serving to illustrate Herodotus and Pausanias.

The first is quoted, p. 11, 19, to exemplify the word *Ψύλλος*, and stands as follows: *Ψύλλος ἀγροιώτας ἀπὸ Λιβυκῶν. ἀνδρωθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀμφιθέμιν πλησιάσαι ταῖς νύμφαις, καὶ γεννῆσαι παῖδα μυρμαδάναρ· αὐδακηνας· βυγάνμα· καλομάκαν Ψύλλον, ἀφ' οὗ Ψύλλοι τὸ ἔθνος.* The learned editor conceives that this passage was taken from the *Libyca* of Juba (Praef. p. ix—x): but in the hurry of publication he forgot that there was another writer of African stories, whose name comes much nearer to the corrupt reading of the text, and to whom the fragment no doubt belongs; I mean *Agroetas* (*Ἀγροίτας*), whose Libyan histories are cited by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 498, iv. 1396, and apparently by Stephanus Byz. v. *Ἀμπελος*.

The whole fragment is very corrupt; but with the help of Herodotus it will not be difficult to restore some of the original readings. *Psyllus*, one of the sons of *Amphithemis*, is stated to have been the progenitor of the *Psylli*, a well-known people of Libya, noticed by Herodotus and other ancient writers;

whence it may be naturally conjectured that the other sons were also the parents of different African tribes. This supposition is strengthened by the resemblance between the corrupt words in the fragment and the list of the Libyan nations given by Herodotus, iv. 168–173. Thus we may trace the Ἀδυρμαχίδας under μυρμαδάναρ; and the Ἀφάκη of Stephanus Byz. under Αὐδακὴν. Ἀσβυγὰν, or, as we ought probably to read, Ἀσβυτὰν, points to the Ἀσβύσται. We should then read Μακαλον, or rather Βάκαλον· Μάκαν. The last word evidently refers to the Μάκαι who dwelt near the river Cinyps. With respect to Μάκαλον there is little doubt that this is a faulty reading for Βάκαλον, which name comes very near that of a small African district called *Bacalitis* by Ptolemy, and placed by him near the Egyptian border. Herodotus, according to the received text, does not name the people of this little tract; but it may reasonably be questioned whether the reading Βάκαλες, exhibited by several respectable MSS in c. 171, is not preferable to Κάβαλες, if we take into consideration the apparent support it derives from this fragment of Agrætas, and the positive authority of Ptolemy. To which it may be added that in Nonnus, Dionys. xiii. 376, all the previous editions have Αὐχῆται Βάκαλές τε συνήλυδες; which Graefe, of his own authority apparently, has altered into Κάβαλες.

Since we are discussing a various reading in Herodotus, we may be allowed to take this opportunity of making a few observations on another national name in that author. In the 3d book, c. 90, where he enumerates the different districts of Asia Minor which paid tribute to the Persian monarch, he says of the second division, Ἀπὸ Μυσῶν, καὶ Λυδῶν, καὶ Λασιονίων, καὶ Καβαλίων, καὶ Ὑγεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δεύτερος οὗτος. With respect to the last of these names the readings vary, and Schweighæuser observes, “Ὑγεννέων suspectum nomen, Αὐτενέων nonnulli.” The latter reading is supported by several respectable MSS. Wesseling was inclined to defend the received text by referring it to Obigene, a Lycaonian district mentioned by Pliny; but this is probably the same as the Phœbagina of Ptolemy, and would be too remote to be mentioned here. In Stephanus Byz. we find a town named Hytenna: Ὑτεννα, πόλις Λυκίας· ὁ οἰκῆτωρ Ὑτεννεύς. This,

as Valckenaer observed, is likely to be the name referred to by Herodotus: at the same time it should be observed that Stephanus, by placing it in Lycia, a circumstance not specified by Herodotus, leads us to suppose he derived his information from some other writer. The reading *Αὐτεννέων* or *Ὑτεννέων* seems therefore preferable to *Ὑγεννέων*: and it is not unlikely that this may be the same people which Strabo calls *Κατεννεῖς*, XII. p. 570, and Polybius *Ἐτεννεῖς*, v. 73. For though at that period they belonged to Pisidia, there is nothing improbable in supposing that with the Cabalians they had once formed part of the Mæonian or Lydian nation. With respect to the *Lasonii*, or *Alysonii* according to some MSS, who are mentioned in the same passage, they are perhaps to be referred to Lysinœ, a town likewise in Pisidia, and near Sagalassus: Liv. XXXVIII. 15, Polyb. Exc. XXII. 19. Ptolemy calls it *Lysinia*. In the 7th Book of Herodotus (c. 77) the Cabelians are said to be Mæonians, but called *Lasonii*, and to have been armed after the Cilician fashion.

The next fragment quoted by Herodian on which we have to offer some remarks, is from Dinias, an author of whom little is known except that he wrote Argolic histories. The scholiast on Sophocles, *Electr.* v. 281, quotes the 7th book of that work; and he is also cited by the scholiast on Euripides, *Orest.* v. 869. The passage adduced by Herodian is probably derived from the same source; and according to the Copenhagen MS stands thus, p. 8, 12. *Τὸ γὰρ χοίρα ἐκτείνεται κατὰ τὸ ἐπώνυμον, ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ Δεινίᾳ λέγεται δὲ, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καθ' ὃν ἐν τῇ γαίᾳ χρόνον ἦσαν αἰχμάλωτοι, δεδεμένους ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὸν Λαχᾶν ποταμὸν, Περιμήδας ἐν τῇ γέᾳ δυναστευούσης, ἣν οἱ πλείστοι καλοῦσι χοίραν.* Dindorf observes that *τῇ γαίᾳ* and *τῇ γέᾳ* must be changed into *Τεγέα*, adding, “*quae Dinias narrat ab aliis tradita non vidi.*” It can hardly be doubted however that he is speaking of the same events which are mentioned by Herodotus, i. 66, where we are told how the Lacedæmonians in a war against Tegea carried fetters with them, in obedience to an oracle which they interpreted in their favour; how they were defeated, and several of them were taken captive by the enemy, who bound them with their own chains,

and compelled them to work in the plain of Tegea. Οἱ δὲ (Λακεδαιμόνιοι), says the historian, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγεή-
 τας ἐστρατεύοντο χρησμῶ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδρα-
 ποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας· ἐσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι
 αὐτέων ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ,
 καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζον-
 το· αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέετο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ
 ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρε-
 μάμεναι. The statement of Herodotus that the fetters were
 preserved in the temple of Minerva at Tegea, is confirmed
 by Pausanias, Arcad. ch. 47. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πέδαι κρεμάμεναι,
 πλὴν ὅσας ἠφάνισεν αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος, [ἢ] ὅσας γε ἔχοντες
 Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὸ πεδῖον Τεγεάταις ἔσκαπτον.
 He adds, a little further on, that in the same temple was
 to be seen suspended the shield of Marpessa a Tegean woman,
 known also by the surname of Χήρα, that is, the *widow*.
 Μαρπήσσης τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Χήρας γυναικὸς Τεγεάτιδος ἀνά-
 κειται τὸ ὄπλον. In the next chapter he again mentions
 this amazon, and tells us that in the war against the
 Lacedæmonians she greatly distinguished herself at the head
 of a body of her countrymen, and contributed mainly to
 the success of the Tegeates. This is said to have occurred
 when Charillus, king of Sparta, invaded Arcadia; and Cha-
 rillus commanded when the Lacedæmonians were deceived
 by the ambiguous oracle, Lacon. ch. 27; so that the two
 events coincide in regard to time and other circumstances.

A question now naturally suggests itself whether the Mar-
 pessa of Pausanias may not be the same person as the Pe-
 rimede of Dinias. The surnames they give are so nearly
 alike as to favour this supposition; and Dinias, by saying
 that Perimede was by most called Χοίρα, implies that there
 was some difference on this point. There might also be a
 corresponding difference in the name of this Tegean heroine;
 and her exploits may have led to the notion that she was
 the princess of Tegea, as Dinias terms her. As he was an-
 terior to Pausanias, it seems natural to suppose that his
 means of information would be superior; but we are not suf-
 ficiently acquainted with the time in which he wrote, or the
 character of his history, to judge what credit is due to his tes-
 timony on this matter. What he says of the Spartans work-

ing by the river Lachas is neither mentioned by Herodotus nor by Pausanias; and it is somewhat singular that the latter, who is so minute in his topographical account of Tegea and its territory, should have omitted speaking of this stream. The passage, as it stands at present, needs correction in this place; and the name of the river is probably corrupt. Perhaps the author wrote thus: *δεδεμένους ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ὃ ἔλαχον ἀποταμόντας*; answering to the expression of Herodotus, *σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πέδιον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο*. We have chanced to meet with this fragment among other extracts from Herodian in a MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cod. Barocc. 72 f. 57 a. from which we will transcribe it for the sake of the various readings. *Λέγει ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ μονήρους λέξεως, ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰς ῥᾶ λήγον θηλυκὸν δισύλλαβον τῇ οἱ διφθόγγῳ παραλήγεται ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ μοῖρα ἀπηνέγκατο τήνδε τὴν παραλήγουσαν. τὸ γὰρ Χοῖρα ἐκτείνεται κατὰ τὸ ἐπώνυμον ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ Δεινίᾳ “λέγεται γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καθ’ ὃν ἐντελέα χρόνον ἦσαν αἰχμάλωτοι, δεδεμένους ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὸν Λαχᾶν ποταμόν. Περιμήδεας ἐν Τεγαίᾳ δυναστευούσης· ἣν οἱ πλείστοι καλοῦσι Χοῖραν.”*

The treatise of Herodian from which these extracts are derived, is very rich in fragments of every kind; but they are generally in a very corrupt state. We shall venture to propose the following corrections.

P. 7, 9. *Εἰρημένον ἐν Σαμίῳ ὄροις—τῇ δὲ νῇ τῶν Πυθαγορείων τις τὸν φυρτὸν ἐλάμβανε.* Read *ἐν Σαμίῳ ὄροις τῆς δὲ νῆς τῶν Πυθαγορείων τις τὸν φορτὸν ἐλάμβανε.*

P. 7, 29. Sapph. Frag. *Ψάειν δὲ οὐ δοκεῖ μοι ὠρανῶ δυσπαχέα.* read *δυσπαλές.*

P. 8, 35. *φαμενὸς Σοφοκλῆς· μάντεσσι ξουθὸς φαμενὸς Τειρεσίου παῖς.* this should be *Σοφοκλῆς Μάντεσι.*

P. 9, 10. *ὥς παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Αἰχμαλωτίσιν εἴρηται Σαρπηδὼν ἀκτὴ· ἐν Τυμπανισταῖς. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ἄστροις ἐνθα Σαρπηδὼν πέτρα.* If, as we are inclined to think, *ἄστροις* is corrupt, we would propose *Ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐν Ἀσταῖς, ἐνθα Σαρπηδὼν πέτρα.* The Astæ were a nation of Thrace, according to Strabo (vii. p. 319—20) and Steph. Byz. v. Ἀσταί, apparently not far from Mount Hæmus, to which the Sarpedonian

rock belonged, as Pherecydes reported. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 326.

P. 10, 32. Σώφρων τε τὴν κλητικὴν ἔφη· Ποτίδα δραστοχαῖτα. We would read Ποτίδα δροσοχαῖτα.

P. 15, 24. We have here a fragment from the Naupactia, a poem which Pausanias ascribed to Carcinus of Naupactus, on the authority of Charon of Lampsacus: Phoc. c. 38.

Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ νευσὶ θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο

Οἰκίαν ναιετιασκε πολύρρην, πολυβοώτης,

In the first line read ἐπὶ θινὶ, in the second οἰκία and πουλυβοώτης.

P. 19, 5. Σκύμνος ἐν τῷ ἰ τῆς Ἀσίας περίπλω· εὐρέθη ἔχεται Κελένδερὶς πόλις Σαμίων, καὶ ἱερὸν παρὰ τῇ πόλει νήρης καὶ ἄλσος. Ἴς ποταμὸς παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔξεισιν. The lines of Scymnus are thrown into such disorder here, that it is very difficult to restore them; but there can be no doubt that we should read Ἡρης, the Samian goddess, for νήρης.

P. 21, 12. ἀπέραντά ἐστιν ἄκαιρος· εὐκαιρος· εὐπάλαιρος· ἐστὶ δὲ χωρίον τῆς ἀκαρίας· μέμνηται καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ὥς ἐν ἐλπίδι πλούτῳ· οὐτουν παλαιρὸς οὔτε βοιαντοῦ. We should read ἀπέραντά ἐστιν ἄκαιρος· εὐκαιρος· Πάλαιρος· ἐστὶ δὲ χωρίον τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας· μέμνηται καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἐλπίδι ἢ Πλούτῳ.

Οὐτουν Παλαρεὺς οὔτε Βοιαντός. This line seems something like a parody of the verse of Alcman.

Οὐδ' Ἐρυσιχαῖος, Καλυδώνιος οὐδὲ ποιμήν.

P. 26, 20. Ἐφυλαξάμην δὲ διαλέκτους διὰ τόδε· ἄλλ' ἄν μοι μεγαλύνεο δακτυλίῳ πέρι καὶ ἄλλαν μὴ καμεστέραν φρένα καὶ ἄβρα· δεῦτε πάγχυς πάλαι ἀλλόμαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡλλόμην. These fragments appear to be from Sappho and Alcæus, and may have stood thus—

Ἄλλαν μοι μεγαλύνεο δακτυλίῳ πέρι.
καὶ

Ἄλλαν μὴ τι καμμέτεραν φρένα
καὶ

Ἀβραδάτη ἐπ' ἐγχεσπάλῳ ἀλλόμαν.

P. 26, 28. τὸ αἰσχοῦν ὁ εἴρηται παρὰ τῷ τοὺς εἴλω τασαίμην· ἀλλὰ μισχοῦν καθήμενοι. Read παρὰ τῷ τοὺς Εἴλωτας.

Ναὶ μὲν ἀλλὰ μῆσχουν καθήμενοι.
Athenæus assigns this drama to Eupolis, iv. p. 138 E.

P. 36, 1. In the fragment of Alcæus,
Επὶ γὰρ τὸ πάρος ὄνειαρὸν ἱκνεῖται
we should perhaps read ὄνειαρ ἀνικνεῖται. In another fragment which occurs p. 23, 10, and which Dindorf conceives to be from the same poet,

ὄρνιθες ὠκὺν αἰετὸν ἐξαπτήνας φανέντα,
that scholar reads

ὄρνιθες ὠκὺν αἰετὸν ἔπτασαν
φανέντα.

Perhaps it should be ἔπτασαν ἐξαπίνης φανέντα. So Sophocles in the Ajax, v. 167,

παταγοῦσιν, ἅτε πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι·
μέγαν αἰγυπιὸν δ' ὑποδείσαντες
ταχ' ἂν ἐξαίφνης, εἰ σὺ φανείης,
σιγῇ πτήξειαν ἄφωνοι.

P. 38, 26. λισσὸς, πολίχνιον Κρήτης· παρνὸς ὃς ῥένι παῖω
οἰγνωσσον τεῖχος. Read λισσὸς πολίχνιον Κρήτης. Παῖσος·
Ὅς ῥ' ἐν Παίσῳ (Iliad. E. 612). Γνωσσός· οἱ Γνωσσόν τ' εἶχον
(Iliad. B. 644.)

P. 42, 14. Σημεῖωδες ἄρα τὸ στρουθὸς ὀξυνόμενον, ἰσίχαρις
δέ φησιν Ἀττικὸν βαρύνειν τὸ ὄνομα, read with the scholiast to Aristophanes Av. 876. Bekker. Χάρης δέ φησιν. Or it may have been written Χαρίσιος. See Bekker Anecd. Gr. Ind. Auct. Chares.

P. 46, 14. Εὐφορίων παρὰ τὸ εἰς ὕς παράγωγον ποιήσας
ἐπίρρημα, οὐκ ἔδωκε πρὸ τέλους τὸ ὕ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἦ, πάντα δέ
οἱ νεκρυὰ ἐλευκαῖνον τὰ πρόσωπα. This should be Πάντα δέ
οἱ νεκρυδὸν ἐλευκαῖνοντο πρόσωπα, and we think it should be
νεκρυδὸν in Bekker's Anecd. Gr. p. 941, 29. instead of νεκυδόν.

P. 14, 30. Dindorf says he does not understand the passage in which Herodian speaks of the various modes of declining οὔας the ear. Herodian observes that the genitive from οὔας is οὔατος, from ὀάς, ὀάτος, and he adds, that it is also ὠτὸς and ὀός, οὐκ εἰρημένον μὲν συνεσχηματισμένον δὲ παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ ἄμφω. This, as Dindorf justly remarks, refers to the use of the word ἀμφῶες in that poet (Idyl. i. 28); but he has not caught the drift of the grammarian's observation. We suppose he meant to say that the declension in ὀός is used

by Theocritus, not however in the simple noun, but compounded with ἄμφω. The last sentence is corrupt—παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ ἄμφω. ἔστω μέντοι οὗς. ζητητέον τὴν κλίσιν. It should be παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ ἀμφῶες τοῦ μέντοι οὗς ζητητέον τὴν κλίσιν. That is, he purposes to discuss the declension of οὗς elsewhere.

I. A. C.

which metaphysical subtilty delights to elaborate in the region of incomprehensible mysteries, or else one of those articles of faith which we have pickt up without well knowing how or why, and our chief reason for believing which is that our ancestors did so before us, and that everybody nowadays does the same. In orthography, it is evident, the ignorance must be of the latter kind: we spell so and so, without well knowing why, except that all the world spells so: and we are angry with anybody who spells otherwise, because he pretends to have a reason, where we have none. For Reason is so much the best of all allies, and, in the long run at least, so much the mightiest, that nobody who has her on his side will readily betake himself to any other, least of all to those whose intrusion is sure to drive her out of the field. If it be but possible to shew reasonable grounds in behalf of the alterations I have ventured to make, it is needless to reply to the other charges urged against them, further than by observing that affectation and presumption are imputations which everybody must make up his mind to face, if he feels any scruple about following the multitude in what he believes to be wrong.

In considering the propriety of any change in the orthography of a language it is plain that there are two points to be settled; first, whether it be expedient or allowable to innovate at all, to deviate in anything from that common usage, which Horace, as one is sure to be reminded, declares to be the despotic lawgiver in all matters pertaining to speech; and secondly, whether the particular innovation proposed be allowable and expedient.

Now with regard to the first question it is worth while to inquire for a moment what this usage is, which is entitled to exercise such an absolute undisputed sway in all questions connected with language. It is nothing tangible or definite; it has no determinate organ to promulgate its decrees; its voice is made up of myriads of voices blending in almost undistinguishable confusion. The language of a people is the exponent of that people's feelings and thoughts; and the usage by which that language is regulated is the aggregate of those feelings and thoughts. But while on the one hand among those feelings and thoughts there must always be much

that is arbitrary and capricious, and no little that is mistaken and wrong, it is by no means necessary to exclude reason and intelligence from the list of those elements which lend their aid to the structure of language. It is true, reason is not, never has been, and never can be, the generative creative principle of any language: its operation is altogether regulative, mainly by its unconscious influence on the generative powers, but in some measure also as a corrective, when those powers have been deluded and gone astray. For language has no privileged immunity from error, any more than the other works of man. In the structure of every language we trace the action of certain general laws: every people in the attempt to find vocal symbols for its emotions and ideas is guided by certain feelings or notions of propriety or analogy: these feelings and notions however are for the most part faint and obscure, and may easily happen to be altogether misplaced. But when such is the case, it is by no means impossible or inadmissible for an error to be got rid of or suppressed. On the contrary this process has been perpetually carried on in every written language under the sun, by those who have endeavoured to make the speech of the people a vehicle for high and deep thoughts, by those who have blended the various dialects of the vulgar into the harmonious whole of a literary language. Nor is usage a thing fixt and unchangeable: at no moment of time can it be so: on the contrary it is perpetually fluctuating with the feelings and notions of the people who settles it: a dead language may be fixt and unchangeable; but not so a living one. And even a dead language, when it is employed for anything more important than the composition of artificial flowers, for anything that takes root in and grows up out of the age that gives birth to it, is forced to undergo sundry modifications ere it can suit the ideas it is wanted to express; as may be seen in those modern writers of Latin whose works, like those of Thomas Aquinas and the schoolmen, of the two Bacons, of Descartes, of Leibnitz, belong to the progressive intellect of mankind.

A very slight acquaintance with the history of our own language will teach us that the speech of Chaucer's age is not the speech of Skelton's, that there is a great difference between the language under Elizabeth and that under Charles the First,

between that under Charles the First and Charles the Second, between that under Charles the Second and Queen Anne, that considerable changes had taken place between the beginning and the middle of the last century, and that Johnson and Fielding did not write altogether as we do now. For in the course of a nation's progress new ideas are evermore mounting above the horizon, while others are lost sight of and sink below it: others again change their form and aspect; others, which seemed united, split into parts. And as it is with ideas, so is it with their symbols, words. New ones are perpetually coined to meet the demand of an advancing understanding, of new feelings that have sprung out of the decay of old ones, of ideas that have shot forth from the summit of the tree of our knowledge: old words meanwhile fall into disuse and become obsolete: others have their meaning narrowed and defined: synonyms diverge from each other, and their property is parted between them: nay, whole classes of words will now and then be thrown overboard, as new feelings or perceptions of analogy gain ground. A history of the language in which all these vicissitudes should be pointed out, in which the introduction of every new word should be noted, so far as it is possible—and much may be done in this way by laborious and vigilant and judicious research—in which such words as have become obsolete should be followed down to their final extinction, in which all the most remarkable words should be traced through their successive phases of meaning, and in which moreover the causes and occasions of these changes should be explained—such a work, if executed by a man of a strong and discreet understanding, well stored with sound principles of philosophy, and who would devote his life to the task, would not only abound in entertainment, but would throw more light on the developement of the human mind than all the brainspun systems of metaphysics that ever were written.

The greater part of these changes, I grant, are brought about gradually, and, at first sight it may often seem, by chance: there is hardly anything like premeditation about them: least of all are they the result of any definite widely extending plan. In the construction of language man works for the most part, like nature, under the dominion of laws

of which he is unconscious: and most fortunate is it that such is the case. For what would be the worth of a language framed by man according to any scheme he might choose to lay down of its general principles and laws? Nay, how could he even form any notion of such principles and laws, except by abstraction and generalization from one or more of the languages already in existence? How would such a language adapt itself to the exigencies of the different classes of society, to the ever-varying play of feeling, to the multitudinous forms of opinion? All the philosophers in the world could never make a language for a woman. Indeed it is a most happy and beautiful provision that children should imbibe their native language primarily and mainly from their mothers, should suck it in, as it were, along with their milk: this it is that makes it their mother tongue. For women are much more duteous recipients of the laws of nature and society: they are much less liable to be deluded by fantastical theories: and it is an old and very true remark, that, in order to feel all the beauty and purity of any language, we must hear it from the lips, or read it from the pen, of a sensible, well-educated woman. That is to say, literally from the pen, in letters, not in books. For when women turn authors they step in a manner out of their sphere: the swanlike ease and grace of their effortless motions passes away from them; and, like that most graceful of all animals, they often appear clumsy and awkward when they get out of their natural element.

Nevertheless there may be times and circumstances such as to sanction the endeavour to improve a language with the set purpose of doing so, provided the attempt be carried on with due moderation, upon sound historical principles, and be in accord with the genius of the age. Thus for instance the writers who have striven to check the flood of ponderous Latin words let into the language by Johnson and his school, have fortunately been successful in bringing us back to a simpler and more English style. Thus again the German language has derived incalculable benefit from the labours of those who since the middle of the last century have been purging it of exotic weeds, restoring its original unity and vigour, and setting it up again, as a homesprung homogeneous whole. That great poet whose mighty spirit has

just past away from this earth, and who, acting the chief part in this noble work, has done more for his native language than any other writer, with the single exception of Luther, speaks on the subject with his usual clear-sightedness. "It is the business (he says, *Kunst und Alterthum*, 1. 3. 51) of the best heads at once to purify and to enrich their mother tongue: to purify without enriching it is mostly a dull piece of work: for nothing is lazier than to keep one's eye upon words without heeding their meaning. A man of genius kneads up his words, without troubling himself to think what elements they consist of: a dunce may well speak with purity, having nothing to say. How should he feel what a paltry makeweight he puts in the place of a significant word, when that word was never endowed with any life in his mind, since he attacht no thought to it! There is a great number of methods which must all act in concert in purifying and enriching a language, if it is to grow vigorously. Poetry and impassioned eloquence are the only sources from which the living growth of a language springs; and even if in their vehemence they bring down some mountain-rubbish along with them, this sinks to the bottom, and the pure stream flows along over it."

Indeed in this, as in every other practical question, there are two extremes into which one may err. No true patriot—for our language is a part and a most important part of our country—will think of meddling with it rashly. Nobody who is aware how a nation's feelings and opinions, and whatever characterizes it, are interwoven with its language by myriads of imperceptible fibres, will run the risk of severing them. Nobody who has a due reverence for his ancestors, or even for his own spiritual being, which has been mainly trained and fashioned by his native language, nobody who rightly appreciates what a momentous thing it is to keep the unity of a people entire and unbroken, to preserve and foster all its national recollections, what a glorious and inestimable blessing it is to "speak the tongue that Shakspeare spake," will ever wish to trim that tongue according to any arbitrary theory. But though our language, like everything, and indeed more almost than anything else, which we have inherited from our ancestors, is to be regarded with dutiful

veneration, that veneration is not to be merely passive, in which case it would soon degenerate into idolatry, but active. It is not to be put aside and lockt up as an heirloom, but to be employed and cultivated and improved as an estate. We are to uphold our native language, but not the impurities it may in course of time have contracted from ignorance, or indolence, or caprice: on the contrary we uphold it best, by freeing it from these impurities: we are to call forth its plastic powers, and to adapt it to the new ideas it is to clothe: like magic armour it will fit every form and stature: the only requisite is that he who puts it on should be a true knight.

A considerable part of the foregoing remarks, though made with respect to language generally, will apply to the immediate subject of this article, the allowableness of attempting to improve its orthography. Here also usage is anything but fixt and invariable. For a long period it was very uncertain and indeterminate. In the writers even of Queen Elizabeth's time one often finds the same word spelt in two or more different ways in the same page: nor did the uniform system which is now generally received come into vogue till about the middle of the seventeenth century: indeed the chief part of the errours and corruptions of which I should desire to get rid, are not of much more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty years standing. And by whom, and on what grounds, have they been establisht? The manner in which words are to be spelt is not determined, as the words themselves and their forms and idiomatical combinations are, by the voice of a whole people: for the people speaks, but does not write. One might suppose that the spelling then would be regulated by the learned. Would it were so! but in England at least the example of the learned has been only a beacon to be avoided: when there has been any doubt about the right way of spelling a word, the question has been determined, one might almost say in a majority of cases, in favour of the wrong one: the legislators have been ignorant grammarians, who knew nothing about the history of their native tongue; and their rules have been made absolute by the practice of the compositors who blindly follow them. For these in truth are

nowadays the persons who settle the spelling of the English language. And the main prop of the present system is, that in almost all the reprints of our old authors the spelling is altered and brought into conformity with the usage of the present day: a practice in many respects injurious, inasmuch as it prevents our acquiring an acquaintance with the history of our language: it makes us regard an old writer, such as Spenser, when we happen to fall in with him in his ancient garb, as a stranger, which would not be the case if we were familiar with all the steps intervening between his language and ours: it gives error a look of authority, to which it has no claim: nay in many cases the meaning of particular passages has been depraved or perverted by this rash spirit of groundless innovation.

But what is the right mode of spelling a word, unless that which is sanctioned by general usage? No usage, however general, can make a blunder cease to be a blunder; and when the received spelling of a word is demonstrably grounded on a blunder, it can hardly be said to be the right spelling: or at all events if usage had been graciously pleased to stamp her royal seal on a mode of spelling it which did not involve such a blunder, this would have been still righter. The right spelling of a word may be said to be that which agrees the best with its pronunciation, its etymology, and with the analogy of the particular class of words it belongs to. If this be the rule we lay down in our attempts to reform the language, if, while we pay due attention to its pronunciation at the present day, we are diligent in observing and consulting the analogical principles by which it is regulated, and in tracing the etymology of each particular word, thus using the light both of philosophy and of history to guide us in our endeavours to improve practice, we cannot well go wrong: and our suggestions, if they can but obtain the sanction of usage, can hardly fail to be beneficial. With regard to etymology however, it may be well to remark, that we must not content ourselves with going back to the ultimate source of a word, but should be careful to follow it along the channel through which it flowed to us. When it comes to us already altered by the usage of another language, there would be great want of judgement in attempting to assimilate it to its

original root. For every plant is modified more or less by the soils in which it has been domesticated : and our cherries may be quite as good, although they are not exactly the same, as those which Lucullus brought from Cerasus. Thus for instance, if *honour*, *favour*, and other similar words had come to us directly from the Latin, it might be better to spell them without a *u* : but since we got them through the French, so that they brought the *u* with them when they landed on our shores, it will be well to leave such affectations as *honor* and *favor* to the great vulgar for their cards of invitation. In *honorable* and *favorable* on the other hand the *u* would be an intruder, having no more business in them than in the second syllables of *clamorous* or *laborious* : for they are not home-made derivatives, but were imported ready-formed from France. A like rule, as has been observed by others, would be the best guide for our choice with regard to the use of *in* or *en* in compound words, that is to say, to write *in* where a word has come to us immediately from the Latin, *en* where it has past through the French. The same principle may be applied to a great variety of cases ; and among other advantages of such a practice would be its supplying us at a glance with a mass of evidence concerning the history of our language. Under such restrictions even Grimm, the great champion of the historical school of linguists, and the most determined opponent of everything like theoretical innovations in language, acknowledges the propriety of endeavouring to get rid of orthographical errors. See the Preface to his invaluable Grammar, p. xviii.

These rules too will secure us from those errors and vagaries into which such as set about reforming language, or anything else indeed, upon what they call theoretical principles, but in fact upon arbitrary abstractions deduced commonly by rash and illjudged processes from a very limited range of materials, are sure perpetually to fall. Though in language, as in all the other subjects of our thought, we are forced to help ourselves through the inextricable labyrinth of innumerable particulars by the clew of generalization, yet the study of grammar, more than almost anything else, ought to teach us a lesson of philosophical wisdom, that the formal laws of our understanding are not coordinate to the infinite variety

of nature, and that, however we may proceed in drawing one line of enclosure beyond another, there will always be a parcel of waste land which the rule and line cannot bring within its compass. This however is seldom duly weighed; and the reformers of language have generally rusht on, like most other reformers, with the selfsufficient confidence of ignorance, and with a reckless disregard of everything that does not chime in with their fantastical devices. A specimen of their proceedings is afforded by an essay of Pinkerton's on the subject, among the letters he publisht under the assumed name of Robert Heron. He begins with laying it down that our language has too small an allowance of vowel terminations, and, after comparing it with the Greek in this respect, pronounces that "we want vowel terminations for about 8000 words." How are these to be supplied? By a single stroke of the wand. *Hey, presto, pass!* and it is done: the introductory paragraph of Mirza's vision comes out in the following manner. "When I waz ato Grand Cairo, I picked up several orientala manuscripta, whica I havé still by me. Among othera, I met with oné entitulen, Thea Visiona of Mirza, whica I havé redd ové with great pleasured. I intend to givé ito to the publico, when I havé no other entertainmento fo them; ando shall begin with the first vision, whico I havé translaten wordo fo wordo az followeth." It may be amusing to cast a look at the tricks by which poor Addison has been thus strangely transmogrified. The final *s* in all plurals is turned into *a*. "This alone furnishes us with a sufficiency in *a*. This seems the Icelandic plural in many cases, *skipa* for *ships*, etc. and is thus quite consonant to the genius of our language, which is of northern parentage." This affords a happy burlesque of the arguments which some of our reformers have built on the constitution of the Wittenagemote, with about as much expenditure of research; and it is almost the only tittle of a historical argument that Pinkerton adduces for any of his changes. "*E* is to be given to all substantives in *y*, as *beauté, bounté*, and to be pronounced in finals as *famé, gracé*. *I* is to be given to all adjectives in *y*, as *healthi, weari*. *O* is a fine close, and very rare in our tongue. Give it to all substantives ending in harsh consonants, as *crabo, eggo, saco, cupo, epigramo*,

facto." With the help of these, and a few minor artifices the English language is to be overrun with harmony. In another part of the same volume (p. 334) the author says; "If Burnet's Memoirs are not very soon universally read and admired, this country will speedily become a province of France." In what manner the premises and the conclusion in this sentence are brought under the category of cause and effect, it might puzzle the subtlest schoolman to make out. With much more reason however might it be asserted, that a revolutionary reform of our language like that here proposed, if it were feasible, would be subversive of the national character, would rend in two the spiritual chain which connects us with our forefathers, and might not improbably end in reducing us to a state of barbarism.

In language however all sudden and sweeping and radical reforms are fortunately precluded by the very nature of things. You cannot make a whole people all at once talk in a different tongue from that it has been used to talk in: you cannot force it to unlearn the words it has learnt from its fathers, in order to learn a set of newfangled words out of a dictionary. New words may in course of time get into general circulation; new senses of words may become current: and the general diffusion of the press, combined with the locomotive propensities of the English, has made such changes easier and rapider than they were formerly. The slang of the drawing-room is soon caught up in the servants hall, and passes from thence to the stable: which in its turn will occasionally send its own phrases up into the parlour. A novel, a popular play, a speech in parliament, a caricature, a lucky joke, an article by Cobbett may set a new expression afloat, and send it before long through the kingdom. That stupid modern vulgarism, by which we use the word *nice* to denote almost every mode of approbation for almost every variety of quality, and, from sheer poverty of thought, or fear of saying anything definite, wrap up everything indiscriminately in this characterless domino, speaking in the same breath of *a nice cheesecake, a nice tragedy, a nice oyster, a nice child, a nice man, a nice tree, a nice sermon, a nice day, a nice country*—as if a universal deluge of *niaiserie* (for *nice* seems originally to have been only *niais*) had whelmed the whole island—this vulgarism

has already taken root even in the lowest classes, and one hears ploughboys talking of *nice weather*, and sailors of *a nice sea*. Yet though the progress of such changes has been no little accelerated, the nature of them has not been altered. They must still come in singly, gradually: each must stand on its own merits or demerits: nothing can be done *per saltum*, nothing upon abstract principles, which pay no regard to history, or to the existing state of the language.

That changes however even on a pretty large scale may in course of time be effected in the orthography of a language, will be manifest to any one who will take the trouble of comparing a few pages printed under Henry the Eighth, under Elizabeth, under Charles the First, and under Charles the Second, with each other, and with the practice of the present day. Indeed as the writers in any language are, hitherto at least, a less numerous body than the speakers, as there is more of direct communication and concert among them, as they have all a smattering of some kind of information, they may perhaps be more liable to be influenced by arguments, provided those arguments are set forth fully and connectedly. And surely at the present day when we are all so eager to disencumber ourselves of the wisdom of our ancestors, we ought not to stickle very tenaciously for their mistakes.

Nor has the orthography of other languages been invariable any more than our own. It is notorious by what slow steps the Greek alphabet reacht its perfection, how century after century new letters were introduced, and, being generally adopted for sake of convenience, were sanctioned after a time by public decree: though the failure of the emperor Claudius in a similar attempt proves that legislation can do little in such matters, any more than in others, except enact what is already establisht by the popular voice. It is notorious again in what a number of points the orthography of the later Attic dialect differed from that of the earlier. The case was just the same in Latin: the changes in its orthography were not confined to its infancy and youth, to the ages of the Duilian inscription and of Ennius: after it had attained to manhood it still continued to change: the chapter of Quintilian on the subject (l. 7), to refer to a single authority, shews what a number of alterations had been successively introduced,

several of them of considerable extent, even between his time and that of Cicero and Virgil. Nor, as printers play so leading a part in the settlement of our orthography, is it altogether alien from the present purpose to remark what improvements have taken place in Greek typography within the last thirty years, and how the numerous abbreviations, with which the old books were so perplexingly disfigured, have been almost entirely expunged. In Germany too the Latin diphthongs *ae* and *oe* are no longer printed in the contracted characters *æ* and *œ*; which, as, I believe, they are unauthorized by any ancient monument, it would be well if we also were to discard. So again, to take an example from that modern language, which it has been attempted with the most persevering energy and the greatest success to check and cramp and reduce to a fixture, and which even the Revolution has only partially set free, Voltaire's suggestion that wherever *oi* had the sound of *ai*, as in the past tenses of verbs, and in national appellatives, it should be so written, has at length been very generally received; though the loyal champions of the old order of things seem to have thought themselves bound not to depart even in this tittle from the usage of antiquity. Nay the practice of many writers on this point may be regarded as a sort of test of their political principles: for while Bonald and La Mennais uniformly retain *oi*, and the liberal authors uniformly adopt *ai*, Chateaubriand, Fiévée, and others, who have tried to keep clear of the two extremes, have also taken a middle course in this matter, writing *avoit* and *connoître*, along with *Anglais* and *Français*. Now however that Louis Philippe is *roi des Français*, the *ais*, it may be expected, will soon have an undisputed predominance. Many instances of similar changes in our own orthography will be noticed in the sequel of this article, and in those on kindred topics by which it is intended to be followed.

Voltaire's object in proposing the alteration just mentioned was to bring the orthography of his native tongue into accord with the prevailing pronunciation: an object, it will hardly be denied, in itself exceedingly desirable, but which in English from the vast multitude of our anomalies is perhaps altogether unattainable, or at all events could never be effected without the sacrifice of points of still greater moment. No rational

grammarians would think that anything was gained by writing *thaut* instead of *thought*, *tuff* instead of *tough*. In some cases too we find the written language get the better of the spoken: the love of regularity is so natural to man, that, whenever we are conscious of a rule, though there may be many incidental motives to draw us away from it, we usually end by trying to conform to it. The diphthong in *boil*, *broil*, *spoil*, *join*, *joint*, *point*, *poison*, is no longer pronounced, at least by the bulk of educated persons, as it used to be in the last century, with the sound of the long *i*. Nobody would now think of making *fault*, as Dryden and Pope did, rime with *thought*. The *o* in *gold* and *Rome* is regaining its legitimate full sound. Even the dandies will soon give over walking down *St Jemeses Street*: and *Brommagem* is hardly heard now except in connexion with halfpence. All these changes are for the better, inasmuch as they do away groundless anomalies. But on the other hand there are sundry changes in our spelling which it seems to me that for a like reason we might profitably adopt, and which would make it agree better with our pronunciation, without the violation of any genuine analogy, and without receding further from etymology: on the contrary it frequently happens that the common pronunciation of a word agrees better than its spelling with its etymology and analogy: nay we often find that the only faithful record of these is preserved in some provincial dialect. For a large part of the corruptions in our language has arisen, not among the vulgar, but among the half-learned and parcel-learned, among those who, knowing nothing of the antiquities of their own tongue, but having a taint of Latin and Greek, have altered our English words to make them look more like their supposed Latin or Greek roots, thereby perpetuating their blunder by giving it the semblance of truth. Thus nobody now doubts that *island* is connected with *isle* and *insula*, *rhyme* with *ῥυθμός*, whereas, if we had retained the true spelling *iland* and *rime*, it would have been evident that both are words of Teutonic origin, and akin to the German *Eiland* and *Reim*. Such corruptions, as having no root among the people, as being mere grafts stuck in by clumsy and ignorant workmen, it is more especially desirable to remove. Their being more frequent in our language than perhaps in any other is attributable

to its mongrel character: the introduction of incongruous analogies has much confounded, and ultimately blunted, that analogical tact, which is often found to possess such singular correctness and delicacy in the very rudest classes of mankind: and the habit of taking so many of our derivatives from foreign roots has often led us to look abroad, when we should have found what we wanted at home. For while the primary words in our language are almost all Saxon, the secondary, as they may be called, are mostly of French, the tertiary of Latin origin: and the attention of bookmongers has been chiefly engaged by the latter two classes, as being generally of larger dimensions and coming more obtrusively into view, while our Saxon words were hardly regarded as a part of our learned tongue, and so were almost entirely neglected. On the other hand a great many corruptions have resulted from the converse practice of modifying exotic words under the notion that they were native: and this practice has prevailed more or less in all countries. To give anything like a full list of the corruptions that have arisen from this complication of causes, would prolong this article much too far: but they may perhaps form the subject of subsequent ones. For the present I will merely touch on two points, involving the most extensive of the changes in our spelling which it seems to me desirable to adopt: and by one of these changes we should get rid of a practice founded on a mis-extended analogy, by the other of one which has grown out of an etymological blunder.

Among the orthographical innovations, or rather renovations, which I have adopted, the one of most frequent occurrence consists in substituting *t* for *ed* in the termination of several preterites and participles, such as *equipt*, *expressed*, *punisht*: and the reader at first thought may be inclined to suppose that in the selection of such verbs I have acted arbitrarily, and without any fixed rule to guide me. My object however has been to get rid of one of the greatest, and the commonest of all the eyesores in our spelling: yet my attempt has only been partial: I have been fearful of going too far at once: and another bold step still remains to be taken, before the reformation can be completed, and

this eyesore can be thoroughly effaced. For surely it is an eyesore, though habit may render us insensible of it, to use such a lumbering mass of letters as *called* and *stepped* for the sake of designating sounds exactly analogous to those exprest by *bald* and *wept*. In the following stanza of Coleridge's beautiful Genevieve—

Her bosom heaved, she *stepped* aside,

As conscious of my look she *stepped*;

Then suddenly with timorous eye

She fled to me and *wept*—

how much the grace of these lines to the eye would be improved, if *stepped* were written, as the rime shews it must be pronounced, *stept*! If our language had been allowed to pursue the tenour of its course, and had not been checkt and dammed up by ignorance and stupidity, we should have had none of these clumsy potbellied words. In the poems printed in the last century it was usual to omit the unpronounced *e* of the preterite, and to put a mark of apostrophe in its room: and though the apostrophe is not a very sightly mark, but stands up somewhat unpleasantly above the level of the line, so that this practice has mostly been rejected by the present generation of printers, who naturally conceive the general look and effect of a page to be the matter of prime importance in every book, still the usage of our fathers in this respect was rather more rational, and therefore better, than ours. But if we go back somewhat further, we shall find that our best writers had devised satisfactory methods of obviating all these difficulties, and that the pages of Spenser and Milton contain hardly any of these incongruities. In the very earliest ages of our language we perceive that there was already a tendency to slur over the trailing termination of the preterite; a tendency of the same kind with that which has made the final *e* mute in every genuine English word, except the monosyllables *be*, *he*, *she*, *we*, *the*, in which it is the only vowel: indeed there is something so indistinct and unsubstantial in the short unaccented *e*, that in other languages, as well as ours, a great aversion has been felt to ending words with it: and the frequency of it in German terminations is one of the earsores in that language. For there can be little doubt that the

general suppression of the final *e* took place before the slip in the scale of our vowels, and while the *e* retained the same sound which it possesses in all the other European languages: that there is no repugnance to the short sound which we assign to it now, is proved by the multitude of our words which end in *y*. When the *ode* of the Anglosaxon preterite had been supplanted, as it is in Robert of Gloucester, by *ede*, that disposition, which has been operative in all languages, to shorten inflexional terminations manifested itself especially with regard to this: the *ede* was incorporated with the preceding syllable; the first *e* was expunged; and various artifices were resorted to for softening the collision of such incongruous consonants as were hereby brought into contact. Whenever the *ed* is written in Chaucer, it is pronounced as a distinct syllable, as in the very first lines of the Canterbury Tales:

Whanne that April with his shoures sote

The droughte of March hath *perced* to the rote,

And *bathed* every veine in swiche licour.

So is it in Spenser: the few exceptions to this rule in the printed editions may be regarded as oversights. But in Spenser's time the pronouncing the *ed* seems already to have been something of an archaism: at all events in the greater number of verbs he almost uniformly uses a contracted form. Sometimes—to take the instances that occur in the first two cantos—he simply omits the *e*, as in

spewd 20, *strowd* 35, *subdewd* 47, *hewd* II. 18, *joyd* II. 40,

cald 38, *expeld*, *compeld* 5, *spoild* II. 24, *kild* II. 39,

seemd 1, *benumbd* 44, *armd* II. 33, *redeemd* II. 41,

playnd 47, *drownd* 36, *crownd* 48, *mournd* 4, *turnd* 54, *re-*

tournd 42, *intertainde*, *staind* II. 14, *shund* II. 28, *paynd* II. 45,

discolourd II. 11, *stird* II. 16, *embard* II. 31, *appeard* II. 41,

perceivd, 22, *resolvd* 24, *livde* II. 25,

raixd, *daxd* 18, *gazd*, *amazde* 26, *devisde* II. 10.

In the last two words, as in a variety of others, *spide* 7, *cride* 19, *satisfide* 26, *obayde* 44, an *e* is added at the end: this is a form very common in Chaucer; and Tyrwhitt accounts for it by supposing that the last two letters were transposed. Such a transposition of letters however must not be too hastily

assumed: for though letters are easily made to change places, sounds, with a few exceptions, especially that of the letter *r*, have not the same propensity to shift about. It is true the *e* has done so in *whose* for *whoes*, in *once*, *twice*, *thrice*, which come from the old adverbial genitives, *ones*, *twies*, *thries*: but in the present instance such an assumption is quite unnecessary: for the termination of the preterite in the Anglosaxon verb was *de*, answering exactly to the German *te*: hence *lovde* and the like may be deduced much more naturally from the Anglosaxon preterite *lufode* by contraction, than from *loved* by transposition. Indeed in very many of the Anglosaxon verbs, in all those which belong to the second class of Rask's first conjugation, beside several in the third class, the contraction had already taken place. In the writings of Chaucer's age we find that from the Anglosaxon preterite two distinct forms arose, one in which the final, another in which the penultimate vowel was omitted. Maundevile is perpetually using the full form; for instance *dyede*, pp. 27, 31, 87, *prechede* 35, 104, *dwel-lede* 37, *lokede* 30, *destroyede* 44, 49, *regnede* 45, 80, *savede* 51, *dryede* 82, *translatede* 85, *lovede* 101, *schewede* 104, *lyvede* 140. 183, *helede* 161, *reysede* 161, *askede* 166, *preyede* 180, *formede* 215. In none of these words can there have been any transposition: why then should we imagine it in such as *answerde* p. 57, 176, *herde* 104, *seyde* 30, 32, 57, *hadde* 30, 57, 87? Indeed there is no reason to suppose that *haded* was ever in use: *havede*, *havde* was softened into *hadde*. So in Wiclif we find, in the ninth chapter of Matthew, *passide*, *glorifide*, *folowide*, *worschipide*, *sueden*, *neighede* (drew nigh), *touchide*, *turnide*, *scorneden*, *thretenyde*, *defameden*, *wondride*: in the first couple of pages of Peirs Plouhman, *lewede*, *trowede*, *wattede*, *lyvede*, *wonede*, *parailede*, *chessede*.

But to return to Spenser: in a number of verbs the final *d*, by the omission of the preceding vowel, was brought next to a consonant after which the conformation of our organs inclines us to soften it into *t*. In such verbs Spenser wisely endeavoured to adapt his spelling to the sound, substituting *t* for *d*

after *k*, in *lookt* 16, *knockt* 29, *rockt* 55, *prickte* II. 14, *pluckt*

II. 30:

after *p*, in *grypt* 19:

after *s*, in *tost* 42, *promist* 7, *nurst* 26, *kist* II. 45 :

after *x*, in *fixt* II. 1 :

after *sh*, in *vanquisht* 27, *burnisht* 40, *pusht* 42, *ravisht* 45, *banisht* II. 42 :

after *ch*, in *stretcht* 5, *approcht* 27, *searcht* II. 2, *toucht* II. 40.

In verbs ending in *ce*, where the omission of the *e* would give the *c* before *t* the sound of *k*, Spenser changes it into *s* : as in *forst* 20, *enforst* 7, *advaunst*, *enhaunst*, *glaunst* 17, *chaunst* 27, *plaste* (*placed*) 47. Hence he has seldom occasion for an apostrophe, and uses it chiefly for the sake, it would seem, of lengthening the preceding vowel : as in *ador'd*, *scor'd* 2, *dar'd* 37, *fram'd* 40.

Milton's practice on the whole accords with Spenser's ; and where he abandons him, it is hardly for the better. In the first book of *Paradise Lost* we find, in the second edition, which had the poet's own corrections, the *e* omitted after a diphthong, in *obeyd* 337, *assayd* 619 :

after *l*, in *equald* 248, *foyl'd* 273, *hurld* 45, *unfurld* 535 :

after *m*, in *seemd* 777 :

after *n*, in *destind* 168, *ruind* 593, *joynd* 90, *regaind* 270 :

after *r*, in *scatterd* 304, *witherd* 612, *stird* 35, *upreard* 532, *despaird* 660 :

D is changed into *t*

after *p*, in *worshipt* 397, *lopt* 459 :

after *k*, in *rackt* 126, *walkt* 295 :

after *s*, in *confest* 509 :

after *x*, in *mixt* 58, *vext* 306 :

after *sh*, in *vanquisht* 52, 476, *undiminisht* 154, *astonisht* 266, *abasht* 331, *brusht* 768

after *ch*, in *stretcht* 209, *intrencht* 601.

In several instances too *d* becomes *t* even after a mark of elision ; as in *ceas't* 283, *overarch't* 304, *condens't* 429, and in *intrans't* 301, where the consonant has been changed : in all which instances the mark is utterly needless. In *scap't* 239, *provok't* 645, it is meant to lengthen the preceding vowel, a task for which it is wholly incompetent. The better mode of effecting this would have been to revive the old form with the final *e*, which has perpetually the power of lengthening the preceding vowel before one consonant, and often before two, as in *past*, *paste*, *wast*, *waste*, *born*, *borne*. *Childe* indeed is an

exception, but is contrary to all analogy; and the modern way of pronouncing it seems to have been determined solely by the indistinct notion that some difference ought to be made between it and *child*. Nor should the apostrophe be endowed with the power of softening *c* before *t*, though Milton has used it for that purpose in *advanc't* 119, 536, *seduc't* 219, *experienc't* 568, *amerc't* 609; and though it is often invested by other writers with the same inappropriate office. It may perhaps be worth while remarking that Milton in several words makes a distinction between the preterite and the participle, writing the former *seduc'd* 33, *burn'd* 228, the latter *seduc't* 219, *burnt* 562.

With the exception of the few latter words, it would have been much better for our language if the practice of Spenser and Milton had become prevalent. Not that they stood alone in it: many, perhaps most, of the contemporary poets write like them, on the whole at least, if not with the same uniformity: Fairfax does so; so do Daniel and Drayton and Chapman and Warner and Herrick and Habington and Browne. Many of these forms too lingered till long after: for instance in the edition of Farquhar publisht in 1711 we meet with *snapt*, *clapt*, *whipt*, *stopt*, *stamp't*, *pickt*, *sneakt*, *knockt*, *linkt*, *pust*, *stust*, *hist*; in Congreve with *trapt*, *kickt*, *baulkt*, *cust*, *kist*, *husht*; in Vanbrugh with *slept*, *pumpt*, *lockt*, *suckt*, *checkt*, *packt*, *talkt*, *twitcht*, *mist*, *famisht*; and a number of similar preterites are to be found in the writers of their days.

From what has been said it would appear as if the use of these contracted forms had been confined to our poets: and it is true that they were much more regular and systematic in employing them; whether they paid more attention to their orthography, and to the reconciling the effect of their verses on the eye, with that which they were to produce on the ear; or whether, as seems indeed to have been the case, the common mode of reading prose wavered for a time between the contracted and the full form, though the latter, after gaining the ascendancy in familiar speech, ultimately became the universal one; whereas in verse the measure determined which was to be adopted. Even in prose however the apostrophe was at one time very common. In Clarendon's

Reply to Hobbes, which, like all his miscellaneous writings, is characterized by its perfect gentlemanliness, we meet in the Dedication with *publish'd*, *banish'd*, *absolv'd*, *oblig'd*, *enjoin'd*, *approv'd*, *perus'd*, *contain'd*, *advertis'd*, *depriv'd*, *dispos'd*, *declin'd*. This is spoken of by Addison in the Spectator, No. 135, as a recent change: "The same aversion to loquacity (he says) has of *late years* made a very considerable alteration in our language, by closing in one syllable the termination of our preterperfect tense, as in these words, *drown'd*, *walk'd*, *arriv'd*, which has very much disfigured the tongue, and turned a tenth part of our smoothest words into so many clusters of consonants."

Such was the state of the language when authorship usually implied some degree of knowledge. But when everybody took to writing, whether he could spell or not, and the task of correcting a writer's orthography and grammar fell to his printer and compositor, the natural result was that all these distinctions were swept away, and the varieties of form in our language levelled, as far as they could be, beneath a blind indiscriminate uniformity. Besides it is with the language of a people, as with its literature, nay, as with the people itself, and with every individual who composes it: all these pass through a similar series of stages from their infancy to their decline; and the characteristics of each stage too are similar. The imaginative and poetical features, which form the beauty of youth, subside in course of time and fade away: its bright hues grow pale, its full and glowing cheeks sink in; the music of its voice roughens; its limbs lose their roundness and flexibility. The sensuous part of language is eaten away by the gradual protrusion of the spiritual part: the varieties of inflexion are done away: the freedom of idiomatical constructions is narrowed: everything becomes more uniform, more definite, better adapted to the meanest comprehension. The understanding, which when life has past its prime is always the predominant power, having from its nature to deal with abstractions, is wont to disregard everything else, and hence is easily deluded into assuming a democratical, levelling, jacobinical tendency. Thus by two opposite ways the same effect was brought about: the mere understanding is careless

about history, having set up certain abstractions in its stead; ignorance too is careless about history: the mere understanding seeks after uniformity, strips off the distinctions of things, and tries to bring them as far as possible within the range of a single generalization; ignorance too delights in that simplicity which saves it the trouble of thought. The combined influence of these two agents may be seen in Cobbett's Grammar; for in him they coexist in the very highest degree. Nothing can be clearer and shrewder than that Grammar, so far as his Herculean understanding can supply the want of intellectual discipline, and of philosophical and philological knowledge. But from his ignorance of other languages, and of the history of his own, an ignorance on which of course he prides himself, he is frequently wrong, and here as in other matters is thoroughgoing in his mistakes. That Cobbett, as uniting the two elements of the jacobinical spirit in such perfection, should be averse to what our grammarians call irregular verbs, and should be desirous of setting up one invariable form, a kind of ten-pound franchise, without any regard to the difference of circumstances, for all verbs without exception, was naturally to be expected; and accordingly he draws up a long schedule A of irregular verbs to be summarily got rid of. But even Lowth, when speaking of forms like those illustrated above, says that "they are harsh and disagreeable, and it were better if they were avoided and disused." Now disagreeableness is certainly a quality about which notions may differ somewhat arbitrarily: yet the word itself seems to imply, what indeed there can be no doubt about, that there is a pleasure in the perception of agreement and fitness: and surely, putting habit, which may so easily be modified, out of the question, it is more agreeable to perceive a correspondence, an agreement, than a disagreement, between our manner of writing a word and of pronouncing it: nor is it less certain that Spenser's and Milton's spelling agrees better with our pronunciation, than that which is usually received. Wherever such a conformity can be produced, without violating analogy, or obscuring etymology, it is assuredly desirable. As to harshness, there can be no doubt that *slipt* is much less harsh than *slipped*, pronounced as a monosyllable. Every one who has

learnt the rudiments of his Greek grammar is aware that the Greeks, whose ears were of such exquisite delicacy, were scrupulous in avoiding the concurrence of such consonants as belong to different classes, that *pt*, *kt*, *bd*, *gd* are often combined, *pd*, *kd*, *bt*, *gt* very seldom: as we see for example in *ἐπτά*, *ἑβδομος*, *ὀκτώ ὄγδοος*. Or a moment's experiment may teach any, how much more easily the voice passes from *p* or *k* to *t*, than to *d*, and in like manner from *b* or *g* to *d*, than to *t*: for in pronouncing *p*, *k*, *t* the larynx is compressed; in pronouncing *b*, *g*, *d*, it is left in its natural state: so that in passing from *p* or *k* to *d* the conformation of the larynx must be altered, in passing from them to *t* it remains the same. Hence these consonants are very seldom combined, except in compound words such as *lap-dog*, *backdoor*, where there is a sort of pause between the two syllables; and while *apt* and *act* flow easily from the tongue, *apd* and *acd* are almost unpronounceable. Nay even in different syllables, as in *obtinuit*, Quintilian says (l. 7. 7), “secundam *b* literam ratio poscit, aures magis audiunt *p*.” The like holds with regard to the other sharps and flats: one sharp consonant combines with another sharp, much more readily than with the corresponding flat: and it is the same with the flats: *st* for instance occurs very often, *sd* hardly ever, except in terminations where *s* is pronounced like *z*, as in *raised*, *closed*, *used*. Here we see how the conformation of our vocal organs compels us to modify our pronunciation without regard to the letters we profess to sound. In *raised*, where the *d* is pronounced, the *s* acquires the sound of *z*: in *pronounced*, where the *c* has the sound of *s*, the *d* in speaking is changed into *t*. And the same change always takes place, though few persons are probably aware of it, when *d* is brought into juxtaposition with a sharp consonant. Everybody with a little attention will perceive that though he may write *punished* and *worshipped*, he cannot help pronouncing them *punisht* and *worshipt*. Horne Tooke has some good remarks on this subject in the *Diversions of Purley*, Vol. i. pp. 92, 93, 341, of the octavo edition.

Why then should we not endeavour to purge our language from this incongruity, and to substitute a rational and consistent mode of spelling for one which has crept

in against the authority of our best writers, from an ignorant undistinguishing love of uniformity? From the conviction that all reforms, if they are to be beneficial, should be gradual, and that everything like a violent break in the continuity of a nation's consciousness should be carefully avoided, I have not ventured to follow the example of Spenser and Milton throughout, but have merely attempted to revive the old form of the preterite in *t*. That form being warranted by a considerable number of examples, and this being moreover a point on which usage down to our times has been variable, as may be seen in any list of our irregular verbs, it seemed to me that this innovation might give less offense, and be more likely to meet with acceptance. We ought not however to stop here: the mute *e* ought also to be expunged, wherever it is not required either to lengthen the preceding vowel, or to soften the preceding consonant: for which latter reason it is better retained in such words as *judgement*, *acknowledgement*. In some words this perhaps might be done without any very strong appearance of singularity: for instance in *traveld*, *unparalleld*. For there is something extremely unpleasant in such a mass of letters as one finds accumulated in *travelled* in an unaccented syllable. And altogether this alteration would be more easily admitted in polysyllabic verbs: for, as Nares remarks in his *Orthoepy*, p. 92, the eye is more easily reconciled to the loss of a letter it has been accustomed to in a long word than in a short one: which he illustrates by our having left out the final *k* in *demoniac*, *prosaic*, *music*, *critic*, though we should be greatly offended at seeing *sic* for *sick*, *stic* for *stick*, *bac* for *back*. So we are clearly less startled by *leveld*, and still less by *enameld*, than by *cald*: the importance of a letter in a word depending to the eye on the proportion it bears to the whole. Perhaps too, for the sake of humouring prejudice, the *e* might be kept for a time in words like *reformed*, where its omission would produce an ugly accumulation of consonants: for such is the force of habit, that *reformed* or *reform'd* has a less unpleasant look than *reformd*; though *reformd* agrees exactly with our pronunciation, and the only advantage in the other ways of writing the word is the introduction of an absurdity. The right use

of the apostrophe is to denote the omission of that which generally, or at least not unfrequently, is exprest: and therefore, when the contraction first took place, and so long as usage wavered between the two forms, there was no great harm in such a mark: though even then such writers as best understood and felt the plastic powers of language, endeavoured, wherever it was possible, to avoid it.

Nor would the effect of the practice here recommended be to increase the anomalies in our language: on the contrary it would diminish them. True regularity does not consist in the having but a single rule, and forcing everything to conform to it: for we shall always meet with much that will not bend to such constraint; so that, wherever this singleness is aimed at, there are sure to be an inordinate number of exceptions. Harmony is not monotony. Our rules ought to mould themselves according to the nature of the objects they are to regulate: in proportion to the richness and diversity of those objects should our rules be manifold: and this very variety in the rules will oftentimes only the more powerfully display the unity of the principle that pervades them. The reason why we have such a host of irregular verbs, is our having chosen to assume that there is but one rule for all our verbs to be inflected after, and that all deviations from it are anomalies: whereas in ancient times there were several ways of inflecting verbs, all equally regular, but varying with the nature of the verb: and though in many cases we contrived to get rid of what opposed the rule we set up, there is a very large class of verbs, in which, from their being in everyday use, the old form had become too steadfast to be changed. Thus that which once was regular is become irregular: if we wish to free the language from such irregularities, the only way is to restore them to regularity, by reviving and duly applying the principle they used to conform to. For instance such preterites as *kept*, *wept*, *crept*, *slept*, *swept*, are at present anomalies: to get rid of them would be impossible, even if anybody could wish it: but if we keep in mind the principles enforced above, and extend them to analogous cases, these exceptions become examples of a general rule founded on the very constitution of our vocal organs. And thus it is always in

nature: the exceptions to one rule are the examples of another rule, and that often a higher one.

And here I may be allowed to say a word in reply to those utilitarian wiseacres whose tongue is always tipt with the question, what is the use of a thing. What is the use, they are sure to ask, of throwing away time on such idle trivial inquiries as whether a word should be spelt with one set of letters or another? In answer to such persons it would not be enough to reply, that matters of this sort have in all ages engaged the attention and excited the interest of philologers, and that the scholars of Europe, even down to the present day, have been perpetually taken up with discussions concerning the spelling of words in the dead languages. This however at all events proves that such discussions are not out of place in a Philological Museum. Even Cobbett (*Grammar*, Letter x) allows, that "it is for monks and fellows of English colleges, who live by the sweat of other people's brows, to spend their time in this manner, and to call the result of their studies learning." Besides if such investigations, when applied to the classical tongues, are not deemed totally idle, though in that case they must be purely historical, and bear solely on the past, without any reference to the future, their practical value must at all events be greater, their inutility less, when they touch upon languages which are still spoken, and may tend to elucidate their nature, or perhaps even to improve their character. And as of all the works of man language is the most enduring, and partakes the most of eternity, and as our own language, so far as thought can project itself into the future, seems likely to be coeval with the world, and to spread vastly beyond even its present immeasurable limits, there cannot easily be a nobler object of ambition than to purify and better it. But to return to the question, what is the use of such improvements, in its lowest and most literal acceptation. It is allowed that in all departments of human activity the most desirable, because the most profitable, thing is to save labour: and it is not easy to estimate the sum of labour that will be saved to the teachers and learners of our language during the generations it is destined to last, by

getting rid of, or even greatly lessening the anomalies which disfigure its pronunciation. Indeed if I could but succeed in effecting even this one change, and reviving the forms of our preterites which were adopted by Spenser and Milton, I should hold myself entitled to the gratitude of all the mothers and all the children in England. Improvements which are confined to single words are in this respect less beneficial. For the chief part of the words that need such are not of very common occurrence, and may well be kept out of the hornbook. But the irregularities in the pronunciation of our preterites meet us at every step. Nor would this saving of labour be liable to the objections which may fairly be urged against many of the fashionable attempts to facilitate the education of youth. Wherever labour implies the exertion of thought, it does good, at least to the strong: where the saving of labour is a saving of thought, it enfeebles. The mind like the body is strengthened by hard exercise: but to give this exercise all its salutary effect, it should be of a reasonable kind; it should lead us to the perception of regularity, of order, of a principle, of a law. When after all the trouble we have taken, we merely find anomalies and confusion, we are disgusted with what is so uncongenial: and as our higher faculties have not been called into action, they are not unlikely to be outgrown by the lower, and overborne as it were by the underwood of our minds. Hence no doubt one of the reasons why our language has been so much neglected, and why such scandalous ignorance prevails concerning its nature and history, is its unattractive disheartening irregularity: none but Satan is fond of plunging into a chaos.

In our preterites, it has been seen, we have forsaken the practice of former times, when a mark of elision used, in verse at least, to be substituted for the mute *e* of the termination. In a different point on the other hand we have deviated from their practice by inserting a mark of apostrophe where it is not found in our old writers. This has arisen from a blunder about the nature of the only case we have retained. It is now pretty generally known that

the languages of the Teutonic family were in ancient times rich in inflexions, so as in this respect to approach nearly to the Latin and Greek. Nor was the Anglosaxon poorer than her sister dialects; though on her union with the Norman she lost them almost entirely. What took place then, was exactly similar to what W. Schlegel in his very elegant and ingenious Essay on Provençal Literature, p. 22, has remarked of the Romanesque languages: “Du concours de deux langues qui toutes les deux avoient une grammaire *synthétique*, (that is, which were fond of expressing modifications of the meaning of verbs or nouns by modifications of the word itself), sont nées des langues dans lesquelles le système *analytique* a pris le plus grand développement (that is, which express such modifications mostly by means of prepositions and other auxiliaries).” In another place (Indische Bibliothek, i. 284) the same writer, after repeating the observation that when languages intermix “*coeunt quidem paullatim in novum corpus peregrina vocabula, sed grammatica linguarum, unde petita sunt, ratio perit,*” illustrates it by a reference to what happened in England. “*Lingua Anglo-Saxonica satis doctam habebat grammaticam, et accurate jam ab Alfredi aetate excultam: nunc pauca ejus vestigia manent; nec verba e lingua Romana vulgari Galliae desumta uberiores suam conjugationem, jure hereditario a Latinis acceptam, servarunt. Ita lingua Anglica obmutuit paene in terminationibus variandis, et constructionem verborum plerumque solo ordine, quo se excipiunt, indicat, quo vitio et linguae Romanae plus minusve laborant.*” From this he infers that a language in which the modifications of words are mainly expressed by auxiliaries, may fairly be suspected of being a mixt language. But ingenious as this observation is, the examples of the modern Greek and Italian shew the necessity of caution in applying it. On the whole however it is unquestionably true: and it is confirmed by Grimm, in the Introduction to the first edition of his Grammar, p. xxxii, who supports it by the following observations. “Every violent intermixture of two languages is contrary to the order of nature, and hastens the destruction of their grammatical forms. When the English language was inundated by a vast influx of French words, few, if any, French forms were

received into its grammar ; but the Saxon forms soon dropt away, because they did not suit the new roots ; and the genius of the language, from having to deal with the newly imported words in a rude state, was induced to neglect the inflexions of the native ones. This for instance led to the introduction of the *s* as the universal termination of all plural nouns ; which agreed with the usage of the French language, and was not alien from that of the Saxon, but was merely an extension of the termination of the ancient masculine to other classes of nouns. Owing to this cause the English language assumed an abstract character much earlier than the German. The confusion of the high and low German dialects, which seems to have been particularly active from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, though it had been going on even before, enriched the written language with new words and notions, but was injurious to its grammatical forms. Many deviations from the ancient practice may be accounted for immediately from the influence of the low German. Again the irruption of the Teutonic nations into almost all the countries that spoke Latin was the chief cause of the loss of the Latin inflexions : yet hardly any German formation was adopted, though a number of roots were, especially by the northern French. It is worth notice that the German and Slavonic races have never intermingled, as the German and Latin have in England : German roots indeed have been adopted in the Slavonic tongues, Slavonic roots, though in less number, by the German ; but the grammatical inflexions of the two languages do not seem to have come into contact. The place to look for such an intermixture would be in the Lithuanian or Prussian languages in ancient times : the grammatical system of these however is too complete for it to be credible that either had exercised any violent influence upon the other." Among the numerous confirmations of these remarks it may be observed, that almost all our irregular verbs, as they are called, are monosyllables of Saxon origin, as is noticed even by Johnson in his Grammar. That is to say, all our newly imported verbs were subjected to the same mode of inflexion, that which arose out of the first Anglosaxon conjugation : hence this conjugation grew in time to outnumber the others

so that it almost swallowed them up, or at all events deprived them of their independent character, and occasioned their being regarded as anomalies and exceptions. Müller too, applying the same principle to the Latin verb, says that the foreign admixture discernible in other parts of the language has left its passive voice in a very shattered form, little better than a ruin, inflicting the same injury upon the Latin passive verb, which the irruption of the Germanic nations in aftertimes inflicted on the active in the Romanesque languages (Etrusker i. p. 23).

Of our Anglosaxon cases we kept but one, the genitive, and that only in particular constructions; for this genitive must always precede the noun it depends on. Thus becoming unused to inflexions, we lost the perception of their meaning and nature; and the precursors of Horne Tooke in the sixteenth century fancied that the *s* of the genitive stood for *his*. Under this notion *his* was often written at length, especially where the noun ended in *s*. At what period this error was first broacht, and how it crept into vogue, my own very limited acquaintance with our ancient writers does not enable me to determine. I believe it is not found in Chaucer or Maundevile, and probably not in the other writers of the same age. The earliest instances I have noticed belong to the latter half of the sixteenth century. In the *Palace of Pleasure* (1575) we find *Christe his secretes*, Vol. i. p. 44 (ed. Hazlewood), *Rinaldo his servaunt* p. 115, *Landolpho his barque* p. 125, *Andreuccio his parentes* p. 130, *without any knowledge of the prince his being there* p. 169, *Didaco his sworde* p. 220, *sir Stricca his garden* p. 322. So in the *Mirroir for Magistrates: by Mars his force*, King Albanact 10, *to Hercules his pillers*, 35, and so on. In Gerarde's *Herbal* this corruption occurs perpetually. The title of Sylvester's translation is *Dubartas his Divine Weekes*; that of Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Even Spenser, though one is loth to detect error in a writer to whom the language owes so much, has *Pegasus his kynd*, i. 9. 21, *Mars his bed*, iii. 6. 24, *Satyrane his chaunce*, iii. 9. 27, *Satyrane his steed*, iv. 4. 30, *Brute Sylvius his sonne*, iii. 9. 48. This led our grammarians long ago to protest against the blunder. Charles Butler, one of the earliest of them, in his *English Grammar* publisht in 1634,

says: "The Teutonik termination of the genitive some refined wit hath turned to *his*, perswading himself that *s* is but a corrupt abbreviation of *his*, which hee thought necessary to restore: and therefore hee wil not write *my masters son is a child*, but *my master his son is a child*; which is just as good as if in Latin hee would say, not *heri filius*, but *herus ejus filius, est infans*." Ben Jonson too, in his Grammar, which did not come out till 1640, after his death, says: "Nouns ending in *x*, *s*, *sh*, *g*, and *ch*, in the declining take to the genitive singular *i*, and to the plural *e*; as *rose*, *bush*, *age*, *breech*; which distinctions not observed brought in first the monstrous syntax of the pronoun *his* joining with a noun betokening a possessor." Yet in spite of these protests it has been so much the fashion for Englishmen to know nothing about their own tongue, that instances of this "monstrous syntax" are to be found in many even of our best and purest writers. Milton indeed, like Jonson, seems to have kept clear of it: but Randolph, Jonson's adopted son, forgot his father's precept concerning it: Clarendon talks of *Mr Hobbes his friends*, *Mr Hobbes his Leviathan*: in Dryden's letters, in printing which Malone has rightly followed the poet's own way of spelling, the same corruption occurs repeatedly: Otway, Pope, Congreve, Farquhar use it: the argument of *Hudibras* begins with *Sir Hudibras his passing worth*; and shortly after, l. 1. 439, we come to

As Cæsar's horse would kneel and stoop,

(Some write) to take his rider up;

So *Hudibras his* ('tis well known)

Would often do to set him down.

Nay, Addison in the *Spectator*, No 135, asserts that "the single letter *s* on many occasions does the office of a whole word, and represents the *his* and *her* of our forefathers:" though, as Lowth observes, his own words carry their confutation along with them; and a little reflexion would shew that *s* can hardly have usurpt the place of *her*. In a Grammar indeed by Joseph Aickin, publisht in 1693, an attempt is made to get over this difficulty. "The casual preposition *of* (he says) is sometimes changed into an adjective possessive; as, *the King's son*, for *of the King*, where *s* is put for *his*; *Jane's daughter*, where *s* is put for *hers*; *hell's darkness*, where *s* is

put for *its*." It never struck him to ask what *his* and *hers* and *its* were; or that they were originally only the genitives of *he*, *her*, *it*. This erroneous persuasion had become so inveterate, that the republisher of Ben Jonson in 1692, taking upon him to correct his author, audaciously and tacitly put in the room of the passage before-cited: "To the genitive cases of all nouns denoting a possessor is added 's with an apostrophe, thereby to avoid the gross syntax of the pronoun *his* joining with a noun; as the *Emperor's court*; not the *Emperor his court*." Thus foisting in his own conviction that 's stands for *his*, and yet retaining the expression "the gross syntax," which is directly opposed to it, he has made old Ben write sheer nonsense, in a chapter which even in the old edition is far from correct.

In Wallises Grammar one is startled at first by the assertion that noun substantives in English have no distinction of gender or case: which in a true English spirit he boasts of as an advantage, because it saves us a world of trouble: as if the same might not be said of ignorance; or as if anything good were to be got at without trouble. But does Wallis then entirely pass over our genitive case? He speaks of it indeed, but under another name, and calls it a possessive adjective: "which may be formed from any substantive, whether singular or plural, by adding *s*, or if needful for the sake of the sound, *es*. Its meaning is the same as that of the preposition *of*, when it answers to the Latin genitive: as *mans nature*, *the nature of man*, *natura humana vel hominis*; *mens nature*, *the nature of men*, *natura humana vel hominum*." Here in the first place it strikes one that there is nothing in the nature of our adjectives analogous to this needless variation between the two so-called possessives, *mans* and *mens*. But how is a *mans nature* to be reconciled with the character of our adjectives? and what is a *thousand mens swords*? is it *mille humani enses*? The assumption is altogether arbitrary and groundless; and taken up merely for the sake of supporting the paradox, that we have no cases. Had Wallis been acquainted with our old language, a knowledge which our grammarians and lexicographers have strangely thought it not worth their while to acquire, he would have found that

we had just as good, or as troublesome, cases as the Latin or Greek. But in comparing the disorder of our own with the regularity and symmetry of the ancient languages, one is evermore reminded how to him that hath is given, and he hath more abundance; while from him that hath not is taken away even that he hath.

That the final *s* stands for *his* however, Wallis positively denies: "for (he says) it is joined to feminine nouns, and to plurals, where *his* would be a solecism; and it is found in the possessives *ours*, *yours*, *theirs*, *hers*, where nobody can dream that *his* is contained: and indeed *his* itself, as well as *whose*, are only *hee's who's*, *his* being written for *hees* as *bin* is for *been*." Yet to such a pitch was the confusion on this point carried, that the compiler of the index to Stow's Survey of London in the edition of 1633 writes *St James's his Parke*, though Stow in the text wrote *St James Parke*. In our Liturgy too, as every one knows, we read *Christ his sake*: for though the ancient spelling of our prayerbooks has been modernized, and some slight changes made, such matters, from our recklessness about grammar, are left to the ignorant, and this gross blunder is still allowed to keep its place. Its introduction in the Prayer for all Sorts and Conditions of Men, contrary to the analogy of the Collects for Quinquagesima, and for the fourth and twenty-fourth Sundays after Trinity, is to be accounted for from that prayer's being one of the additions made on the accession of Charles II: the same blunder occurs repeatedly in the Forms of Prayer framed at the same time for Charles the Martyr, and for the Restoration. The passages in our Bible on the other hand where the same error is pointed out by Lowth, — *Asa his heart*, 1 Kings xv. 14; *Mordecai his matters*, Esther, III. 4, — have since been altered: here again, though the corruption is found in all the old editions of the version made under James I, most of the earlier translations are without it: in Cranmer's Bible of 1549 we read *Asaes harte*; in Tyndales of 1549, *Asas*; in Barkers of 1582 and 1616, *Asas* and *Mordecais*: and such is the old and right way of writing our genitives.

For it was this very mistake about the origin of the final *s*, that gave rise to that useless and unmeaning practice, with

which all our modern books are disfigured, of prefixing a mark of elision to it. There is no better ground for placing such an ugly mark over the genitive, than over the nominative plural: where the vowel which used to precede the *s* has been omitted in the one case, it has also been omitted in the other; and that no confusion or ambiguity of the slightest moment is obviated by the use of such a mark, anybody may satisfy himself by reading our old authors in the original editions, or in the reprints where the old orthography has been retained. For in our old books the genitive is written without any mark of the sort. In Hearne's edition of Robert of Gloucester indeed one finds it: but no doubt it owes its introduction to a piece of carelessness on the part of the editor, who in other respects rightly follows the orthography of his author's age. Even so late as at the publication of *Paradise Lost*, the apostrophe was only introduced in a few peculiar cases. In the early editions of Milton we read "*Of Mans First Disobedience*;"—

Yet to thir *Generals* Voyce they soon obeyd

Innumerable, as when the potent Rod

Of *Amrams* son in *Egypt's* evill day;—

and so on. The mark of elision is only set over such words as *Siloa's* i. 11, *Gaza's* 466, *Ely's* 495, *Rhea's* 513. So, in his Minor Poems, over *Cynthia's*, *Ida's*, *Jehovah's*, *Hebe's*, *Pluto's*, *the shallow cuckoo's bill*. Thus even in the first folio we read "Violets dim, But sweeter than the lids of *Juno's* eyes, Or *Cytherea's* breath;" though in other cases no difference is made between the genitive and the plural. In these words, as in *do's* for *does*, the apostrophe took the place of an *e* that had been left out: for Spenser, who seldom uses such marks, wrote *Plutoes* i. 1. 37, *Unaes* i. 3. 2, *Junoes* i. 4. 17, *Sansfoyes* i. 4. 51, *Duessaes* i. 3. 27, *Archimagoes* i. 6. 2, *Cupidoes* ii. 6. 35: and for the same reason we find the nominative plural written *hero's* in P. L. i. 552; *idea's* by Osborn p. 20, *juncto's* p. 70, *comma's* p. 150, *punctilio's* p. 168, *dilemma's* by Fuller, Holy State p. 66, *Penelope's* by Cartwright, Lady Errant, i. 3:

'Cause they eat their sweetmeats

In a black closet, they are counted faithfull,

The sole *Penelope's* o' th' time, the ladies

Of the chaste Web i' th' absence of their Lords.

And this accords with the practice of the Germans, who write *Grimaldi's*, *Sebastiani's*, equally for the genitive singular and the nominative plural; as they do *Shakspeare's*, *Sterne's*, *Kotzebue's*, to indicate that the *e* before the *s* belongs to the name, and is not the *e* of the genitive, which is omitted. Spenser however has *Cassiopeias* i. 3. 16, *Phædras* ii. 6. 38, *Maïas* iv. 3. 42, being restrained by the preceding vowel from inserting the *e*, as well as *Phebes* iv. 5. 14, *Niobes* iv. 7. 30: and since we in our days should never dream of inserting the vowel, the note of its being left out is quite useless. Other words should be written like *its* and *whose*, which are never *it's* or *who'se*. Indeed nothing but the mistake about *his* could have led us to commemorate the omission of a letter, which in most words has not been inserted these three hundred years, and in many, such as *time's*, *nature's*, never existed. "The genitive singular (says Johnson) is always written with a mark of elision, according to an opinion long received that *s* is a contraction of *his*." And the same account of its origin is given by Wallis: "qui autem arbitrantur illud *s* loco vocis *his* adjunctum esse, ideoque apostrophæ notam semper vel pingendam esse vel saltem subintelligendam, omnino errant." It seems to have been in the age of Charles II that this practice first became general; when the language, which always sympathizes with, and thereby becomes symptomatical of, the moral condition of a people, was in a state of general deterioration, which Dryden was hardly able to check, and the effects of which Swift found it difficult to crush; and when our very printers, who in early times, and even under Elizabeth, were mostly painstaking, reacht the highest degree of slovenliness.

Still more absurd is the mark of elision after the genitive plural. Milton wrote *parents tears*, P. L. i. 393: the *shearers feast*, Lyc. 817: which his editors print *parents' tears*, the *shearers' feast*. Now what in this instance has been left out? what does ' stand for? Or is it the purpose of a mark of elision to shew that nothing has been elided? It is well to have some reason for what we do, even in trifles. Wallis indeed asserts that the *s* of the plural is blended with that of the possessive, or rather that for the sake of euphony the former is elided, as the *Lord's House* for *the Lords's House*, the *Common's House* for the *Commons's*

House: as if such words as *Lords's*, *Commons's* had ever existed at any period of our language. It is only by an erroneous assimilation to the genitive singular that such plural genitives as *mens*, *womens*, *brethrens*, have been formed; for the Saxon genitive plural did not end in *s*. Still the corruption never went so far as to append an *s* to a plural in *s*. The authority of Wallis however led many writers in Queen Anne's time to spell the genitive plural in the same way as the singular: Gay's masterpiece for instance was at first called *the Beggar's Opera*. The present fashion of placing the apostrophe after the *s* is scarcely of a hundred years standing. In the first edition of Pope's *Iliad*, publisht in 1715, we find,

Of all the Kings, the *Gods* distinguish'd Care: I. 229:

Rang'd the wild Desarts red with *Monsters* Gore: I. 356:

The *Gods* Complaints, and Juno's fierce Alarms: I. 673.

Johnson too says, "Plurals ending in *s* have no genitives: but we say *womens* excellencies, and Pope writes

Weigh the *mens* wits against the *ladies* hairs."

So that at the time when he publisht his dictionary this mode of writing had not become current. Surely then there ought to be no scruple about getting rid of so modern and totally groundless an absurdity.

There may not be quite so strong reasons against our manner of writing the genitives of proper names ending in *s*: but it is a very objectionable practice, which produces such hideous unpronounceable words as *Venus's*, as if the very sound of her name were to betoken that she was of the seed of the serpent. Tyrwhitt in his Glossary to Chaucer, on the word *Markis*, has justly reprehended this practice, which was then a recent innovation, and he remarks that, if *Venus's* is to be pronounced as a trisyllable, we ought not to cut out the *e* of the old genitive, but to write at full *Venuses*. Landor indeed and others have preferred the form *Venusis*. This form of the genitive in *is* occurs in Gawin Douglas; but it is a Scoticism, like his plurals, *birdis*, *ilandis*, *fieldis*, and his third person of verbs, *rollis*, *upstertis*, *apperis*. The vowel of the genitive in the Anglosaxon was *e*: so was it in Chaucer's time, as appears from the very title of the *Knichtes Tale*, or, to take a couple of instances, from

That *Cristes* gospel trewely wolde preche : C. T. 483 :

That hadde a fire-red *cherubinnes* face : C. T. 626 :

And thanked him with all hir *hertes* might : 1878.

If in Wiclif we find *i* perpetually substituted for *e*, and that not only in the genitive *Cristis*, in plurals,—as Gal. v. 19, “the *werkis* of the *fleisch* ben *witheccraftis*, *strivyngis*, *wraththis*, *chidyngis*, *sectis*, *manslaughtris*, *drunkennessis*, *unmesurable etyngis*, and *thingis* lyk to these”—but in such words as *undir*, *fadir*, *britheren*, *hymself*, and many more, this is probably owing to his northern extraction. In the standard English the *e* kept its ground. In Cranmer’s Bible the genitives *Goddes*, *Christes*, occur frequently : so do such genitives as *Asaes* ; which accord with those quoted above from Spenser : and though the genitive of proper names ending in *s* is mostly the same as the nominative, Maundevile, p. 111, writes *Cayphases hows*. Spenser in like manner says of Duessa, l. 8. 48, “she growing had behind a *foxes* taile.” In Osborn we find “through the *churches* dependance,” p. 194 ; in Congreve’s translation of Ovid’s Art of Love, “Beauty’s the gift of gods, the *sexes* pride ;” in his translation of the Homeric hymn to Venus, “Delight of human kind, thy *sexes* pride.” In our pronunciation too we make no difference between the genitive singular and the nominative plural : and that the pronunciation in ancient times was the same, is pretty clear, because in most of the instances in which we find the genitive written with *his*, it is after names ending in *s*. The ordinary usage however of all our old writers agrees with that of Spenser and Milton, who write *Fair Venus sonne*, *Like Phæbus lampe*, *Morpheus train*, *Pelops line*, without any mark of elision. In Puttenham’s Arte of English Poesie, III. 5, we read : “So we say that Ciceros stile and Salusts were not one, nor Cesars and Livies, nor Homers and *Hesiodus*, nor *Herodotus* and *Theucidides*, nor *Euripides* and *Aristophones*, nor *Erasmus* and *Budeus* stiles.” The apostrophe, which in our days is usually placed over such genitives, is so modern an innovation that it is never mentioned either by Wallis or Johnson in their Grammars. Our ancient practice moreover accords with that of the Germans in similar words, who, since they have given up the use of the Latin cases, regard names

ending in *s* as indeclinable, and almost uniformly write *Atreus Enkel, Tantalus Sohn, Æschylos Agamemnon, Priamos Feind*. It is singular that so learned a philologist as Wolf should have allowed himself to be deluded by the English practice into writing *Aristophanes' Wolken, Horatius' Satiren*.

Hence we perceive that, according to the usage of earlier times, we have two forms for the genitive of nouns ending in *s*; one in which it is the same with the nominative, as may be further seen in the phrases, *for goodness sake, for righteousness sake*,—and in the similar one, *for conscience sake*, which from the resemblance of sound follows the same rule,—in all which the use of an apostrophe is a mere modern corruption; the other in which *es* is added to it. Of these two the latter, as agreeing with our mode of pronouncing such words, is clearly the preferable one: and for this reason we should do well if it were to be generally adopted. It might be objected indeed that, when a vowel stands before a single *s*, it is mostly pronounced long: but the same objection would apply to the nominative plural: if we write *geniuses, crocuses, Brutuses, Charleses*, for the latter, we may do so likewise for the genitive: nor is the above principle by any means universal, as may be seen from such words as *promises, purposes, metamorphoses, garrison, comparison, prophesy, hypocrisy, disappear, misapply*. That arrant absurdity too, the apostrophe subjoined to the genitive plural, ought to be immediately and utterly rejected. These two steps, as they relate to points which are not of very frequent occurrence, I have deemed it safe and advisable to take. With regard to the genitive singular, though there also it is desirable that the apostrophe should be left out, I have been withheld from omitting it by an unwillingness to innovate too far at once. Nor indeed is it so offensive here, provided it be universally recognized that the final *s* of the genitive has nothing to do with *his*. For as no error, however petty or insignificant, can be allowed to take root and run to seed, but a crop of noxious weeds is sure some time or other to sprout up from it, so this very mistake about the nature of our genitives has been in no slight degree injurious to the elegance of our style. There can be little doubt that

this very mistake has, latently at least, been the main reason why, with the exception of proper names, and of words designating human beings, the use of the genitive has of late been almost confined to our poets: indeed many eminent prose-writers of the present day stiffen and encumber their style by avoiding it even in such. Sir James Mackintoshes History of England for instance, or, as according to his practice I should have called it, *the History of England of Sir James Mackintosh*, would be very much improved by the insertion of a few thousand genitives. Many persons nowadays write, *the Paradise Lost of Milton, the Macbeth of Shakspeare, the Principia of Newton, the note of Porson on the Orestes, the marriage of Henry*: though everybody would say, *Milton's Paradise Lost, Shakspeare's Macbeth, Newton's Principia, Porson's note on the Orestes, Henry's marriage*. Yet it is impossible to tell what is gained by a supernumerary article and preposition in a language already overburthened with them: and as an idiomatical is always an easy and graceful style, so every departure from idiom, every attempt to staylace the language of polisht conversation, renders our phraseology inelegant and clumsy.

J. C. H.

ON ENGLISH DIMINUTIVES.

GRIMM, in the third volume of his German Grammar, has devoted a separate chapter to the consideration of the diminutive terminations in the Teutonic languages, subjoining at the same time a summary statement, for the purposes of comparison, of the diminutive forms in other languages, both ancient and modern, allied to the Teutonic family. In the course of this comprehensive and most learned enquiry, he takes occasion incidentally to point out the principal diminutive terminations in the English language: but as he has merely selected a few instances, for the sake of illustrating his general subject, not our language in particular, we may be permitted to apply the acute researches of this universal linguist to the elucidation of English philology, for which purpose the acquaintance of a native with his mother-tongue is absolutely necessary, and cannot be supplied by the investigations of foreigners, however learned and sagacious.

Grimm distinguishes two meanings of diminutives: 1st, when they express *simple diminution* (μείωσις) without any accessory notion; and, 2nd, when they express a feeling of *tenderness* and *endearment* (ὑποκορισμός), the latter being usually unaccompanied with any notion of smallness. To these may, as it appears, be added a third sense, of *contempt*, as in the Latin *homunculus*, *homuncio*, and the English *lordling*; which indeed is allied with the idea of diminutive size, but is nevertheless distinct from it, and expresses merely moral, without physical littleness.

Among the many diminutive terminations in various Teutonic dialects enumerated by Grimm, two only, viz. *ling* and *kin* (corresponding to the German *chen*) have been generally prevalent in the English language. When the Teutonic elements of our language had a freer play, and were in a state of

more vigorous development than is now the case, its power of forming diminutives by these means appears to have been considerable, though now it has almost expired: the words to which diminutive terminations have thus been attached, are moreover chiefly of Saxon, rarely of French, and never of Latin, origin. Partly on this account, and partly because diminutives, as expressing either tenderness or contempt, are suited to familiar discourse, many of the words which will be presently mentioned (except where they have lost their diminutive meaning) are homely, or even vulgar.

The following English diminutives in *kin* are mentioned by Grimm¹: *mannikin* from *man*, *lambkin* from *lamb*, *lakin* (in Shakspeare²) i. e. *ladikin* from *lady*, *kilderkin*, *vasculum*, from *kilder*, *vas*.

Of the same form as *mannikin* from *man* is *minnikin* from *min*, small, the parent of a large family of words, as *minor*, *menu*, *minder*, *minx*, &c.³ *Napkin*, from *nappe*, a cloth, is perhaps the only case in which the Norman part of our language has been inflected with this Saxon diminutive termination. Instances of diminutives of the other family are *girkin*, or more properly *gurkin*, from the German *gurke*, the modern diminutive form of which word would be *gürkchen*. The German *gurke* and the Swedish *gurka* (to which the English *gourd* is allied) are derived by Adelung from the Latin *anguria*, whence *augurken* in Low Saxon. *Jerkin*, a jacket, is a derivative of *jurk*, a frock, in Dutch. The word *jerkin* likewise at one time signified a hawk, in which sense it is the diminutive of *geier*, a hawk or vulture in German, which word is preserved in the com-

¹ Vol. III. p. 681. and see Jamieson in the letter K and *kin*.

² This word only occurs in Shakspeare in the phrase "by'r lakin," *lakin* being (according to Nares) "a diminutive of endearment for lady, and our lady meant the Virgin Mary." This oath is still current in the northern provincial language of England: see Wilbraham's Cheshire Glossary, ed. 2. p. 96. 104.

³ The following may serve as a specimen of the value of the etymological part of Johnson's Dictionary. He first inserts the word *manikin*, and derives it from *manniken* Dutch: he then inserts the word *mannikin*, without any reference to his preceding article, and derives it from *man* and *klein* German!

pound *gerfalcon*. The Anglo-Saxon *kyrtelkin*, from which Skinner and after him Johnson derive the former sense of *jerkin*, is the diminutive of the word, of which *kirtle*, *girdle*, and *gürtel* are the modern representatives⁴. The words *finikin* from *fine*, *simpkin* from *simple*, *pipkin* from *pipe*, *bootikin* from *boot*, *thumbikins* or *thumbkins*, the Scotch name for an instrument of torture applied to the *thumbs*, *pumpkin* from the German *pompe*, a gourd, *griskin*, from *grice* or *gris*, a pig, require no explanation. *Bumpkin* or *bumkin* is evidently derived from the Dutch *boom*, (the same as the German *baum*, and the English *beam*) a block of wood: it is, as Todd has remarked, still the naval term for a bar of timber. *Slammikin*, a slattern, a vulgar English, and also a Scotch expression, is derived from the word *schlamm*, mud or dirt, preserved in modern German. *Spillikin* is the diminutive of *spill*, a flat splinter of wood. The verb *to spill* is still used by carpenters in some parts of England with the sense of splintering in small pieces. *Spille* in German means a pointed piece of wood: whence the Italian *spilla* or *spillo*, a pin. as pins were doubtless in ancient times made of wood⁵. *Siskin*, the name of a bird, may possibly be equivalent to *Süsschen*. Bewick, vol. i. p. 172, says that "its song is pleasing and *sweetly* various." *Firkin*, the fourth part of a barrel, exactly corresponds to *quadrantulus*, being the diminutive of the Anglo-Saxon *feower*⁶, or rather of the German form *vier*. *Buskin* appears to be allied to the Dutch *broosken*, the Scotch *brotikins* and the French *brodequin*, and may be derived from *burse* or *borse*, a skin or hide (whence it came to mean a purse), evidently the same word as the Greek *βύρσα*: *bodkin* is considered by Skinner as equivalent to *bodikin*, from *body*; but neither these, nor any other etymologies hitherto suggested for the two latter words can be considered as altogether satisfactory. More difficult of explanation than either of these is however the word *malkin*, or *maukin*, on account of the variety, and apparent discordance of its significations. It is twice used by Shakspeare; in *Coriolanus*, Act II. Sc. 1.

⁴ See the Glossary to Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry in v. *kyrtell*.

⁵ See also Jamieson in v. *spyle*.

⁶ Skinner in v. *ferkin*.

The kitchen malkin pins
 Her richest lockram 'bout her reechy neck,
 Clambering the walls to eye him.

And again in *Pericles*, Act iv. Sc. 4.

She did disdain my child, and stood between
 Her and her fortunes: none would look on her,
 But cast their gazes on Marina's face;
 Whilst ours was blurted at, and held a malkin,
 Not worth the time of day.

On the former of these passages, Hanmer has the following note: "A maukin, or malkin, is a kind of mop made of clouts for the use of sweeping ovens; thence a frightful figure of clouts dressed up; thence a dirty wench." In this word it is quite clear that *malkin* is the original form, from which *maukin* is softened, in the same way as *Aumerle* from *Albemarle*, the French *aube* from *albus*, *chauve* from *calvus*, *hauteur* from *altus*, *Baudouin* from *Baldwin*, &c. and like some words in the ancient Cretan dialect, as *αῦσος* for *ἄλσος*, *αῦμα* for *ἄλμα*, &c.⁷ The same change prevails at this day to a great extent in the provincial language of Cheshire⁸. Taking the three senses of *malkin*, which probably are arranged by Hanmer in their proper succession, as a guide to its etymology, it would appear to be derived from some word signifying a dirty or ragged cloth. Todd has suggested the Anglo-Saxon *mal*, the same word as the German *mahl*, meaning a spot or stain. *Maukin* is still used in Roxburghshire to denote a half grown female, according to Jamieson, who derives it from *mädekin*⁹. *Maukin* however, as is evident from the English form, is softened from *malkin*; in which word *l* is an essential letter, and must be accounted for. But whatever may be the etymology of

⁷ See Müller's *Dorians*, Vol. II. p. 504. In some words, as *talk*, *falcon*, *Talbot*, &c. the ancient spelling is retained, but the pronunciation is altered. If, like the Greeks, we adapted our spelling to our pronunciation, we should write these words *tauk*, *faucon* (as in French) *Taubot*, &c.

⁸ See Wilbraham's *Cheshire Glossary*, p. 9.

⁹ The Scotch possesses many of these diminutives: thus *cutikins*, spatter-dashes, from *cute*, the ancle; *mutchkin*, a measure, *smootrikin* "tiny and active, a fondling epithet," according to Jamieson, &c.

malkin or *maukin* in the sense of a scarecrow and a servant-girl, it evidently has an entirely different origin from *Malkin* the diminutive of *Mary*, (from *Mal* or *Mol*), like the German *Malchen*, the diminutive of *Amalia*. Hence (as Steevens has remarked on the passage in *Coriolanus*) Beaumont and Fletcher call Maid Marian by the name of "Malkyn, the May Lady¹⁰." To this sense of *Malkin*, Johnson refers the name *grimalkin* for a cat, deriving it from the French *gris*, and *malkin* from *Mary*: which etymology is rendered probable by the common practice of calling animals by familiar names of men and women. *Grimalkin*, the name of a spirit, is derived from the cat, and not the converse, as is sometimes stated. But neither of these derivations throws any light on the Scotch *maukin*, for a hare; though it may be remarked that the same expression *puss* is in our language familiarly applied both to the cat and the hare.

In some cases the harsh guttural sound which appears to have anciently belonged to this diminutive termination (like the modern German *ch*), instead of being softened into the sound which we now represent by the letter *K*, was altogether omitted in English: thus *maiden* was formed from *maid* as *mädchen* from *magd*. If the diminutive of *maid* has been formed in the same way as *mannikin* from *man*, we should write it *maidikin*, like the modern Flemish *mäd-eken*¹¹. In like manner *kitten* is formed from *cat*, i. e. *kätchen*, or as in modern German *kätzchen*: the word *catkins*, which signifies certain substances hanging from trees in the manner of a cat's tail, has preserved the guttural sound, turned into *K*. *Chicken* is perhaps a similar form; although it seems most probable that *chicken* is merely the ancient plural of *chick*, as *oxen* of *ox*; and that the two numbers have been used indiscriminately for the singular, since the ancient plural termination has become obsolete. It is perhaps almost needless to mention that *welkin* is not a word of this family, but is the plural of *wolc*, and

¹⁰ "Malkin diminutivum τοῦ ὑποκοριστικοῦ nominis Maria." Skinner in v. See also Nares' Glossary in *Malkin*. *Mal* and *Mally* are still used in the North country dialect for *Mol* and *Molly*.

¹¹ Grimm, Vol. III. p. 681.

means *clouds*, which in our climate are almost synonymous with heaven¹².

The French *bouquin*, which is a contemptuous expression for an old worthless book, cannot be a Roman word, as *buch* or *book* seems peculiar to the Teutonic languages: but is probably derived from some such irregular¹³ form as *buchchen* or *buchkin*, the same as the modern German *büchlein*. So the French *manequin*, a puppet, was borrowed from the Teutonic *manekin*. The word *pékin*, used by the French during the government of Bonaparte as a contemptuous expression for those men who were not soldiers, is a corruption of *paganus*¹⁴; and furnishes the only instance of a correlative term to *soldier* in a modern language¹⁵.

The diminutive Malkin from Mary, already noticed, is not the only instance of this inflexion of proper names in our language. Christian names, as being the familiar appellatives of children and relations, furnish many examples of this termination. Thus Lord Bacon, in his history of Henry VII. speaking of the person who counterfeited the Duke of York, says that "he was named Peter; but afterwards proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Perkin¹⁶." In this case, as in many others, that which was originally a Christian name has now become a surname. So Malkin, mentioned above, Tomkin from Thomas, Jenkin from Jean, Watkin from Wat for Walter, Wilkin from William, Dickin (also Dickon) from Dick, Sawkin from Sal for Sarah, Hawkin from Hal for Henry (like mawkin for malkin, and other words before mentioned), Popkin from Bob or Pop for Robert, Simpkin or Simkin from Simeon, Larkin from Larry for Lawrence, Hopkin from the old name Hob, Hodgkin

¹² See above, p. 412.

¹³ Properly words ending in *ch* were not inflected with the termination *kin* or *chen*: see Grimm, Vol. III. p. 680.

¹⁴ On the changes in the meaning of this word, see Gibbon's last note but one to ch. 31 of his History.

¹⁵ See some remarks on this subject by Hume, in a note to his Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations, Works, Vol. III. p. 433.

¹⁶ Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 277. ed. Montagu.

from Hodge (whence Hoskins, Huskisson, &c.), Timkin from Timothy, Dawkin (whence Dawkins, Dakins, and Deakins) from David¹⁷, Lukin from Louis, or perhaps from Luke, &c.: to which may be added Goldsmith's fictitious name of Tony Lumpkin. Huggins, Higgins, and Hoggins appear to be variously corrupted from the diminutive of Hugh, as Diggins was corrupted from Dickins.

Another diminutive termination formed with the letter K noticed in our language by Grimm, is *ock*; of which he produces two instances, *bullock* and *hillock*¹⁸. To these may be added *paddock* a toad, from *pada* A.S. or *padde* Dutch and German, *buttock* from the French *bout*, *hummock* apparently from *hump*. Several instances of this termination in Scotch are produced by Jamieson¹⁹, as *Jamock*, *lassock*, *mannock*, *laddock*, *wifock*, *wifockie*, *playock*, a child's toy, &c. To these we may add *bittock* from *bit*, and the English *haddock*, formed from the same word as the Scotch *haddie*; the latter being, as Grimm has remarked, a common diminutive form in the Scotch dialect, as *lassie*, *lambie*, *mousie*, &c.²⁰

Of the diminutive termination in *ing*²¹, as in the word *sweeting*, there are scarcely any traces in our language: that in *ling* however occurs in many words, as *duckling*, *gosling*, *foundling*, *fondling*, *changeling*, *nurseling*, *yearling*, *suckling*, *nestling*, *seedling*, *youngling*, *kitling* a provincial expression for *kitten*, *darling* from *dear*, *stripling*, a slender youth, from *strip* or *stripe*, and *bantling*, which is commonly derived from *bairn*, a child; but in this word, as being the participle from *bären*, and equivalent to *borne*, or *born*, the R is an essential letter: its true origin is evi-

¹⁷ *Hawkyn*, *Dawkyn*, and *Tomkyn* appear to be used as Christian names in the ancient ballad of The Tournament of Tottenham, Percy Vol. II. and see his glossary in *Daukin*, *Hawkin*, and *Timkin*.

¹⁸ Vol. III. p. 677.

¹⁹ In the letter K.

²⁰ Ib. p. 686. The name *Pollock* from *Pol* corresponds to *Malkin* from *Mal*.

²¹ Grimm, Vol. III. p. 682. Some instances of Anglo-Saxon diminutives in *ling* are collected by Rask, A. S. Grammar, p. 104, who likewise points out the meaning of contempt belonging to this class of words.

dently to be found in the word *band*, and *bandling* or *bantling* meant a child wrapt in swaddling-bands. The disuse of the practice of swathing infants in this country has probably prevented this etymology from being at once perceived. *Sapling* is a young tree, which has formed no heart and is all sap. In the words *underling*²², *lordling*, and *hireling*, this termination conveys the idea of contempt which belongs to the diminutive form. But in *starling* from *stare*, *scantling*, *grayling*, a fish, *sanderling* a bird frequenting the sands on the seashore, and in many ancient words, as *easterling*, *westling*, inhabitants of the East and West, and *popeling*, a Roman Catholic, it serves merely as a termination, without suggesting any accessory notion of smallness, either physical or moral.

G. C. L.

²² To which corresponds *oferlyng* (i. e. *overling*) in the very ancient ballad of 'Richard of Almaine,' Percy Vol. II. although in this word *ling* is merely a termination, as in *hauptling*. *Underling* perhaps originally answered to *overling*, and merely meant an inferior; and afterwards acquired its diminutive contemptuous sense, as Niebuhr observes of the Latin diminutive termination in *ulus*, History of Rome, Vol. I. p. 70. *Lording* likewise is used by old writers without any disparaging force; but Swift employs it with a sense equivalent to that of *lordling*.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

I.

Etymology of Γύλιππος.

IN the article upon Kruse's Hellas (p. 339) is the following remark. "How large a part of the Greek language is entirely lost to us! To take an instance from a celebrated name: Γύλιππος was evidently a significant word: yet what is to be made of the first syllable?"

I think it probable that Γύλιππος meant a horse of a certain colour. We have analogous examples in the names Λεύκιππος, Μελάνιππος, Γλαύκιππος, Ξάνθιππος. Now in the Swedish and Danish languages *Gul* signifies *yellow*. But a word which prevailed in the ancient Teutonic may well be looked for in the ancient Greek and Latin also. Nor is it wanting in the latter; it is the Latin *gilvus*, which is the parent of the German *gelb* and English *yellow*. Γύλιππος therefore in my opinion is synonymous with Ξάνθιππος.

It will perhaps be asked with regard to the adjective *gilvus*, whether it can be applied with propriety to the colour of a horse? Let Virgil answer the question.

honesti

Spadices, glaucique, color deterrimus albis,

Et gilvo.—Georg. III. 82.

H. F. T.

II.

Conjecture on a passage of Æschylus.

IN the Prometheus, l. 441, Prometheus says τὰν βροτοῖς δὲ πῆματα Ἀκούσαθ'. which some translate "Hear the sorrows of mortals;" and others, "Hear *my* sufferings among

mortals." This passage however is *not* followed by any account of his sufferings, but by an eloquent and very ample relation of the various *inventions* by which he benefited the human race. I have no manner of doubt therefore that the genuine reading is τὰν βροτοῖς δ' εὐρήματα Ἀκούσαθ'. Every one must see how easily ΥΡ might be corrupted into Π, and the poet employs the word εὐρεῖν no less than three times immediately afterwards.

Καὶ μὴν ἀριθμὸν ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων
ἐξεῦρον αὐτοῖς.

οὔτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ
λινόπτερ' εὔρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα.
τοιαῦτα μηχανήματ' ἐξευρὼν τάλας
βροτοῖσιν, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχω σόφισμ'.

I perceived, after making the above conjecture, that I had been anticipated in it; but as the common reading still keeps its place in the text, I think it worthy of being again brought forward.

H. F. T.

III.

Correction of a passage of Euripides.

THE Iphigenia in Aulis opens thus:

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ὦ πρέσβυ, δόμων τῶνδε πάροιθεν
στείχε.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ.

στείχω. τί δὲ καινουργεῖς,
'Αγάμεμνον ἄναξ;

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

πεύσει.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ.

σπεύδω.

μάλα τοι γῆρας τούμὸν ἄϋπνον
καὶ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅζυ πάρεστιν.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστήρ ὅδε πορθμεύει; κ. τ. λ.

The old man enquires of Agamemnon what he is going to do; and the king replies *πεύσει*, thou shalt hear. But does he proceed to inform him? Not at all: he merely asks him the names of the stars. I think Euripides wrote differently.

τί δὲ καινουργεῖς

Ἀγάμεμνον ἄναξ;

ΑΓ. *σπεῦδε.*

ΠΡ. *σπεύδω.*

This *σπεῦδε*, *σπεύδω* answers to the *στέιχε*, *στείχω* in the line before. In this conjecture too, which occurred to me some time since, I find I have been anticipated by Hermann in his edition of this play. So many scholars of every kind have of late years been busying themselves about the Greek tragic drama, that it is not easy to hit on any thing, whether right or wrong, which has not already been hit on by some one else.

H. F. T.

IV.

Sir William Joneses Division of the Day.

IN the very clever and brilliant attack made in the Edinburgh Review on Croker's Edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson we meet with the following passage. "All our readers have doubtless seen the two distichs of Sir William Jones, respecting the division of the time of a lawyer. One of the distichs is translated from some old Latin lines, the other is original. The former runs thus:

'Six hours to sleep, to law's grave study six,
Four spend in prayer, the rest on nature fix.'

'Rather,' says Sir William Jones,

'Six hours to law, to soothing slumbers seven,
Ten to the world allot, and all to heaven.'

The second couplet puzzles Mr. Croker strangely. 'Sir William,' says he, 'has shortened his day to twenty-three hours, and the general advice of *all to heaven* destroys the peculiar appropriation of a certain period to religious exercises.' Now

we did not think that it was in human dulness to miss the meaning of the lines so completely. Sir William distributes twenty-three hours among various employments. One hour is thus left for devotion. The reader expects that the verse will end with, *and one to heaven*. The whole point of the lines consists in the unexpected substitution of *all* for *one*. The conceit is wretched enough; but it is perfectly intelligible, and never, we will venture to say, perplexed man, woman, or child before." No. CVII. p. 11.

This is somewhat ingenious, and sufficiently confident: it seems rather hard however to accuse Mr Croker of more than "human dulness," for not having hit upon a conceit which probably never entered the head of "man, woman, or child before," but at all events never entered Sir William Joneses. Had these lines occurred in an ancient manuscript, every scholar would without hesitation have pronounced that the word *six* at the head of the second couplet was an error of the scribe, who was misled by the *six* at the head of the first couplet; and have argued that, as the first line in the first couplet begins and ends with *six*, so the author in the second would assuredly make it begin and end with *seven*. Now if we turn to Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones, from which these verses are taken, we find in p. 251: "On another scrap of paper the following lines appear: they were written in India, but at what period is not known, nor indeed of any consequence:

Sir Edward Coke.

Six hours in sleep, in law's grave study six,

Four spend in prayer—the rest on nature fix:

Rather

Six hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,

Ten to the world allot, and all to heaven."

Here we gain a support for our emendation, in the similar transfer of the preposition *to* from the second couplet to the first, as cited in the Review, where Sir William Jones appears to be equally ignorant of grammar and of arithmetic. And on looking to the Errata one finds, "p. 251, for *six* read *seven*." It may be thought a pity that so much ingenuity and such good abuse should have been wasted. But this is a common occurrence in the history of criticism.

Those who are most lavish of such compliments as *fatuus*, *bardus*, and *hebes*, are pretty sure to be wrong on the very point which calls forth their talent for scurrility. The Muses are always careful to keep out of the sound of Billingsgate.

Sir William Joneses first couplet is a translation of three verses quoted by Coke in his first Institute, Lib. II. cap. I. sect. 85.

Sex horas somno, totidem des legibus aequis,

Quatuor orabis, des epulisque duas,

Quod superest ultro sacris largire camenis.

As our attention has been accidentally called to these lines, I may be allowed to mention that the original transcript of the translations is found in the fly-leaf of a copy of Gilbert's Law of Evidence, where it appears in the following state, with sundry corrections, and with the date, which was not known to Lord Teignmouth.

E. C.

be six address'd;
applied;

Six hours to *sleep* allot, to law the same;

pray feast sweet the rest

Pray four, feast two, the rest the Muses claim
the Muse claims all beside.

W. J.

Seven hours to *law*, to soothing *slumber* seven;

Ten to the *world* allot, and all to *heaven*.

1784.

Thus we see that Sir William Jones, instead of being chargeable with a wretched conceit, was inculcating a high and sacred principle, a principle which was the lodestar of his whole being, that religion is not a thing to be set apart from the world, and cut off from all fellowship with our other duties, but that every portion of our life ought to be pervaded and animated and hallowed by it.

J. C. H.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

p. 11. Among the letters ascribed to Hippocrates we find a correspondence between him and Hystanes the satrap of the Hellespont, who had been commissioned by Artaxerxes to invite the great physician to the Persian court. This Hystanes was no doubt designed by the rhetorician who fabricated those letters, to be the same person as the Osthanes whom we see thus brought into connexion with Democritus.

p. 36. l. 2. See Niebuhr, Roman History, Vol. II. p. 620, note 9.

p. 60. l. 14. See the very remarkable passage in Diodorus, xv. 90.

p. 133. l. 10. For *Œconomics* read *Politics*.

p. 135. l. 20. Read *ἐχρῶντο*.

p. 137. l. 8. The original reading ΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΙΕΡΑ was corrupted into ΑΥΤΩΙΙΚΑΙΙΕΡΑ, of which the next copyist made ΑΥΤΟΙΟΙΙΕΡΕΙC. Three manuscripts have *ιερεὺς* for *οἱ ἱερεῖς*, Bekker, p. 1351.

p. 138. l. 14. Bekker, p. 1352. l. 31. prints *κλητοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους* from all his manuscripts: but *τοὺς* is merely a repetition of the preceding syllable, and ought to be expunged.

p. 175. On the abode of these Sicelians and the statement concerning Echetus see Müller Etrusker, i. 10, 11, 15.

p. 191. On *πέραν* in the sense of *over against* see Buttmann, Lexilogus II. 26—8.

p. 252. l. 27. Letronne, p. 80, supposes that a word has dropt out in this passage, and that Scylax wrote *Εὐριπος, τεῖχος Αὐθηδῶν, τεῖχος Σαλγανεύς, Θῆβαι*. But this conjecture is liable to the objection that *τεῖχος* ought properly to be subjoined to the proper name, not to precede it. Müller (Orchomenos p. 415) would merely put a comma after *Εὐριπος*, and read *Εὐριπος, τεῖχος, Ἀυθηδῶν τεῖχος*: which is plausible enough.

p. 286. n. 24. for 56 read 516.

p. 291. Fab. I. 4. for *ῶρες* read *ῶρης*.

p. 294. Fab. VIII. 7. The true reading probably is, *σὺ μὲν γὰρ ὄντως ἐν λύκοις λέων φαίνει*.

p. 301. l. 4. from *bott.* for *τοίχιος* read *τοιχοῖς*.

p. 345. 430. read Herod. I. 56.

p. 406. n. 8. Compare Aesch. Choëph. 569. *τί δὴ πύλαισι τὸν ἰκέτην ἀπείργετε*.

p. 412. l. 24. With the expression *welkin eye* may be compared the verses in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*,

Thou canst not see one wrinkle on my brow;
Mine eyes are grey and bright and quick in turning.

p. 576 line	21	read	ὄγε
—	22		οὐκ
578	14		τυγχάνω
581	18	read with Koppiers	οὕτως ἁγίου γε
586	7	read	Δίδος
—	32		ἀρτοποιὸς
590	14		Ἀλκμέωνα
594 note 108 line 3			ἐκ μαγειρείων
595 line	2		ἀπονέμων
600	3		κτῆμα
601	11		ὅτ' ἄν
602	1		ῶ
605 note 139 line 12			ἀνχένιοι

INDEX OF AUTHORS TREATED OF IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

ACHILLES TATIUS, *Intro.* in *Arat.* 72.
Ælian, *V. H.* 77.
Ælius Dionysius 248.
Æschines 491. *Tim.* 424. 564. *F. L.* 270.
 Ctes. 576.
Æschylus 85. 209—244.
 Prom. 21. 44. 215. 232. 240—244. 277-8.
 687.
 Theb. 99. 216. 220. 221. 222. 239. 241.
 Pers. 105. 215. 218. 219—240. 381.
 Suppl. 100. 103. 104. 191-2. 210—8. 232.
 Agam. 21-2. 191. 224. 230. 231. 237.
 239. 241. 612.
 Choeph. 217. 222. 231. 232. 237. 238.
 Eumen. 97. 98. 103. 212. 214. 216.
 Fragm. 216. 547.
Agatharchides 245.
Alcæus 637. 638.
Alexander of Cotiaium 88.
Alexis 573. 578. 579. 580. 582. 586. 588.
 591. 594. 597. 607. 608.
Ammonius 280.
Amphis 563. 606.
Ananius 289.
Anaxagoras 89. 90. 94.
Anaxandrides 560.
Anaximander 34. 89. 90.
Anaximenes 34. 89. 90. 91.
Anecdota Bekk. 235-6. 638.
Antiphanes 558—608.
Antisthenes 599.
Apollodorus 192.
Apollonius Rhodius. 108. 113. 268. 286.
Apuleius 470.
Araros 563. 606.
Aratus 26. 52.
Archippus 590.
Aristophanes 77.

Acharn. 131. 242. 243.
Equit. 418. 619.
Nub. 232. 408. 530-1.
Vesp. 223. 227. 232. 280. 406. 551.
Pac. 218. 612.
Av. 44. 217. 256. 612. 616.
Thesm. 227.
Lysistr. 242. 243.
Ran. 244.
Plut. 227.
Aristophanes Gramm. 74. 75. 79.
Aristotle 498. 576.
 De Coelo 56. 71. 409.
 Meteorol. 60. 71.
 De Mundo 71.
 Hist. Anim. 612. 622.
 Metaph. 94.
 Polit. 262. 421. 422.
 Oecon. 126—141.
 Rhet. 314. 422.
Arrian 277. 374. 377. 378. 379. 381.
Asconius 157. 161—164.
Astydamas 77.
Athenæus 77. 110. 120. 373. 506. 559—
 608.
Augustin 10.

Babrius 280—304.
Berosus 38—42. 45. 51. 55.
Bible 46.
 I Kings 45. 46.
 Isaiah 45. 46. 53.
 Daniel 46. 53. 66. 380.
 Haggai 390—2.
 Zechariah. 390-1.
 Maccab. 400.
 I Corinth. 367.
Bolus 12. 13.

- Cæsar 246.
 Callimachus 284-5.
 Callinus 407.
 Callestratus 259. 260. 279.
 Canon Astronomical 387-393.
 Carcinus 637.
 Catullus 448. 470. 477.
 Censorinus 35. 50.
 Cephisodorus 588.
 Chares or Charisius 638.
 Chaucer 3. 48.
 Cicero pro Caec. 154-7.
 de Leg. 462.
 de Fin. 70.
 de Nat. Deor. 69.
 de Divin. 37. 39-42. 51-2. 69. 249.
 Clemens Alex. 11. 15. 16. 29. 70. 92.
 Cleomedes 47.
 Codex Theodos. 159.
 Justin. 159. 161. 171.
 Columella 12.
 Ctesias 63.
 Cyprian 10.

 Demades 491.
 Democritus 11. 12. 13.
 Demosthenes 259. 496-8. 605.
 Cherson. 592.
 Megalop. 258.
 Androt. 424.
 Boeot. 422.
 Polycl. 259.
 Neaer. 424.
 Dicæarchus 196. 246. 252. 344.
 Dinias 634-6.
 Diodorus 11. 39. 56-9. 63-8. 79. 276.
 277-8. 332. 338. 377-8. 412. 519.
 Diogenes Apollon. 92-95.
 Diogenes Laertius 11. 13. 55. 79. 80. 89.
 91. 92. 94. 281. 487. 492. 511. 515.
 Dion Cassius 2-4. 27-8. 49. 54. 473.
 Dionysius Halic. 37. 111. 194. 249. 341.
 497.

 Ehippus 569.
 Ephorus 266. 328.
 Epicharmus 637.
 Epicrates 572.
 Eratosthenes 245. 263.
 Eubulus 570. 582. 585. 606.
 Eudocia 91. 118. 119.
 Eudoxus 51. 52. 71.
 Euphorion 638.

 Euphron 567.
 Eupolis 638.
 Euripides 85.
 Orest. 44. 52.
 Phœn. 20. 21.
 Med. 99.
 Hippol. 240.
 Alcest. 236.
 Suppl. 52.
 Iph. A. 24-26. 104. 224. 225. 686.
 Iph. T. 14. 219. 232. 241.
 Rhes. 22. 23. 221.
 Heb. 277.
 Ion 14. 44. 71. 223.
 Herc. Fur. 238.
 Electr. 98.
 Fragm. 25. 44. 408.
 Eusebius Praep. Evang. 8-15. 34. 68.
 392-3.
 Chron. 94.
 Eustathius 174. 268. 280. 410. 413. 414.
 416. 417.

 Festus 37. 415. 416.
 Fulgentius 621.

 Gellius 35. 36. 37. 171.
 Geminus 26.

 Harpocraton 262.
 Hegesias 629. 630. 631.
 Heraclides Ponticus 118.
 Herodian Gramm. 632-639.
 Herodotus I. 109. 110. 111. 120-1. 328.
 332. 335-6. 337. 623. 627. 634-6.
 II. 33-5. 43. 48. 54. 55. 60-2. 277.
 278. 328. 354. 409. 611. 625. 626.
 627.
 III. 195. 276. 633-4.
 IV. 248. 256. 353. 612. 633.
 V. 259. 264.
 VI. 110. 191. 328. 347.
 VII. 190. 277. 345. 387. 389. 390. 627.
 VIII. 191. 354. 555. 616.
 IX. 259.
 Hesiod 26. 281. 616. 620. 621. 622.
 Hesychius 80. 222. 339. 425.
 Hipparchus 389.
 Hippocrates 26. 52.
 Hipponax 285. 288. 289.
 Homer 176. 318-9. 320. 344. 415. 609.
 621.
 Iliad 97. 111. 177-187. 191. 242. 407.

408. 415. 416. 611. 615. 616. 618.
 619. 621. 623-4.
 Odyssey 174-6. 242. 281. 407. 408.
 414. 415. 416. 609. 619-621.
 Hymns 14. 26. 33. 342.
 Horace 51. 415. 439-484.
 Hyginus 622.
 Hyperides 497.

 Ibycus 407. 623.
 Isocrates 259. 314. 315. 492.

 Jamblichus 42.
 Josephus 14. 59. 394. 395. 396. 398. 399.
 Justin Martyr 29. 41.

 Lactantius 70.
 Livy 36. 156. 634.
 Lucian 44. 92.
 Lutatius 10.
 Lycophron 106.
 Lycurgus 261.
 Lydus 5. 54. 72.
 Lysias 242-3. 406. 492.

 Macrobius 28. 35-7. 47. 69. 166.
 Manilius 68.
 Marcellinus 485.
 Marcian 246. 273.
 Martial 468.
 Maximus 16. 17.
 Mela 277. 613.
 Menander 593.
 Mnesimachus 569.
 Myron 631.

 Nicander 409.
 Nicophon 563. 606.
 Nicostratus 560. 566.
 Nonnus 633.

 Orphica 15-18. 26.
 Osthane 9-14.
 Ovid 621.

 Pandects 159. 166. 171. 172.
 Paulus 172.
 Pausanias 107. 115. 118. 120. 190. 330-1.
 355. 501. 511. 547. 555-7. 615. 617.
 628-631. 635-7.
 Persius 471. 477.
 Phædrus 282.
 Phavorinus 301. 304.
 Pherecydes 109. 119.
 Philetærus 606.
 Philip of Theangela 110. 373-381.
 Philistus 125.
 Philo 30. 31. 62. 63.
 Philodemus 126-7.
 Philostratus 262.
 Philexenus 596. 606.
 Phlegon 92.
 Phoenix of Colophon 285.
 Phrynichus 19. 615.
 Pindar 102.
 Planudes 5.
 Plato 70. 77. 487. 490-6. 506. 532-5.
 Apol. 535-6.
 Phædo 280. 281. 282.
 Sympos. 234.
 Republ. 69. 70. 212. 223.
 Tim. 72. 409.
 Epinom. 26. 56. 70. 71.
 Pliny 10. 12. 13. 33. 34. 36. 39. 41. 42.
 52. 68. 72. 94. 159. 160. 171. 172. 277.
 283. 375-9. 538. 546. 613.
 Plutarch 28. 32. 36. 47. 51. 72. 92. 114.
 119. 189. 250. 259. 260. 355-6. 373-5.
 501. 604.
 Polybius 245. 253. 416. 634.
 Polyzelus 568.
 Porphyry 8-15. 68. 117.
 Posidonius 245. 401.
 Propertius 448. 470.
 Pseudo-Origen 89. 92.
 Ptolemy, Almag. 37. 38. 47. 55. 68. 73. 389.
 Geogr. 633. 634.

 Sappho 452. 462-3. 636. 637.
 Scylax 245-279.
 Scymnus 637.
 Seneca 56. 59. 71. 474. 477.
 Servius 65. 165-6.
 Sextus Empiricus 16. 47. 66. 67.
 Sidonius Apollinaris 92.
 Simonides 285.
 Simplicius 38. 40. 43. 93. 409.
 Socrates 281-2. 529-535.
 Solinus 613.
 Solon 102. 103. 104.
 Sophocles 74-85.
 Oed. Tyr. 52-3. 100. 103. 214. 243.
 Oed. Col. 19. 104. 214.
 Antig. 100. 103. 238. 241. 408.
 Trach. 98. 220. 225. 226. 232. 237.
 612.

- Aj. 104.
 Phil. 19. 214. 220. 223.
 Electr. 214. 216.
 Fragm. 217. 220. 221. 636.
 Sophocles Junior 76.
 Sophron 637.
 Stephanus Byz. 118. 189. 192—5. 375.
 632. 633—4. 636.
 Stesichorus 442—3.
 Stobæus 59. 60. 68. 92. 117.
 Strabo 13. 41. 51. 55. 107. 109. 110. 111.
 118. 120. 143. 174. 191. 246. 248. 249.
 267. 276. 328—9. 374. 375. 376. 377.
 379. 610. 611. 616. 618. 624. 634. 636.
 Strattis 582. 598. 606.
 Suetonius 477.
 Suidas 11. 13. 16. 74. 76. 89. 91. 263.
 282.
 Syncellus 11. 13. 39. 40. 42.
 Synesius 13.
 Tacitus 28—30. 51. 246.
 Tatian 11. 12. 15. 16.
 Tertullian 29.
 Thales 89.
 Themistogenes 489.
 Theocritus 286. 612. 638—9.
 Theophrastus 126—7.
 Thucydides 487—9.
 I. 195. 260. 350—1. 609.
 II. 26. 190. 409.
 III. 188—196.
 IV. 190. 257. 269. 328. 424.
 V. 256—7.
 VI. 245.
 VII. 97.
 VIII. 189. 488—9.
 Tibullus 28. 446. 448. 470.
 Timæus Sic. 245.
 Timæus de Anima Mundi 71.
 Timotheus 593.
 Tyrtæus 103—4.
 Tzetzes 15—18.
 Ulpian 153. 158. 160.
 Velleius 538.
 Vettius Valens 50.
 Virgil 382—6. 408. 409. 465. 621.
 Vitruvius 12. 41. 44—5. 536—554.
 Xanthus 111.
 Xenophon 485—535.
 Hellen. 189. 257. 485—9. 511. 528.
 555—7.
 Anab. 267. 276. 502. 506. 516.
 Mem. 282. 422. 502. 504. 510. 530—
 535.
 De Venat. 409.
 Oecon. 504.
 Symp. 505. 510.
 Cyrop. 525—8.
 Zenobius 260.
 Zenodotus 394.

GREEK WORDS ILLUSTRATED OR EXPLAINED.

α, quantity of the final 220—223.

ἀγήνοχα 130.

ἄζαραπατεῖς 380.

ἀθροίζω, ἀθροίζω 231.

αἰδοῖος 214—5.

αἰθέριος 23.

αῖνος 281.

Αἰσώπειος 282.

ἀκμή, ἀκμάζω 91.

ἀκούσω 235.

ἄλευρον 418.

Ἄλωπεκόννησος 325.

ἀμήσω, ἀμήσομαι 234.

Ἄμυκος 619.

Ἄμφικτύων 345.

ἀμφῶες 638.

ἄν 96. 99. 101. 237.

ἀνάπλους 269.

ἀνάσσω 219.

ἀνατέλλω, ἀνατολή 19—26.

ἀντιτιμῶμαι 132.

Ἀντιφάτης 620.

ἀπιλλω 406.

Ἄπης. 321-2.

ἀποχρᾶσθαι 135.

Ἄργαδεῖς 614.

Ἄργόλας 614.

ἄρμα 418.

ἀρχός 223.

ἀστρολογία 57.

ἀστρονομία 57.

ἄσω 235.

αὐτόχθων 313-315.

β and δ interchanged 624.

βάρβαρος 611.

βασιλεύς 418.

Βέβρυκες 619.

βελτίων 417.

βλεψω, βλέψομαι 233.

βοήσω 233.

βουκολῶ 301.

Βρύγες 619.

γάγγραινα 620.

γέ μὲν δή 212.

γεῖσον 552.

γελάσω 235.

γένος 13. 348.

Γηρυονεύς 622.

γνώμων 43. 44.

Γραῖαι 620.

Γύλιππος 338. 687.

δ and β interchanged 624.

δ and θ interchanged 619.

δα in composition 624.

Δαυλῖς 624.

δ' οὖν 243.

δεκανοί 68.

δεσπόζω 219.

Δευνώ 626.

Δεύς 626.

δευτερεῖα λαβεῖν 79.

δή 240.

δή νυν, δὴ νῦν, νῦν δὴ 227.

διά in composition 233.

- διάδοχος 90.
 διαιτητής 421. 423.
 διατέγγω 232.
 δίψα, δίψη 232.
 Διώνη 626.
 διώξω 235.
 Δόλοπες 322. 619.
 δρυάζω 616.
 Δρύοπες 322. 615. 6.
 Δωδώνη 624.
 Δωρίς 624.

 ἐάλην 406. 414.
 ἐγκωμιάσω—ομαι 234.
 εἰ 99—105. 237.
 εἶλαρ 408.
 εἰλέω 406—9. 413.
 εἰλίπους 407.
 εἰσαγγελεύς 380-1.
 Ἑκατόννησοι 325.
 ἔκρανον 239.
 ἐλάνη 414.
 Ἐλαφόννησος 325.
 ἐλάω 404.
 ἐλίκη 413.
 ἐλικῶπις 412.
 ἐλίσσω 406.
 Ἑλλας 344. 609.
 ἐλλεδανός 414.
 Ἑλλην 609.
 Ἑλλήσποντος 609.
 Ἑλλοπες 612.
 ἔλος 412.
 ἔλσας 407.
 εν for ησαν in terminations 240.
 ἐξαιρέσιμος 137.
 ἐξηρτυμένος 243.
 ἐπαινέσω—ομαι 234.
 ἔπεσα 239.
 ἔπησα 239.
 ἐπικαρπία 134.
 ἐπικρανίτις 545.
 ἐπιλλίζω 412.
 ἐπιστάτις 545.
 ἐπιτέλλω, ἐπιτολή 19—26.
 ἐπιτροπεύς 140.
 ἐπτακιφώνην 15.
 ἐπτάφθογγος 9. 14.
 Ἑρμῆς 70.
 ἔσπερος 71.
 ἐστήξω-ομαι 234.
 ἔταφον 238.
 Εὐριπος 252.
 ἐώσφορος 71.
 ζήσω-ομαι 234.
 ἦν 99—105.

 θ and δ interchanged 619.
 Θάσος 624.
 Θεαγγέλα 375-6.
 θηράσω-ομαι 234.
 θηρεύσω-ομαι 234.
 θίξω-ομαι 234.
 θόλος 619.
 Θραῦξ 618.
 θράσος 215.
 θράττω 619.
 θραύω 619.
 θυρών 554.

 Ἰβηρες 622
 ἱβις 623.
 ἱβυξ 622.
 ἱβύω 622.
 ἱλη 406.
 ἱλιγξ 412.
 ἱλλας 409. 410. 413.
 ἱλλος 412.
 ἱλλω 409. 412.
 ἱλὺς 412.
 Ἰνδοί 262.
 ἰοῦλοι 418.

καδίσκος 424.
 καίω 617.
 καλὸς καγαθός 503—5.
 κάλχη 548.
 κάπτω 617.
 κάρβανος 618.
 Κᾶρες 618. 623.
 κάρκαίρω 618.
 καρκαρος 618.
 καρχαρόδους 618.
 κατατομή 545.
 καύαλος 617.
 καύηξ 617.
 κανκαλίας 617.
 κανκιάλης 617.
 Καύκωνες 617.
 κανχῶμαι 617.
 κημός 425.
 Κητώ 620.
 κίκιρρος 613.
 κικκά 613.
 κικκαβίζω 613.
 Κίκονες 613.
 κλαύσω 236.
 κλῆρος, κληρόω, κληρωτός 421—5.
 κλύμενον 548.
 κόγξ 425.
 κοκκόαξ 613.
 κοκκοβαίη 613.
 κόκκυξ 613.
 κολάσω-ομαι 234.
 κράτος 216.
 κραυγός 616.
 κρύψω-ομαι 234.
 κτήματα 131.
 κυαμεντός 422.
 κυκάω 613.
 κύκνος 613.
 κωκύσω-ομαι 234.
 κωκύω 613.

λα 620. 624—5.
 λαγχάνειν ἀρχήν 420—4.
 λαιμός 620.
 λαῖς 620.
 Λαιστρύγονες 619. 620.
 λάλαγες 616.
 λαλάζω 616.
 λαλέω 616.
 Λαμία 620.
 Λάμος 620.
 Λάρισσα Λάρισα 624—5.
 λάσκω 620.
 λάω 620.
 Λέλεγες 616.
 Λέπρινα, Λέτρινα 257.
 λιγύφωνος 622.
 Λιγύες 621.
 λόγος 281.

Μάγος 13. 38. 39. 52.
 ματτύη 559. 560.
 μενος and μιος confounded 211
 μεσσήρης 24.
 μέτοπον 547.
 Μολοσσοί 612.
 Μύγδονες 619.
 μῦθος 281. 322.
 Μυόννησος 325.
 Μυσοί 619.

ναῦς, declension of, 218.
 ναυστολήσω-ομαι 234.
 νεανίσκος 508.
 νέμεσθαι 195.
 νυν, quantity of, 225—8.

οἰμώξω 236.
 ὀλβαχῆιον 418.
 ὄλος 415.
 ὄλμος 418.
 ὄλυρα 418.

ὄμιλος 406.
 ὄπαϊον 547.
 ὄρμος 418.
 οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive 213-4.
 οὔας 638.
 οὔλαμος 406.
 οὔλη 414. 417. 418.
 οὔλοι 418.
 οὔλος 414—6.
 οὔλοχύται 414.
 οὔλω 416-7.
 οὔς 551. 638.
 ὀφέλλω 419.

 παραινέσω-ομαι 234.
 παρωτίδες 551.
 πατρία 131.
 Παφλαγόνες 619.
 παφλάζω 619.
 πείνα and πείνη 223.
 πέλας 625.
 Πελασγοί, Πελαργοί 338. 613—5,
 625.
 πελειάς 625.
 Πελοπόννησος 322, 324-5.
 πέπραγα 130.
 πέραν περαίη 189—192.
 πέρθω 617.
 περί 415.
 Πήδασον, Πήδασα 377.
 πνεύσω 236.
 ποθέσω-ομαι 234.
 πολιός 620.
 πόλος 43—5.
 πραγματεύομαι 129.
 πράττειν 139.
 πρήθω 617.
 πρίν, quantity of, 241.
 Προκόννησος 325.
 πυροεῖς 69. 71.

ρέω 215.

ς and ρ interchanged 615.

Σειρήνες 622.

Σείριος 25.

σιωπήσω 235.

Σουάγελα 375.

σπάσω-ομαι 235.

στάσις 13.

στίλβων 69. 71.

ταγή 129.

ταράσσω 618.

τεθνήξω-ομαι 235.

τέξω-ομαι 235.

τεύξω-ομαι 235.

Τηλεβόαι 617.

τιμᾶσθαι 132.

τις 238.

τόλμα, τόλμη 223.

τοξεύσω-ομαι 235.

τόπος 130.

τραπεῖν 410.

τρυνών 616.

τρύζω 616.

τρύω 616.

τρώζω 616.

ὑπίλλω 408.

ὑποτιμᾶσθαι 132.

φαέθων 69—71.

φαίνων 69—λ 71.

φαρμακός 288.

φάτνωμα 547.

Φορκύς 620.

φρίσσω 619.

φρόντισμα 248.

φροντιῶ-οῦμαι 235.

Φρύγες 619.

φωλάς 287.

φώσφορος 69. 71.

χαίρω 618.

Χάονες 617.

χειροτονεῖν 424.

χέσω-ομαι-οὔμαι 235.

χιλίαρχος 380-1.

Χολόη 379.

χορεύσω-ομαι 235.

χωρήσομαι 235.

ψηφός ψηφίζομαι 419. 424.

ώρα 32. 33. 34. 40.

ᾠραι ἰσημερίναι 37.

—— καιρικά 37.

ὠρολόγιον 33.

ὠροσκόπιον 33.

ὥς after comparatives 242.

ὠτίδες 551.

LATIN WORDS ILLUSTRATED OR EXPLAINED.

- ABALIENATIO 170.
Aestuo 411.
Agnatio 153.
Ala 418.
Alienationes 170.
Anguria 680.
Annus 40.
Astrologus 57.
Astronomus 57.
Axilla 418.

Bulla, Bullire 411.

Canidia 471.
Carcer, Carceres 618.
Cessio in jure 155.
Civis 152-3.
Clathratae 557.
Clymena 548.
Coelum 412.
Coloniæ genera 161-4.
Columbaria 547.
Cymatium 544.

Doleo 619.
Dolus 619.

Exceptio annalis 170.

Flamma 617.
Flo 617.

Gens 348.
Glolus virorum 406.
Grus 623.
Gustus 370.

Hereditas 155.
Hesperia 19.
Homuncio 679.
Homunculus 679.
Horæ planetariæ 49.
Hypæthra 548.

Juno 626.
Jus Italicum 159-173.
Jus Latii 151-159.

Latinitas 157.
Latini veteres 160.
Latinus 152-3. 157. 161.
Latinus Junianus 154-8.
Latium 157.
Lex Julia 157.
Lex Julia de fundo dotali 170.
Lex Junia Norbana 153-4.
Lex Livia 156.

Malta 478.
Mar 418.
Mars 418.
Meniana 539.
Metatome 545.
Metophae 547.
Minor 680.
Mola, Molo 418-9.

Nexum 153-155.
Nola 411.

Odor 624.
Oleo 621.
Olor 621.
Ophae 547.
Opici 322.

Pello 406.
Peregrinus 152-3.
Periclymenon 548.
Persona 613.
Phoceus 451.

Quadrantulus 481.

Quod for ut 552.

Res Mancipi 168-9.

Res nec Mancipi 168-9.

Rex 418.

Salix 413.

Salus 417. 419.

Saturni dies 28-9.

Scirpus 545.

Sinope 563.

Solers 416.

Solidus 416.

Solox 416.

Solus 416.

Stillicidium 552.

Stultus 479.

Terere 467.

Testamentifactio 153.

Usucapio 169.

Valde 419.

Validus 417.

Vibex 623.

Virtus 360.

Voluto 410.

Volvo 406.

Vulgus 406.

WORDS IN MODERN LANGUAGES ILLUSTRATED
OR EXPLAINED.

F is placed after French words, G after German, I after Italian.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT 663.

Alchemist 57.

Anatolia 57.

Aube F. 682.

Bantling 685.

Bell 411.

Blasen G. 613.

Blaze 613.

Bittock 685.

Bodkin 681.

Boom 681.

Bootikin 681.

Bouquin F. 684.

Bullock 685.

Bulwark 408.

Buskin 681.

Buttock 685.

Capricious 366.

Catkins 683.

Chauve F. 682.

Chemist 57.

Chicken 683.

Childe 658-9.

Creaturely, creatural 364.

Cuckoo 613.

Cutikin 682

Daughterly 364.

Dawkins 685.

Deakins 685.

Dickins 685.

Diggins 685.

Drill 616.

Easterling 686.

Esthetics, esthetical 369. 370.

Favorable 648.

Favour 648.

Finikin 681.

Firkin 681.

Full 419.

Gerfalcon 681.

Girdle 681.

Gourd 680.

Goût F. 370.

Grimalkin 683.

Griskin 681.

Guillochi I. 545.

Gurke G. 680.

Gurkin 680.

Haddock 685.

Hale 416.

Hawkins 684.

Heal 416-7.

Heil G. 417.

Higgins 685.

Hillock 685.

Hireling 686.

Hodgkin 684.

Honorable 648.

Honour 648.

Hopkins 684.

Hummock 685.

Hurl 410.

Huskisson 685.

Ing, diminutive termination, 685.
Island, iland 653.

Jenkins 684.
Jerkin 680.
Jovial 371.
Joy 360.
Judgement 663.

Kallesthetics 369.
Kilderkin 680.
Kin, termination of diminutives, 679—
685.
Kitling 685.
Kitten 683.

Lakin 680.
Larkin 684.
Levant 19.
Ling, diminutive termination, 679. 685—
6.
Lording 686.
Lordling 679. 686.
Lukin 685.
Lumpkin 685.

Mahlen G. 418.
Maiden 683.
Malkin, Maukin 681—3.
Malmen G. 418.
Manequin F. 684.
Mannikin 680.
Martial 371.
Menu F. 680.
Mercurial 371.
Minder G. 680.
Minikin 680.
Minx 680.
Mörser G. 418.

Napkin 680.
Ness, termination 360.
Nice 650.

Ock, diminutive termination 685.
Once 656.
Overling 686.

Paddock 685.
Pékin F. 682.
Perkin 682.

Pipkin 681.
Plump of spears 406.
Pollock 685.
Popeling 686.
Popkin 684.
Pumpkin 681.
Purse 681.

Quelle G. 411.

Rhyme, rime 653.
Roll 419.
Roundly 415.

Sanderling 686.
Sapling 686.
Saturnian 371.
Saturnine 371.
Sawkin 684.
Scantling 686.
Sensible 371.
Sensual 371.
Sensuous 371.
Simpkin 681. 684.
Siskin 681.
Slammikin 681.
Sollen G. 419.
Spill 681.
Spilla, spillo I. 681.
Spille G. 681.
Spillikin 681.
Starling 686.
Stripling 685.
Sweeting 685.

Taste 370.
Tasty 369.
Thrice 656.
Thrill 616.
Thumbikins 681.
Timkins 685.
Tomkins 684.
Traben G. 410.
Trappen G. 410.
Treten G. 410.
Twice 656.

Underling 686.

Watkin 684.
Wild 411.

Welkin 412-3. 683.

Well 411.

Welle G. 411.

Welley 412.

Welt G. 410.

Westling 686.

Whirl 410.

Whole 416.

Whose 656.

Wilkins 684.

Willow 413.

Wohl G. 419.

Wolke G. 413.

Wolle G. 415.

New Works & New Editions
PUBLISHED BY J. DEIGHTON,
CAMBRIDGE,

BOOKSELLER TO H. R. H. THE CHANCELLOR,
And Agent to the University.

CLASSICAL WORKS.

ÆSCHYLUS—TRAGŒDIÆ.

Recensuit, emendavit, explanavit, et brevibus Notis instruxit
Fred. A. Paley, A.M., olim Coll. Div. John. Cant. 2 vols. 8vo.
cloth, 1*l.* 4*s.*

Or Separately,

Oresteia. (Agammemnon, Choephorî, Eumenides) 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Persæ 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Agammemnon 4 <i>s.</i>	Prometheus Vinc-tus 4 <i>s.</i>
Choephorî 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Septem contra Thebas, et Fragmenta 5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Eumenides 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Supplices 6 <i>s.</i>

ÆSCHYLUS—EUMENIDES.

Recensuit et illustravit *J. Schœlefield*, A.M., &c. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

ÆSCHYLUS.

APPENDIX ad editionem Cantabrigiensem novissimam. Confecit
J. Schœlefield, A.M., &c. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

ÆSCHYLUS—PROMETHEUS VINCTUS.

The Text of *Dindorf*, with Notes compiled and abridged by
J. Griffiths, A.M., Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 8vo. 5*s.*

ALFORD (REV. H.)—ΠΡΟΓΥΜΝΑΣΜΑΤΑ.

Passages in Prose and Verse from English Authors for translation
into Greek and Latin; together with selected Passages from Greek
and Latin Authors for translation into English: forming a regular
course of Exercises in Classical Composition. 8vo. *cloth*, 6*s.*

ARISTOTLE—A LIFE OF.

Including a Critical Discussion of some Questions of Literary History connected with his Works. By *J. W. Blakesley*, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

ARUNDINES CAMI.

Sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusus Canori; collegit atque edidit *H. Drury*, A.M. Editio tertia. 8vo. cloth, 12s.

BAILEY—DIATRIBE

De Voce *Αιλουρος* cum Epimetro. Scripsit, Notisque et Indicibus instruxit *Jac. Bailey*, A.M., e Coll. Trin. Cant. Pars Prior. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

DEMOSTHENES.

Select Private Orations, after the Text of *Dindorf*; with the various readings of *Reiske* and *Bekker*. With English Notes, for the use of Schools. By *C. T. Penrose*, M.A., Head Master of the Grosvenor School, Bath. 12mo. cloth, 5s.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ Ο ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ. Demosthenes de Falsa Legatione. A New Edition, with a careful revision of the Text, Annotatio Critica, English Explanatory Notes, Philological and Historical, and Appendices. By *Richard Shilleto*, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

DEMOSTHENES.

Translation of Select Speeches, with Notes. By *C. R. Kennedy*, A.M., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 12mo. 9s.

DONALDSON (REV. J. W.)

VARRONIANUS. A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Philological Study of the Latin Language. 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

DONALDSON (REV. J. W.)

The NEW CRATYLUS, or Contributions towards a more accurate Knowledge of the Greek Language. 8vo. cloth, 17s.

ELMSLEIANA CRITICA.

Sive Annotationes in Heracleidas, Medeam, et Bacchas. Selegit suisque et aliorum notis illustravit *F. E. Gretton*, A.M., Head Master of Stamford Grammar School. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

EURIPIDES—IPHIGENIA IN AULIDE.

Cambridge Edition. 8vo. 8s.

EURIPIDES—IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Cambridge Edition. 8vo. 5s.

HEPHÆSTION.Concerning Metres and Poems. Translated into English, and illustrated by Notes and a Rhythmical Notation; with Prolegomena on Rhythm and Accent. By *T. F. Barham*, M.B. 8vo. 8s. 6d.**KENNEDY (REV. H. B.)**

Progressive Exercises in GREEK TRAGIC SENARII, followed by a Selection from the Greek Verses of Shrewsbury School, and prefaced by a short Account of the Iambic Metre and Style of Greek Tragedy. For the use of Schools and private Students. Second Edition, altered and revised. 8vo. 8s.

LIVIUS (TITUS).THE HISTORY OF ROME. By *C. W. Stocker*, D.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Vols. I. and II., in 4 Parts, 12s. each.**PHILOLOGICAL MUSEUM.**

2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

PLATO.SCHLEIERMACHER'S INTRODUCTIONS to the Dialogues. Translated from the German by *W. Dobson*, A.M., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 12s. 6d.**PLAUTUS—AULULARIA.**Notis et Glossario locuplete instruxit *J. Hildyard*, A.M., Coll. Christ. apud Cantab. Socius. Editio altera. 8vo. 7s. 6d.**PLAUTUS—MENÆCHMEI.**Notis et Glossario locuplete instruxit *J. Hildyard*, A.M., Coll. Christ. apud Cantab. Socius. Editio altera. 8vo. 7s. 6d.**SHILLETO (R.)**

Fragmentum Incerti ex 'Ηθικοφυσικολήροις. 8vo.

SOPHOCLES—TRAGŒDIÆ.With Notes Critical and Explanatory adapted to the use of Schools and Universities. By *T. Mitchell*, A.M., late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo. cloth, 1l. 8s.*Or the Plays separately, 5s. each.*

TACITUS (C. CORN.) OPERA.

ad Codices Antiquissimos exacta et emendata, Commentario critico et exegetico illustrata. Edidit *Franciscus Ritter*, Prof. Bonnensis. 4 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 8s.

A few copies printed on thick Vellum paper, imp. 8vo. 4*l.* 4s.

Immediately under the text is given a complete collation of all the older and only important MSS., together with the emendations of Professor Ritter and of former Editors. This is followed by a comprehensive Commentary, containing an explanation of all the difficult passages, and a justification of the new readings introduced into the text. The true reading is restored in more than 180 passages, most of which have hitherto been regarded as hopelessly corrupt. To the first volume is prefixed 'Prolegomena Editoris,' containing a Life of Tacitus, a Criticism of his writings, and of the original form of the works which are still extant. The last volume contains Indices to the Text and the Notes of the Editor.

THEATRE OF THE GREEKS.

A series of Papers relating to the History and Criticism of the Greek Drama. With a new Introduction and other alterations. By *J. W. Donaldson*, A.M., Head Master of Bury St. Edmund's Grammar School. Sixth Edition. 8vo. 15s.

THEOCRITUS.

Codicum Manuscriptorum ope recensuit et emendavit *Christopherus Wordsworth*, S.T.P., Scholæ Harroviensis Magister, nuper Coll. SS. Trin. Cant. Socius et Academiæ Orator Publicus. 8vo. cloth, 13s. 6*d.*

A few copies on LARGE PAPER. 4to. 1*l.* 10s.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ.

The History of the Peloponnesian War, by Thucydides: illustrated by Maps taken entirely from actual Surveys. With Notes, chiefly Historical and Geographical. By *Thomas Arnold*, D.D. Third Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10s.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

ARNOLD (DR. THOS.)

HISTORY of ROME. 8vo. cloth. Vol. I. 16s. Vol. II. 18s. Vol. III. 14s.

ARNOLD (DR. THOS.)

History of the late Roman Commonwealth, from the end of the second Punic War, to the death of Julius Cæsar; and of the Reign of Augustus; with a Life of Trajan. 2 vols. 8vo. cloth, 1*l.* 8s.

BUTLER (BISHOP).

Memoirs of his Life, Character, and Writings. By *Thomas Bartlett*, A.M., Rector of Kingston, Kent. Portrait. 8vo. 12s.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Publications.

Demy 4to. sewed.

No. I.—A Catalogue of the Library of St. Catharine's Hall, M.CCCC.LXXV. 1s. 6d.

No. II.—Abbreviata Cronica ab anno 1377 usque ad annum 1469. 2s. 6d.

No. III.—An Account of the Rites and Ceremonies which took place at the Consecration of Archbishop Parker, with an Introductory Preface and Notes. 3s. 6d.

Nos. IV., V.—An Application of Heraldry to the Illustration of various University and Collegiate Antiquities. Part I. 6s.; Part II. 4s. 6d.

Nos. VI., VIII.—A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Scarce Books in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Parts I. and II. 4s. 6d. each.

No. VII.—A Description of the Sextry Barn at Ely, lately demolished. With Illustrations. 3s.

No. IX.—Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages. Plates, 7s.

No. X.—Roman and Roman-British Remains, at and near Shefford, Co. Beds.

— A Catalogue of Coins from the same place. Plates, 6s. 6d.

No. XI.—Specimens of College Plate, with 13 Plates. 15s.

No. XII.—On the Materials of two Sepulchral Vessels, found at Warden, Co. Beds. Plates, 4s.

No. XIII.—Evangelia Augustini Gregoriana. Plates, 1l.

No. XIV.—Miscellaneous Communications made to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Part I.

I. On Palempsest Sepulchral Crosses. By *A. W. Franks*.

II. On two British Shields found in the Isle of Ely. By *C. W. Goodwin*, M.A.

III. A Catalogue of the Books given to Corpus Christi College, (A.D. 1439) by *J. Markaunt*, with their prices. By *J. O. Halliwell*, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.

IV. The Genealogical History of the Freville Family, with some account of their Monuments in Little Shelford Church, Cambridgeshire. By *A. W. Franks*. With Eight Plates.

No. XV.—An Historical Inquiry touching St. Catharine of Alexandria. Illustrated by a Semi-Saxon Legend. With Two Plates. 12s.

Reports presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, at its General Meeting, from 1841 to 1847. 8vo. sewed, 1s. each.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ALMANAC

For the Year 1849. Embellished with a line Engraving, by Mr. *E. Challis*, of the Senate-House and Great St. Mary's Church, from a Drawing by *B. Rudge*. 3s. 6d. *Continued Annually*.

CAMBRIDGE GUIDE,

Including Historical and Architectural Notices of the Public Buildings, &c., *New Edition*, illustrated by numerous beautiful Engravings, from Drawings by *Mackenzie* and *Rudge*, and a *New Plan of the Town*. 12mo. cloth, 5s. 6d.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY CALENDAR

For 1849: containing, in addition to the usual information, the Regulations confirmed by the Senate for the Moral Sciences and Natural Sciences Tripos; also the New Plan for the Previous Examination, Regulations of the Adams' and Le Bas' Prizes, &c. 12mo. cloth. 6s.

FULLER (DR. THOS.)

History of the University of Cambridge, from the Conquest to the year 1634. Edited by the Rev. *M. Prickett*, M.A., F.S.A., of Trinity College, and *Thomas Wright*, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., of Trinity College; with Illustrative Notes, and two Plans of Cambridge. 8vo. 12s.

GRADUATI CANTABRIGIENSES:

sive Catalogus eorum quos ab anno 1760 usque ad 10^m Octr. 1846, Gradu quocunque ornavit Academia. Curâ *Josephi Romilly*, A.M., Coll. Trin. Socii atque Academiæ Registrarii. 8vo. cloth, 10s.

NUMISMATA COLLEGII de GONVILLE et

CAIUS. Nuper Jacobi Burrough et Joannis Smith. The Donor's Catalogue edited by the Rev. *J. J. Smith*, Fellow and Tutor of Caius College. 4to. 7s.

SMITH (REV. J. J.)

A CATALOGUE of the MANUSCRIPTS in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

SMYTH (PROF.)

LECTURES on MODERN HISTORY, from the Irruption of the Northern Nations, to the Close of the American War. Fifth Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

SMYTH (PROF.)

LECTURES on HISTORY. Second and concluding Series. On the French Revolution. Third Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

SQUIB (The) OR SEARCHFOOT.

An Unedited little Work which Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra wrote in defence of the first part of the Quixote. Published by Don Adolfo de Castro, at Cadiz, 1847. Translated from the original Spanish, by a Member of the University of Cambridge. 12mo. *cloth*, 3s. 6d.

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY.

An Index of such English Books printed before the year 1600, as are now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Published with the permission of the Rev. the Master and Fellows, by *Edward Cranwell*, Under-Librarian. 8vo. *cloth*, 3s. 6d.

WALMISLEY (PROF.)

A Collection of ANTHEMS used in the Chapels of King's, Trinity, and St. John's Colleges, compiled and arranged in Chronological order. 8vo. *cloth*, 5s.

WHEWELL (DR.)

Architectural Notes on German Churches; with Notes written during an Architectural Tour in Picardy and Normandy. Third Edition. To which is added, Translation of Notes on Churches of the Rhine, by *M. F. De Lassaulx*, Architectural Inspector to the King of Prussia. 8vo. *Plates*, 12s.

WHEWELL (DR.)

On the Principles of English University Education, including Additional Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics. Second Edit. 8vo. 5s.

WILLIS (PROF.)

Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially in Italy. Royal 8vo. *Plates*, LARGE PAPER, 1l. 1s.

Views of the Colleges and other Public Buildings IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

*Taken expressly for the UNIVERSITY ALMANACK, (measuring about
17 inches by 11 inches).*

<i>No. Year.</i>	<i>SUBJECT.</i>
1—1801	TRINITY COLLEGE—West Front of Library.
2—1802	KING'S COLLEGE and CHAPEL—West Front, and Clare Hall.
3—1803	ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE—Bridge and West Front.
4—1804	QUEENS' COLLEGE—taken from the Mill.
5—1805	JESUS COLLEGE—taken from the Road.
6—1806	EMMANUEL COLLEGE—West Front.
7—1807	PEMBROKE COLLEGE—West Front.
8—1808	TRINITY HALL—taken from Clare Hall Garden.
9—1809	SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE—taken from Bowling Green.
10—1810	CHRIST'S COLLEGE—taken from the Garden
11—1811	CAIUS COLLEGE—Second Court.
12—1812	DOWNING COLLEGE—Master's Lodge.
13—1813	ST. PETER'S COLLEGE—taken from the Street.
14—1814	CATHARINE HALL—Interior of Court.
15—1815	CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE—Interior of OLD Court.
16—1816	MAGDALEN COLLEGE—Front of Pepysian Library.
17—1817	SENATE-HOUSE and UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
18—1818	TRINITY COLLEGE—Great Court.
19—1819	ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE—Second Court
20—1820	MAGDALENE COLLEGE—First Court.
21—1821	EMMANUEL COLLEGE—First Court.
22—1822	KING'S COLLEGE—Old Building.
23—1823	JESUS COLLEGE—taken from the Close.
24—1824	QUEENS' COLLEGE—taken from the Grove.
25—1825	OBSERVATORY.
	All the Views as above, from Nos. 1 to 25 inclusive,— Price, Plain Impressions, 2s. 6d.—Proofs, 5s.
26—1826	CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE—West Front, New Building.
27—1827	TRINITY COLLEGE—Interior of King's Court.
28—1828	ST. PETER'S COLLEGE—Gisborne's Court.
29—1829	KING'S COLLEGE NEW BUILDINGS and CHAPEL—taken from the Street.
30—1830	ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE—New Building.
31—1831	TRINITY COLLEGE—West Front of King's Court and Library.
32—1832	CHRIST'S COLLEGE—New Buildings.
33—1833	KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL—Between the Roofs.
34—1834	PITT PRESS
35—1835	SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE—taken from an Elevation.
36—1836	KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, &c.—West Front.
37—1837	ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE—New Bridge, &c.
38—1838	FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.
39—1839	The NEW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
40—1840	CAMBRIDGE—from the top of St. John's College New Buildings.
41—1841	CLARE HALL—from the Bridge.
42—1842	FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM. Entrance Hall and Statue Gallery.
43—1843	TRINITY COLLEGE. Interior of the Hall.
44—1844	ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH, as restored by the CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
45—1845	CAIUS COLLEGE Gate of Honour. SENATE-HOUSE and NEW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
46—1846	GREAT COURT OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
47—1847	ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH—The Interior of.
	Nos. 26 to 47, inclusive..... Plain Impressions 5s. 0d. Proofs 8s. 0d. — on India Paper ... 12s. 0d.
48—1848	THE INTERIOR OF THE SENATE-HOUSE. India Proofs 15s.—Plain Proofs 10s.
49—1849	SENATE HOUSE AND GREAT SAINT MARY'S CHURCH. India Proofs 12s.—Plain Proofs 8s.
50—1850	THE INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF JESUS COLLEGE. India Proofs 15s.—Plain Proofs ... 10s. 6d.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY
1850
1851
1852
1853
1854
1855
1856
1857
1858
1859
1860
1861
1862
1863
1864
1865
1866
1867
1868
1869
1870
1871
1872
1873
1874
1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880
1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
1900
1901
1902
1903
1904
1905
1906
1907
1908
1909
1910
1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
1917
1918
1919
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024
2025

ALTE BÜCHER

*Bitte bibliotheksweise
geschützt verpacken!*

Danke!

Findling
Fernleihe

DL



The philological museum

Bd.: 1. (1832). - IV, IV, 706 S.

Cambridge 1832

Philol. 199 af-1

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10765482-0